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A HISTORY

OF

AUSTRO-HUNGARY

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A HISTORY

OF

AUSTRO-HUNGARY

FROM THE EARLIEST TIME TO THE YEAR 1889

BY

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY
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WITH A PREFACE BY
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PREFACE.

I HAVE been asked to write something to introduce an English translation of M. Louis Leger's "Histoire de l'Autriche-Hongrie," a number of the series headed "Histoire Universelle," and published under the direction of M. Duruy. The subject is one on which English readers certainly need more light than they commonly have, and M. Leger's book, which I have read in the original, seems by no means ill suited to supply them with it. It has many merits, and it is remarkably free from the usual faults of French writings. Though M. Leger has to deal with the most exciting times of modern French history, there is not in his book the slightest sign of conventional French swagger. His story is perhaps as clear as the story can be made. For it is by no means an easy task to tell the story of the various lands which have at different times come under the dominion of Austrian princes, the story of each land by itself, and the story of them all in relation to the common power. A continuous narrative is impossible. In grouping together so many different elements, no two writers would be likely to hit on exactly the same arrangement, and none could altogether avoid some measure of going backwards and forwards. There would have been more clearness and unity of design in a simple history of the growth of the Austrian power which should take for granted the history of each land up to the time when its connexion with the Austrian power began. But this would imply the separate study

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of separate histories of Hungary, Bohemia, and some smaller lands. And from this some readers might have shrunk. And even after the various lands had been brought under the rule of a common sovereign, it would still have been hard to tell the story of all in a single continuous narrative. M. Leger has not attempted to do so. It is perhaps a gain that his subject and his book involve a certain amount of thinking and a certain amount of looking backwards and around.

M. Leger's way of speaking is on the whole accurate; he does not, after the modern fashion, use words at random. He has most likely grasped the hard truth that names are facts. But one strange inaccuracy runs through the book, which cannot be the result of ignorance, and which must therefore be done on some principle, though it is not easy to see what the principle is. M. Leger constantly speaks of an "Empereur d'Allemagne." I know not whether there are still any who need to be told that no such title ever existed or could exist. That it was formally used once, and I believe once only, by the Emperor Francis the Second in the treaty of Pressburg, proves only that that prince had either forgotten who he was or else was forced to describe himself in any way that his French conqueror bade him. By that time the King of Germany and Emperor-elect of the Romans had certainly very little Roman character left about him. Still the use of the inaccurate phrase is quite needless; the usual language of the time, "the Emperor," without further description, is quite enough, and can lead to no confusion. But in earlier times to talk of an "Emperor of Germany" is not only inaccurate, but misleading. Down at least to Charles the Fifth, the Roman character of the Empire had not wholly passed away, and to speak of a Frankish or Swabian Emperor as "Emperor of Germany" gives a wholly false impression. Those who read M. Leger will do well to read Mr. Bryce's "Holy Roman Empire" as well. Otherwise M. Leger is careful in these matters. He does not, for

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instance, create an "Austrian empire" before the time; his usual phrase for the various lands which obeyed a common Austrian sovereign is "état Autrichien." It must be a misprint or a strange slip which has once quartered a "grand-duke" in Austria. It is perhaps to make things square that, under the guidance of a later English writer, "archdukes" have made their way into Russia.

There is no subject on which ordinary readers stand in more need of a clear setting forth of facts than on that which M. Leger has taken in hand. The facts in themselves need some thought, and some clearness of thought, to grasp them, and the difficulty is heightened by popular confusions both of thought and of language. Much mischief has been done by one small fashion of modern speech. It has within my memory become usual to personify nations and powers on the smallest occasions in a way which was formerly done only in language more or less solemn, rhetorical, or poetical. We now talk every moment of England, France, Germany, Russia, Italy, as if they were persons. And as long as it is only England, France, Germany, Russia, or Italy of which we talk in this way, no practical harm is done; the thing is a mere question of style. For those are all national powers. If each of these powers is not strictly coextensive with a nation, yet in each there is a nation and a national feeling which directs the action of the power. This is true even of despotic powers. The Tzar himself cannot act in direct opposition to the known will of the Russian people. To talk of "Russia's interests," "Russia's policy" and the like in everyday prose sounds odd; but it simply sounds odd; no further harm is done. But when we go on to talk in this way of "Austria" or "Turkey," direct harm is done; thought is confused, and facts are misrepresented. The "interests" of England or France mean the interests of the English or French people. A "friend" of England or France would mean a friend of the English or French

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people. But when we hear, as we have heard, of a "friend of Turkey," does that mean a friend of the people of the land marked "Turkey" on the map, or a friend of their foreign oppressor the Turk? Do the "interests of Turkey" mean the interests of the Turk, or the exactly opposite interests of the nations which the Turk holds in bondage? So with "Austria." One has heard of the "interests of Austria," the "policy of Austria;" I have seen the words, "Austrian national honour;" I have come across people who believed that "Austria" was one land inhabited by "Austrians," and that "Austrians" spoke the "Austrian" language. All such phrases are misapplied. It is to be presumed that in all of them "Austria" means something more than the true Austria, the archduchy; what is commonly meant by them is the whole dominions of the sovereign of Austria. People fancy that the inhabitants of those dominions have a common being, a common interest, like that of the people of England, France, or Italy. Now it is hardly needful to stop to prove that there is no such thing as an Austrian language, that a whole crowd of languages are spoken within the dominions of the sovereign of Austria, German, Magyar, Italian, Rouman, and the various dialects of the great Slavonic majority. Each of these is the language of a nation, the whole or part of which is under the rule of an Austrian prince; but there is no Austrian language, no Austrian nation; therefore there can be no such thing as "Austrian national honour." Nor can there be an "Austrian policy" in the same sense in which there is an English or a French policy, that is, a policy in which the English or French government carries out the will of the English or French nation. Nor can there be a common "Austrian interest" for all the dominions of the sovereign of Austria; for the interests of the German and the Magyar on the one hand, of the Slave and the Rouman on the other, are always different, and often opposed. In truth, such phrases as "Austrian interests,"

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"Austrian policy," and the like, do not mean the interests or policy of any land or nation at all. They simply mean the interests and policy of a particular ruling family, which may often be the same as the interests and wishes of particular parts of their dominions, but which can never represent any common interest or common wish on the part of the whole.

It leads to confusion thus to personify "Austria" in the way now so common, just as it leads to yet worse confusion so to personify "Turkey." Our fathers avoided such confusions. They spoke of "the Turk," "the Grand Turk," "the Grand Seignior," names which accurately distinguished the foreign oppressor from the lands and nations which he holds in bondage. So they spoke of "the House of Austria," a form which accurately distinguished the ruling family from the various kingdoms, duchies, counties, etc., over which the head of that house bears rule. We must ever remember that the dominions of the House of Austria are simply a collection of kingdoms, duchies, etc., brought together by various accidental causes, but which have nothing really in common, no common speech, no common feeling, no common interest. In one case only, that of the Magyars in Hungary, does the House of Austria rule over a whole nation; the other kingdoms, duchies, etc., are only parts of nations, having no tie to one another, but having the closest ties to other parts of their several nations which lie close to them, but which are under other governments. The only bond among them all is that a series of marriages, wars, treaties, and so forth, have given them a common sovereign. The same person is King of Hungary, Archduke of Austria, Count of Tyrol, Lord of Trieste, and a hundred other things. That is all. Other powers, most powers, have also been enlarged by conquests and annexations of various kinds; but these conquests and annexations have commonly been, sooner or later, fused into one general mass. Thus modern France has been formed by the annexation

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to the elder France of a great number of lands, some of which had nothing whatever to do with France, while others simply owed the crown of France an external homage. But all the lands annexed to France have sooner or later, many of them wonderfully soon, become French, both formally and practically. It is therefore right to speak of any one of them as French from the time of its annexation to France, just as it is wrong to speak of it as French before its annexation. But the lands which have at sundry times and in divers manners been brought under the power of the House of Austria have not in this way become, either formally or practically, Austrian. The kingdom of Bohemia, the kingdom of Dalmatia, the duchy of Ragusa, the lordship of Cattaro, are indeed under the dominion of the head of the House of Austria; but they are not parts of Austria, their people are not Austrians. They are not Austria and Austrian in the same way in which Normandy, Provence, Aquitaine, Lyons, Franche Comté, a crowd of duchies, counties, and cities, have both formally and practically become parts of France, and their people French.

The growth and the abiding dominion of the House of Austria is one of the most remarkable phænomena in European history. Powers of the same kind have arisen twice before; but in both cases they were very short-lived, while the power of the House of Austria has lasted for several centuries. The power of the House of Anjou in the twelfth century, the power of the House of Burgundy in the fifteenth century, were powers of exactly the same kind. They too were collections of scraps, with no natural connexion, brought together by the accidents of warfare, marriage, or diplomacy. Now why is it that both those powers broke in pieces almost at once, after the reigns of two princes in each case, while the power of the House of Austria has lasted so long? Two causes suggest themselves. One is the long connexion between the House of Austria and the

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Roman Empire and kingdom of Germany. So many Austrian princes were elected Emperors as to make the Austrian House seem something great and imperial in itself. I believe that this cause has done a good deal towards the result; but I believe that another cause has done yet more. This is that, though the Austrian power is not a national power, there is, as has been already noticed, a nation within it. While it contains only scraps of other nations, it contains the whole of the Magyar nation. It thus gets something of the strength of a national power. The possession of Hungary has more than once saved the Austrian power from altogether breaking in pieces. And it is certain that, at this moment, the policy of the House of Austria, so far as it is anything more than the mere policy of a family, is the policy of the kingdom of Hungary.

One very common delusion is to look on the power of the House of Austria, and even on the so-called "Austrian empire," as something ancient, venerable, and conservative. If we look carefully at the matter, we shall find that the only thing about it which deserves any of these adjectives is the kingdom of Hungary. The kingdom of Hungary is an ancient kingdom, with known boundaries which have changed singularly little for several centuries; and its connexion with the archduchy of Austria and the kingdom of Bohemia is now of long standing. Anything beyond this is modern and shifting. The so-called "empire of Austria" dates only from the year 1804. This is one of the simplest matters in the world, but one which is constantly forgotten. I have often seen the phrase "Emperor of Austria" applied to princes of the last century, sometimes to much earlier princes, even to Frederick Barbarossa himself. I have seen an English translation of a French book of the last century which described the visit of the Emperor Joseph the Second to Paris. He was naturally, according to the custom of the time, spoken of simply as "the Emperor;" the English translator thought it

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necessary to explain that Joseph the Second was "Emperor of Austria." Most people seem to fancy that the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles the Sixth, which settled the succession to the hereditary states of the House of Austria, settled the succession to some "empire," perhaps an "empire of Austria." The position of the Empress-queen, Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary in her own right, Empress as wife of the elected Emperor Francis the First, is a puzzle to many. To many it seems odd that, on the death of her father, she at once became a queen, but did not at once become an empress. Yet surely in itself the state of the case is perfectly easy to understand; the whole difficulty arises from the fact that for eighty years past the phrases "emperor" and "empire of Austria" have been in common use, and that people are therefore tempted to carry them back into times when they had never been heard of.

May I venture on a very simple illustration? Since 1804, and more conspicuously since 1806, the Kings of Hungary and Archdukes of Austria have called themselves "Emperors of Austria;" and they have borne as the chief part of their arms the eagle of the Holy Roman Empire. Their reason for so doing is obvious. As simple kings and archdukes, with the lion of Austria for their bearing, they could never have kept the position in the world which they have kept as self-styled emperors. Their attempted excuse for doing so can only be that several dukes of their house were Emperors by election. Four princes of the House of Lorraine, besides earlier princes of the true House of Habsburg, were chosen Emperors of the Romans and Kings of Germany. The last of them resigned the elective Empire, but went on calling himself "Emperor of Austria," and bearing the imperial eagle. Now for the illustration. The late Lord Auckland, an hereditary baron, was also Bishop of Bath and Wells by election, nomination, or whatever we call the complicated process

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by which a bishop is made. Lord Auckland resigned his bishopric. If he had, after his resignation, called himself Bishop of Auckland, and borne the arms of the see of Bath and Wells, and if his successor in the barony had gone on doing the same, we should have an exact analogy to the "empire of Austria" and its eagle. Or, as there was nothing in this case to create a tradition, let us take another illustration where the family tradition comes in. Several members of the House of Beresford have been Archbishops of Armagh, just as several members of the House of Lorraine have been elective Roman Emperors. What if the lay representatives of those archbishops should call themselves Archbishops of Beresford, and should bear the arms of the see of Armagh?

These illustrations are really exact. If there are any minds to which they do not seem so, it is only because the word "bishop" still keeps a definite meaning, while, since the year 1804, the word "emperor" has lost its meaning. Any ruler that chooses now calls himself "emperor," simply because he thinks it sounds finer than "king." But this is the result of the events of the year 1804. Down to that year the title of Emperor was applied only to European princes who were supposed in some sort to continue the ancient Roman Empire, and, by a kind of analogy, to barbarian princes, like the Great Mogul, who were thought to hold in their own part of the world a position answering to that of the Emperor in Europe. Early in the eighteenth century the princes of Russia began to call themselves emperors, as they had always been *Tzars* or *Cæsars* in their own tongue. The title was meant to imply a succession of some kind or other from the Roman Emperors of the East. But the Russian prince was emperor only with a difference, "Emperor of all the Russias." The Roman Emperor-elect still remained "the Emperor," without further distinction. In 1804 Napoleon Buonaparte called himself "Emperor of the French," and Francis of Lorraine, elective Roman Emperor, called himself

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"hereditary Emperor of Austria," hereditary emperor, that is, of one fief of his elective empire. Both had, from their own points of view, good reasons for what they did; but from that time the word "emperor" has lost the definite meaning which it held down to that time.

A smaller point on which confusion also prevails is this. All the members of the House of Austria are commonly spoken of as archdukes and archduchesses. I feel sure that many people, if asked the meaning of the word *archduke*, would say that it was the title of the children of the "Emperor of Austria," as *grand-duke* is used in Russia, and *prince* in most countries. In truth, *archduke* is the title of the sovereign of Austria. He has not given it up; for he calls himself Archduke of Austria still, though he calls himself "Emperor of Austria" as well. But by German custom, the children of a duke or count are all called dukes and counts for ever and ever. In this way the Prince of Wales is called "Duke of Saxony." And in the same way all the children of an Archduke of Austria are archdukes and archduchesses.

Formally and historically then, the taking of an hereditary imperial title by the Archduke of Austria in 1804, and the keeping of it after the prince who took it had ceased in 1806 to be King of Germany and Roman Emperor-elect, was a sheer and shameless imposture. But it is an imposture which has thoroughly well served its ends. Those ends were doubtless two. One was to keep up for the hereditary "Emperor of Austria" something like the European position of the elective Emperor of the Romans. In this the success of the Austrian House has been perfect, and more than perfect. All history has been confused by it. In other like cases it is enough if the modern imitation is taken for the thing which it imitates. Smithson is satisfied if he is taken for Percy, Williams if he is taken for Wynn. Nobody thinks that the old Percies were Smithsons.

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But people do think that the old Roman Emperors were Emperors of Austria. The imitation has, in most men's thoughts, not only taken the place of the original; it has caused the original to be forgotten. And there can be no doubt that the taking of the title was further meant to help towards destroying the historic rights of Hungary, Bohemia, and the other states of the Austrian House, towards forming them into an "empire of Austria." This attempt has partly succeeded, partly failed. Since the *Ausgleich* of 1867 it is fully understood that the kingdom of Hungary and its *partes annexæ* are not parts of any "empire of Austria." The "empire of Austria" and the kingdom of Hungary together make up the "Austro-Hungarian monarchy." It is not easy to make out what or where the "empire of Austria" is; but it would seem to mean all those lands which are held by the King of Hungary in some other character than that of King of Hungary. If so, while the ancient kingdom of Hungary is one of the most stable things in the world, the modern "empire of Austria" is one of the most fleeting. Its boundaries are always changing, because it is always winning and losing territory. To say nothing of endless changes before 1804, the princes of Austria have, since that year, lost the Polish land of New Galicia; they have lost and gained again the Polish city of Cracow, taken at the last partition in 1795. They have lost and gained again a large territory in Germany, namely Tyrol and parts of Carinthia and Carniola. They have lost, but not gained again, Constance and some smaller outlying German territories. They have gained, lost, and gained again, the archbishopric of Salzburg. They have lost and gained again Trent, Aquileia, Istria, Gorizia, and other points on the borders of Germany, Italy, and the Slavonic lands. In undoubted Italy they have gained, lost, gained again, and lost again, Milan and the rest of Lombardy. They have lost, gained again, lost again, gained again, and lost again, Venice and the rest of

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Venetia. They have lost and gained again all Dalmatia, first gained in 1797. They have gained Ragusa in 1814, and Spizza in 1878, and they have practically gained Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, though those lands have not been formally annexed. What more may be gained or lost in future changes we cannot say; but at any rate, those parts of the dominions of the House of Austria which do not belong to the crown of Hungary—those which we might conveniently call *Nungary*—as they are many of them very modern in possession, have also been shifting in possession beyond everything else in Europe. A power largely so modern, everywhere so shifting, which moreover has grown everywhere by wiping out ancient historic rights and cherished national memories, whatever else it may be, can hardly be called ancient, venerable, or conservative.

I remarked some time back that the boundaries of the kingdom of Hungary have hardly changed for some centuries. That they have changed so little is one of the most notable things in the whole story, and one of the most characteristic of the ways of the House of Habsburg. For the common sovereigns of Hungary and Austria have twice gained territory which they claimed, and could claim, in no other character than that of Kings of Hungary. But when they had gained it, they did not join it on to the kingdom of Hungary, but kept it among those territories which were not Hungarian. This happened to the so-called kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, the share taken by Maria Theresa Queen of Hungary in the first partition of Poland in 1772; and also with the kingdom of Dalmatia, taken by Francis King of Hungary in 1797. Both these lands were claimed on no other ground than that they had been held by Hungarian kings ages before; but they have never been restored to the Hungarian kingdom. Neither were they made fiefs of the Holy Roman Empire, which was then still in being. In what character or by what right they were held, it is not easy to see.

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As things now stand in the lands of which M. Leger has written the history, the first thing that strikes us is that those nations which rose against the House of Habsburg in 1848-9 are those which are at present satisfied with its dominion, while those by which its authority was restored are those which at present complain of it. The Habsburg princes were driven out by the Germans of Vienna and the Magyars of Budapest; they were brought back by Slaves and Roumans, backed by the great Slavonic power of Russia. The present sovereign of Hungary and Austria reigns, with the good will of their inhabitants, over lands conquered for him by Nicolas of Russia and Jellačič of Croatia. It is by the favour of Slavonic and Rouman helpers that he was able to reign over Germans and Magyars. It is now the Germans and Magyars who are satisfied; the Slaves and Roumans who complain. The *Ausgleich* between Hungary and Austria was made wholly in favour of the dominant Magyar and German races; they have got their own rights, and their chief object now is to hinder other nations from getting their rights as well. In Hungary the common sovereign reigns as a lawful king, crowned with the crown of Saint Stephen, according to the law of Hungary. But the people who have thus won their ancient independence are stirred to wrath when the people of Bohemia demand that the common sovereign shall do the same justice to Bohemia which he has done to Hungary. They ask that in Bohemia too he shall reign as a lawful king, crowned with the crown of Saint Wenceslaf, according to the law of Bohemia. But at this demand Germans and Magyars are very angry. The Magyars too, having won its rights for the kingdom of Hungary proper, refuse any like concession to the *partes annexæ* of Croatia and Transsilvania. There is therefore of course dissatisfaction at both ends of the "monarchy;" but the dissatisfaction naturally takes two forms. It must be borne in mind that the irruption of the Magyars split the Slavonic race asunder, parting the Czechs and

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Poles to the north of Hungary from the Serbs and Croats to the south of it. The Northern Slaves stand alone; they could not form a distinct power, and there is no neighbouring power of their own race to which they could wish to transfer their allegiance. The Poles of Galicia have assuredly no wish for annexation by Russia, and the Bohemians would never wish for it unless it should be the only alternative to annexation by Germany. Union with Hungary and Austria is, as things now stand, desirable for both Czechs and Poles. All that the Bohemians wish is that the union should be made on lawful terms, like the union between Hungary and Austria, that the rights of their ancient kingdom should be respected, as the rights of the kingdom of Hungary have been. They wish, in short, to have a common sovereign with Austria, but not to be merged in an "Austrian empire." The position of the Southern Slaves and the Roumans is different, and it has been altogether changed since the establishment of independent Slavonic and Rouman powers on the lower Danube. As long as the only choice lay between Turk and Austrian, the Austrian was naturally preferred as the lesser evil of the two. But now that the Slavonic and Rouman subjects of the Austrian have independent neighbours of their own race close on their borders, a third chance, better than either, offers itself. The position of these lands now is exactly what that of Milan was up to 1859, and Venice up to 1866, what that of the other Italian lands still kept by the House of Austria still is. The Rouman of Transsilvania has no tie to Hungary, whose people do all that they can to wipe out his national being; his tie is to the free Rouman kingdom beyond the border. The Serb in the like sort looks to the Serbian kingdom and the Montenegrin principality; there is nothing to awaken in him any loyalty or affection either to Vienna or to Budapest. Bosnia and Herzegovina rose against the Turk; their reward has been, not union with their free neighbours, but bondage under the

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Austrian. Heroic Montenegro has since, in 1814 and in 1878, been actually despoiled in favour of the House of Habsburg, the rich man, as usual, taking the poor man's ewe lamb. And it is a very strange thing that many who rejoiced each time that the Austrian was driven out of Milan and Venice, look quite calmly on his continued occupation of Ragusa and Cattaro, an occupation equally unjust in itself and equally a thing of yesterday.

Nothing is harder in England than to get real knowledge as to the state of things in these lands. Ordinary travellers, ordinary newspaper correspondents, are constantly misled and mislead others. They see only particular parts of the country or particular classes of people, and from them they leap to very false conclusions about other countries and other classes. Because the ruling races in Hungary and Austria have nothing to complain of, they fancy that the same must be the case with those parts of the "Austro-Hungarian monarchy" which are neither Austrian nor Hungarian. Very hard names are often hurled in English papers at men and nations who are simply standing up for their lawful and historic rights against a foreign intruder. The newspaper correspondents again find that it does not do to publish news which is at all unpleasant to the powers that be. So to do would cut them off from any means of official information. And there is somewhere in the dominions of the House of Habsburg a wonderful power of hiding the truth. Inconvenient facts are in a strange way hindered from getting known. The gallant stand made by the mountaineers of Crivoscia—cruelly parted from their brethren in Montenegro in 1814—against Austrian encroachments on their chartered rights was hardly heard of in this country. Yet the struggle against the oppressor was twice waged —successfully in 1869, unsuccessfully in 1881–2. The former struggle comes within the range of M. Leger's book; the second came later. M. Leger's book, showing,

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as it does, the way in which the various lands concerned came under a common rule, and what is the real and lawful position of each, ought to do something to lessen popular ignorance and indifference about lands whose people deserve English sympathy fully as much as those of other lands about which there has been more talk.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

NOTE BY TRANSLATOR.

THE following translation, made from the third edition of the original work, is not meant for scholars, who will read what M. Leger has to say in his own words, but rather for the general public, which does not care to study the history of a foreign country in a foreign language. Though pains have been taken to render the author's meaning as closely as possible, it does not pretend to be literal, and an apology is due to M. Leger for the omission of one or two short passages, and some allusions which seemed especially meant for his countrymen.

Had it been possible for me to read Mr. Freeman's Preface before I began my work, I should have tried to avoid the use of the phrase "Austrian empire" as a translation of *l'état Autrichien;* as it is, I have used it in the same way as Englishmen use the expression "British empire." Students of Austro-Hungarian history will find the constant use of a good atlas a necessity, and it has therefore not been thought needful to reproduce M. Leger's maps—only one, and that an ethnographical map, being added to the work.

I am indebted for the list of books, and for the note on the pronunciation of certain letters in the Slavonic languages, to Mr. W. R. Morfill, of Oriel College, Oxford, to whom I wish here to express my thanks for the kindness and patience with which he has helped me throughout my work, by reading

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over the proofs in order to correct the spelling of the Slav names. That, in spite of all his care, I have allowed errors to remain, I am only too well aware; but that is my fault, and does not lessen my debt to him. My thanks are also due to Professor W. J. Ashley, of Toronto University, Canada, who has read the whole of the translation, and helped me in many ways; and last, but not least, to Mr. Freeman for his Preface. It only remains for me to express my regret that M. Leger has not found a translator better fitted for the task of arousing interest in the subject he has so closely at heart.

THE TRANSLATOR.

OXFORD, 1889.

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RULES FOR PRONUNCIATION.

THE following rules for the pronunciation of some Slavonic words will be found useful:—

POLISH.

c = *ts*; *cz* = *ch*; *sz* = *sh*; *rz* and *ż* = *zh*; the English *z* in *azure.*

CROATIAN AND SLOVENISH.

c = *ts*; *ć* = an intermediate sound between *ts* and *ch*; *č* = *ch*; *š* = *sh*; *ž* = *zh*, as in Polish.

BOHEMIAN.

c = *ts*; *č* = *ch*; *ř* = *rzh*; *š* = *sh*; *ž* = *zh*, as in Polish.

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ETHNOGRAPHICAL MAP OF AUSTRO-HUNGARY . . . *At end*

ERRATA.

Page 10, line 4, *for* "form part of," *read* "annexed to."
,, 13, line 16, *for* "Marius," *read* "Marcus."
,, 64, line 3, *for* "France," *read* "Burgundy."
,, 89, line 15, *omit* "or Lusatians."
,, 117, Note, *for* "Sandomir," *read* "Sandomiria."
,, 360, line 22, *for* "thirteen hundred square miles," *read* "fifteen hundred square German miles."
,, 362, line 11, *for* "miles," *read* "German miles."
,, 363, line 12, *for* "miles," *read* "German miles."
,, 399, line 3, *for* "province," *read* "duchy."
,, 473, line 5, *for* "Upsilanti," *read* "Ypsilanti."
,, 497, Note, *for* "*Chansones*," *read* "*Chansons*."

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CHAPTER I.

THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE AND ITS CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS.

How the Austro-Hungarian Empire was formed.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great historic memories which are associated with the name of the house of Austria, the Austro-Hungarian empire is one of the youngest among European states. It was not founded till 1804—till the day when Francis II., aware that the German crown was tottering on his head, and that Napoleon was creating for his family an hereditary empire, determined to secure for himself also a title of equal importance, in case Germany should be lost to him. Up to that time, the various elements of the Austro-Hungarian state had preserved their historic individuality. This had not indeed always been duly respected by the Habsburgs in practice, but in principle it had never been seriously disputed.

It has been customary to identify the history of the various states now subject to the house of Austria with the history of the house of Austria itself; this is a mistake which was excusable at a time when the history of a people was supposed to be contained in that of its sovereigns, but which can no longer be pardoned. It is now known that nations have an existence apart from that of reigning families, and that these families, however illustrious may be their origin, are always obliged at last to subordinate themselves to national aspirations.

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The leaders of the French Revolution knew nothing of an Austro-Hungarian state when they declared war against the king of Bohemia and Hungary. When these kingdoms offered their crowns to Ferdinand I. of Austria (1526), they had no intention of subordinating their individuality to an artificial union of alien states. After a free and glorious life under their national kings, they sought in a purely personal union—by taking the ruler of a neighbouring state as their sovereign without any change in their constitutions—to strengthen themselves against Ottoman invasions; they never dreamed of disappearing, either in the unity of the Austrian monarchy, or in that of the empire. Ferdinand I. brought with him only his hereditary possessions, Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Gorica (Görz), Gradiska, part of Istria and the Tyrol; that is to say, a group of German and Slavonic populations, the whole number of which now hardly amounts to five millions, *i.e.* scarcely a seventh of the whole population of the Austro-Hungarian empire. These states, moreover, were neither great enough, famous enough, nor far enough advanced in civilization to justify them in an endeavour to absorb or assimilate the two kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary.

When he accepted the two crowns of St. Vacslav and St. Stephen, Ferdinand undertook to respect the rights and privileges which were attached to them, and he had made a similar promise with regard to Croatia, which was dependent on the Hungarian crown. Thus it was by virtue of a contract freely entered into, and with mutual obligations, that Bohemia, Hungary, and the hereditary provinces of Austria passed under the common rule of the same sovereign.

It must not be forgotten that, at the time of which we are speaking, several of the provinces which now form part of Austria still belonged to neighbouring powers. Galicia, for example, formed part of the kingdom of Poland, from which it was not separated till 1773; Dalmatia was subject to the republic of Venice down to 1797; though in both cases the

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house of Austria has been able to plead as a justification for "re-annexation" certain ancient rights possessed by Hungary and its dependent Croatia.

This rapid sketch will suffice to show that Austro-Hungary is essentially an empire based on historical rights. These rights owe their origin neither to conquest nor to successful revolutions; they are rights the form of which has always been respected by the Government, even when it has disregarded the spirit.

Austro-Hungary possesses neither Geographical Unity, National Unity, nor Natural Frontiers.

In the history of this complex state there is, then, to be found neither the manifest development of a single great nation, as in France or Germany, nor geographical unity, as in Italy, nor an abiding unity of will and aspiration, as in republican Switzerland.

Austria has no natural frontiers, no form determined beforehand by seas, by the course of rivers, or by mountains. The basin of the Danube certainly seems destined to become the seat of a great empire, but only the middle portion of it belongs to Austro-Hungary. Nevertheless, thanks to its position on this river, Vienna has gained for itself one of the foremost places among European capitals, standing as it does almost exactly in the centre of Europe, at an equal distance from Madrid and Moscow, from Stockholm, London, and Constantinople, from Hamburg and Bucharest.

As the geographer Reclus remarks, the Danube and its tributaries do indeed create a sort of unity, from an hydrographical point of view, by joining in the same basin the mountains of Austria and the plains of Hungary; but a large part of the monarchy lies outside the Danubian regions, in the valleys of the Elbe, the Vistula, the Dnieper, and the Adige.

Moreover, while the sea washes certain parts of Austro-Hungary, it does not really belong to her. The complete

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possession of the Adriatic must sooner or later be claimed by Italy, or by the people who shall succeed in uniting the Slavonic groups of the Balkan peninsula.

Neither do mountain ranges form for it a well-defined frontier. The great chain of the Carpathians, which covers the north-east and south-east, leaves the Bukovina, Galicia, and Silesia outside and completely exposed on the north to the attacks of Germany and Russia. Bohemia is protected by the Riesengebirge, the Erzgebirge, and the Böhmerwald, but then Bohemia is also girdled to the south-east by the mountains of Moravia, so that it forms by itself a real geographical whole which may easily be detached in thought from the factitious unity of Austro-Hungary. Towards the south-west, however, the Austrian frontier is better defined by the Alps (which, however, leave Istria outside), by the Adriatic, and by the parallel streams of the Save and the Drave.

If, however, this country of ill-defined boundaries belonged, like her neighbour Germany, to a single race, firm, compact, obedient to common traditions, ready at any sacrifice to aim at a common future, the want of natural boundaries would be of small importance; but this is far from being the case. Besides having no geographical unity, Austro-Hungary presents to us ethnographically also a picture of the most complete anarchy.

We have already pointed out what are the three primary groups of the empire: the German and Slavonic lands known as the Hereditary Provinces, the kingdom of Bohemia, and the kingdom of Hungary, with its dependency the kingdom of Croatia. The partition of Poland in 1772 added to these a new element, Polish Galicia. But even these groups, although they have historic individuality, are far from having any real unity in themselves, so that we have to deal not only with such contests as are produced by claims founded on written law, but also with those to which, in our own century, the idea of nationality has given birth.

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Statistics of the Various Nationalities.

It would be impossible to understand the history of these various groups, their mutual relations, or the true situation of Austro-Hungary, without a clear idea of the statistics of the nationalities who divide the state.

They belong to four different races—the Slav, the Teutonic, the Ural-Altaic, and the Latin. They may be divided approximately as follows :—

Slav race	4,370,000 Chekhs. 2,753,000 Slovaks. 2.341,000 Poles. 2,774,000 Ruthenes. 1,500,000 Slovenes. 3,395,000 Servo-Croats.
Teutonic race ...	7,000,000 or 8,000,000 Germans.
Latin race	600,000 Italians. 2,640,000 Roumanians.
Ural-Altaic race...	5,500,000 Magyars.

These are only approximate figures, for the dominant races take pleasure in swelling their own numbers, while they diminish those of the less favoured.

To these different groups at least one million Jews must be added, scattered all over the empire, and in certain districts preserving all the principal characteristics of their race, even the use of the Hebrew tongue. They exercise considerable influence over the economic conditions of the countries in which they live.

These conflicting elements have not been welded together by time, as, for example, have the Celts, the Gallo-Romans, the Franks, and the Iberians in modern France. They have each preserved their language and their traditions; they live side by side without mingling. The life of an organic body consists in the equilibrium of the simple elements of which it is composed. If this equilibrium is destroyed, the body dies.

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In like fashion, the life of the Austro-Hungarian state depends upon the unstable equilibrium of the various races which make up the empire.

Preponderance mistakenly attributed to the Germans; their distribution among the various Provinces.

Far too prominent a position is usually assigned to the German population of Austria, and this arises from want of knowledge not only of their numbers, but also of the way in which they are scattered over the empire. To call Austria a German state is to use a phrase which is most misleading. The number of Germans is said to be seven or eight millions, and this may be raised to nine millions, if we add to them those Jews to whom German is the mother tongue, and still higher if we count in citizens of other German states resident in the country. But these eight or nine millions are far from forming a compact and homogeneous body. The only entirely German provinces are the two Austrias and the duchy of Salzburg. To this compact mass the Germans of Styria, Carinthia, and the Tyrol, who are mixed in these provinces with Italians and Slovenes, may be regarded as attached. Marburg in Styria, Klagenfurt in Carinthia, and Neumarkt in the Tyrol are the last German towns to the south. The group formed by these five provinces comprises at the most 3,500,000 Germans, and is really the only one which may be considered as belonging to the Greater Germany of Pan-Germanic enthusiasts. Should they one day form part of that Greater Germany in virtue of the principle of nationality, that principle would not allow them to drag with them either the Slavs or the Italians of the Tyrol. Thirty leagues divide the Germans from Trieste, which they consider as their great Adriatic port.

Next come the Germans of Bohemia. They are scarcely two-fifths of the population of the kingdom. They are scattered along the frontiers of Bavaria and Saxony, and the towns of Budweiss (Budejovice), of Pilsen (Plzen), Leitmeritz (Litomerice), and Reichenberg mark the line which separates

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them from the Chekhs. In Moravia, where the majority of the population (nearly 150,000) is Slav, about 50,000 Germans occupy the north of the province. It must be admitted that the Germans of Bohemia and Moravia are more than two millions; but this figure is small compared to that of the Chekh majority, which numbers at least 4,300,000 souls. The Germans of Bohemia, colonists or conquerors, separated from the mother-country by a well-marked geographical boundary, could never dream of attempting to force into a German union that Slav majority which had created and organized the state long before they came to live in it, some as gladly welcomed guests, others as hated invaders. The Germans can never claim Bohemia, as, for example, they claimed Alsace, by virtue of the principle of nationality; and therefore they invoke a pretended historic right belonging to the Holy Roman Empire.

In every other part of the empire the Germans are few in number; they have no special political rights (except among the Saxons of Transylvania, who have ancient privileges), and owe the advantages they possess to the universality of the German tongue, to certain political traditions, or to their scientific or industrial superiority. There are about 234,300 Germans in Silesia, 114,000 in Galicia, 27,000 in Bukovina, 29,700 in Carniola, 200,000 in Transylvania, and 122,700 in Hungary. There is no doubt these figures make up a respectable total, but the importance of this total is singularly diminished when we remember in what fashion these numbers are scattered among Slavs, Magyars, and Roumanians.

Magyars, Slavs, and Latins.

The Hungarians, or Magyars, as they call themselves, are far from occupying the whole of Hungary; the Slavs and Roumanians share it with them. The Magyars are divided into two compact bodies. The first contains about 4,400,000 souls; Hungarian ethnographers say 5,000,000. The towns of Presburg (Pozsony), Kaschau (Kassa), and Munkacs form its frontier to the north, and separate it from the Slovaks

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and Ruthenians. To the east, a line drawn from Munkacs divides them from the Ruthenians and the Roumanians; to the south they stretch as far as Arad and Szombor, and touch the Servians and Croats. The reasons why these Hungarians have been able to subdue the peoples round them are to be found in their central position on the Danube, the unity of a group which is greater than any of those that are near them, and some political and military qualities of great importance. The second Magyar group, that of the Szeklers, wrongly called Sicules (about 500,000 souls), is surrounded by Roumanians, and must doubtless some day be absorbed by them. But their vitality is maintained by constant intercourse with the main body, which is the true kernel of the kingdom of Hungary.

The Slavonic race occupies the north and the south-west of the empire; the Chekhs, the greater part of Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia; the Slovaks, the north of Hungary; the Poles, the north-east of Galicia; the Ruthenians, the rest of Galicia, part of Bukovina, and some districts to the north-east of Hungary.

The Slavs to the north are separated from those to the south-west by the Germans, the Magyars, and the Roumanians. Their geographical division, and the Slavonic dislike to a firm rule, are sufficient to explain why, in spite of their numerical superiority, they have never been able to conquer the Germans or the Magyars, nor even to secure their own admission to complete equality. The southern Slavs are divided into two groups: the Servo-Croatians, who occupy Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Sirmia, the south-western portion of the ancient Banate of Temesvar, and those lands which used to be called, until quite recently, the Military Frontier; and the Slovenes, who inhabit Carinthia, Carniola, and part of Istria and Styria.

The Roumanians are settled in the south-west of Hungary, in Transylvania, and the Bukovina. The Italians form a compact group in Southern Tyrol, and have colonies in all the principal towns of Istria and on the Dalmatian coast.

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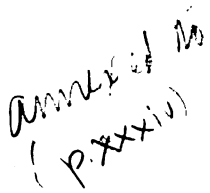
Persistency and Vitality of the National Languages in Bohemia and Hungary.

The vitality and diversity of these races is proved by the variety of literary languages in use among them. These are not languages in such a position of inferiority as, for example, the Basque, or Breton, in France, nor mere dialects such as, for instance, are found in Germany and Italy; but languages complete in themselves, and fixed in their present form by constant use. Austria is a real European Tower of Babel. In it are published newspapers in German, Hungarian, Polish, Ruthenian, Chekh, Slovak, Servo-Croatian, Slovene, Roumanian, and Italian. These newspapers, often written in a tongue which is only understood by the people whose one language it is, frequently represent antagonistic interests; for, in consequence of historic traditions or of the modern idea of nationality, some of these populations are more or less openly attracted towards centres outside the empire; Germans towards Germany, Poles towards Poland, Italians towards Italy, the southern Slavs to their brethren in Turkey, the Roumanians towards Wallachia. The Chekhs and Magyars alone find in the empire the home of their nation and the centre of their destiny. The two great moral forces which keep the other nations in union with the Austro-Hungarian monarchy are, first, the very antagonism of the attractions exercised upon them, and, secondly, a certain traditional loyalty to the dynasty. To these must be added the spirit of *caste*, which, among the servants of the State and in the army, strengthens an artificial patriotism, and, at need, is made to supply its place.

The Emperor of Austria in State papers takes the following titles:—Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and of Bohemia, of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia, of Galicia and Lodomeria (part of Galicia); King of Illyria, Grand-Duke of Austria, of Bukovina, Styria, Carniola, and Carinthia; Grand-Prince of Silesia, Margrave of Moravia, Count of Habsburg and the Tyrol, etc.

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Among all these titles, the only ones which represent real power in the sovereign who bears them are those of Bohemia and Hungary,—Bohemia including Moravia and Silesia, while Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia ~~form part~~ of Hungary,—and yet the history of the two kingdoms of St. Vacslav and St. Stephen, and the ethnographical constitution of the provinces which are ruled by the sceptre of the Habsburgs, have been almost entirely ignored both by the historians of the old school and by ministers of State.



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CHAPTER II.

PRIMITIVE TIMES—THE BARBARIANS AND THE ROMAN RULE—GERMAN INVASIONS.

Pre-historic Times—The Celts—The Illyrians—Conquest by Rome.

VERY little is known of the peoples who inhabited Austria and Hungary before the Christian era. Their history began when the Romans first came into contact with them, and even from that time the information we receive is almost always vague and inexact. The Romans, like the Greeks, were biased by their prejudices when judging of barbarous races, and were in the habit of repeating information more or less authentic without caring to inquire into its truth. They cared little for the early history of nations, accepted all kinds of legends no matter how absurd, and paid no regard to languages which they could not understand.

There is no doubt Austro-Hungary was inhabited during the Stone Age; this is proved by the wrought flints found in Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, Galicia, and in Upper and Lower Austria. Bronze articles are also frequently found. Every one has heard of the interesting discoveries made at Hallstadt in the Salzkammergut, whence is derived the term "Hallstadtian Age," given by anthropologists to a certain period in Alpine history. As primitive iron utensils are also found, we may suppose these various layers to indicate an uninterrupted succession of inhabitants and civilizations from the first ages.

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But it is hard to determine what was the race which lived in these regions in those early days: were they Finns, Iberians, or Aryans? No one knows.

If we set aside the Greek legends about Illyria and the shores of the Adriatic, the first race on the soil of the future Austria of whose existence we have certain knowledge is the Celtic. After having settled themselves, at the end of the great migration of the peoples, in the extreme west of Europe, the Celts flowed back to the centre and east. According to a tradition which it is easier to record than to criticise, in the fourth century B.C. they spread over the space between the Rhine and the Vistula, under the leadership of a chief named Sigovesius, and occupied the country of the Alps and the basin of the Danube. It is known that in the year 335 B.C. Alexander the Great received on the Lower Danube Celtic envoys who offered him peace and friendship. What became of the inhabitants who were conquered by the Celts? Some took refuge among the mountains; others were lost among the conquering race; others (perhaps the Slavs) fled behind the Carpathians, whence we shall see them return later on.

The Celts, under various names, took possession of different districts. The Boii occupied Bohemia, to which they gave their name; the Taurisci established themselves in the country of Salzburg, Styria, and Carinthia; the Scordisci in Croatia and Slavonia; the Ambrones towards the mouths of the Vistula. The bronze boars which have been found in Bohemia are looked upon as the remains of Celtic civilization.

On the shores of the Adriatic the tribes grouped under the general name of Illyrians never blended with the Celts; such tribes as, for example, the Veneti (some have endeavoured to prove that the Veneti were akin to the Slavs), the Carni, and the Japydes. Their piracies attracted the attention of the Romans; and Agron, their king, and later on Teuta, his widow, were conquered and forced to pay tribute. In the year 180 B.C. Aquileia was founded, Istria became a Roman province, and the town of Tergeste (Trieste) was built to serve

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as a check upon the vanquished race. In the year 168 B.C. Genthius, king of the Illyrians, having entered into an alliance with Perseus of Macedonia, was made prisoner; and in the year 129 B.C. Illyria and Dalmatia became Roman provinces. The persistency of classical culture and the use of the Italian language on the Dalmatian coast down to the present time are connected by unbroken tradition with this Roman conquest.

Once masters of the Adriatic coast, the Romans gradually made their way into the interior, and found themselves in contact with the races who lived isolated among the mountains, such as the Taurisci and the Rhaeti, who were related to the Etruscans and then occupied the Tyrol of to-day. The conquering and rapacious spirit of the Romans made it impossible for such contact to be peaceful. In the year 115 B.C. the consul ~~Marius~~ Emilius Scaurus attacked the country of the Taurisci. But as they advanced northwards the Romans came across German tribes. Towards the year 115 B.C. the Cimbri, driven, it is said, from their Baltic home by the inroads of the sea, invaded the south, but were repulsed by the Boii. They then ravaged the lands of the Scordisci and the Taurisci; and when the Romans tried to withstand this devastating torrent, they were defeated at Noreia (in Carinthia, near Klagenfurt) by those barbarians, who were to be crushed beneath the walls of Aix and Verona ten years afterwards (101 B.C.).

From this time the country of the Alps, Bohemia, and the lands in the basin of the Danube were continually threatened by the German races. The Celts were attacked incessantly by the Suevi, Marcomanni, Quadi, and Hermanduri, and were thus hemmed in by the Teutons on the one side and by the Romans on the other. But far from ~~knowing~~ how to meet danger by union, they weakened themselves by endless divisions.

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The Dacians—The Marcomanni in Bohemia—The Roman Conquest.

Whilst the Marcomanni were forcing their way into the country of the Boii, the Dacians, a people living on the banks of the Lower Danube, were forming a powerful state in the country which now includes Eastern Hungary, the Banate of Temesvar, Wallachia, Moldavia, the Bukovina, and Transylvania. To what race they belonged has not yet been decided. We know that they were a warlike people, agricultural and skilled in working in metal, and that they were possessed by an enthusiastic belief in the immortality of the soul which gave them a peculiar energy. In the middle of the first century B.C., these Dacians had a king called Berebistas, an ambitious man, greedy of conquest, and ready to take advantage of the quarrels of his neighbours in order to interfere in their affairs. The Celts gave him a favourable opportunity; war breaking out between the Boii and the Scordisci, the latter begged for the help of Berebistas, marched with his aid against the Boii, and defeated them in spite of their alliance with the Taurisci. The Boii were forced to abandon their country, which long afterwards bore the name of *Boiorum Deserta*, though it was gradually repeopled by the Marcomanni and the Quadi. Berebistas, intoxicated by triumph, was preparing to attack Rome herself, when he was assassinated (45 B.C.) during a popular rising, and the power of the Dacians fell with him.

After the death of Cæsar, the tribes on the Adriatic shores imagined they might be able to recover their independence, and attacked the Roman colonies; but Octavius was not the man to leave such an affront unpunished. Dalmatians, Liburni, Japydes, Carni, Pannonians, Scordisci, Taurisci, one by one fell under his yoke; Siscia (now Sisek), on the Save, received a Roman garrison, and was united to Aquileia by a military road. Later on, Siscia became one of the great military posts of the Romans, the port for their navy on the Save, and their

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centre of action against the Pannonians dwelling in the lands between the Save, the Danube, and the Alps. Shortly after this, the Dalmatians also were conquered.

Rome triumphed; but the empire could not be sure of peace so long as the Alpine tribes remained independent in their mountains, so long as they could give a helping hand to the Germans in their attacks on the common enemy of the barbarians. The Romans had in Pannonia a wide and solid base of operations. The Rhaeti, the inhabitants of the present Tyrol, and the Vindelici, who lived between the Inn and the Lech, were attacked by two Roman armies under the leadership of Drusus and Tiberius; they were conquered after a hard struggle, and became subjects of the empire (13 B.C.), and most of the able-bodied inhabitants were incorporated into the Roman legions or transported into other countries, the mountaineers being forced to cultivate the plain country. To these new provinces Noricum was added without a struggle.

Henceforward the Danube became the frontier of the Roman empire. Behind this frontier, Rome organized the conquered territory, gave to it her laws and her language, and became in time the instrument of its conversion to Christianity. We cannot enter here into any complete details of this powerful organization. Pannonia was placed under the rule of a "legatus consularis," Noricum under that of a procurator; later on, each of these provinces was subdivided. The present district of Carniola was the point of contact between the frontier of Italy, of Noricum, and of Pannonia.

Strong garrisons of from 60,000 to 70,000 men secured the submission of the natives. The chief fortified towns, which were at the same time the seats of government, were: in Pannonia, Sirmium (now called Mitrovica), on the Save; Aquincum (Buda), on the Danube; Siscia (Sisek), at the junction of the Kulpa and the Save; Vindomina or Vindobona (Vienna), on the Danube. The future capital was held by a legion, and, towards the end of the empire, by a squadron of the Danubian fleet. In Noricum the towns were: Celeia

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(Cilly); Petovio (Pettau); and Laureacum (Lœrch). The latter, which was built at the junction of the Enns and the Danube, was of special importance, owing to its commanding the entrance to the valleys of the Tyrolean Alps.

From a date at least as early as A.D. 51, the Save and the Danube were guarded by a fleet, which in the time of Vespasian was very largely increased, and put under the supreme command of an officer at Vindobona.

Three main roads started from Aquileia: one ran eastwards by Emona (Lubljania, Laibach), Petovio (Pettau), Sabaria (Stein-am-Anger), towards Carnuntum (Hainburg); the second, northwards, crossed Virunum, Noreia, Surontium, and Ovilabis (Wels?); the third, westward, led to Aguntum (Innichen), and, by way of the Pusterthal, to Veldidena (Witten, near Insbrück); it then joined the Brenner main road which went from Verona to Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg). At Laibach a great number of secondary roads met. Military boundary-stones can still be seen in many places at distances reckoned from Aquileia, Milan, Sirmium, Bregenz, and Augsburg.

After their conquest of Pannonia, the Marcomanni found themselves in immediate contact with the Romans. The intercourse of the two nations was at first peaceful. The son of the prince of the Marcomanni, Maroboduus, was even educated at the court of Augustus; but after the conquest of Noricum and Rhaetia these friendly relations gave way to distrust. Maroboduus determined to hold his dangerous neighbours in check, and with this end in view occupied Bohemia and Moravia with large bodies of troops, and formed an alliance with the Quadi, a German people settled in Moravia. Taught by Rome, Maroboduus used against her the arts which he had learned from her. He fortified his capital, Maroboduum, and it became the refuge of all who conspired against the foreign rule; and wishing to be a conqueror himself, he attacked a large part of Germany. But Rome would not long tolerate so restless a neighbour. She declared war, and Tiberius marched against him (6 B.C.).

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A revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians obliged Tiberius to make peace and retrace his steps, and it was the Germans who finally undertook the task of destroying the power of Maroboduus. After a bloody struggle he was conquered by Arminius (A.D. 17). Two years afterwards, when his country was invaded by the Goth Kathvalda, he sought refuge among the Romans, and the emperor Tiberius appointed Ravenna as his place of residence.

Up to this time the Romans had not penetrated to the left bank of the Lower Rhine; for that they waited some time longer. The kingdom of Dacia had fallen into anarchy on the death of Berebistas, and on the plain country of the basin of the Tisza (Theiss) several wandering races had appeared whose origin it is hard to determine—Sarmatae, Alani, Roxolani, and Jazyges, who gradually reached the shores of the Danube. Towards the end of the first century, a king Decebalus united these scattered elements into a compact federation, obtained Roman artisans and architects, built fortified places, and worked the rich mines of Transylvania. Emboldened by the success of some fortunate expeditions, he attacked the Romans, destroyed two armies sent against him by Domitian, and obliged him to conclude a shameful peace, by which Rome bound herself to pay tribute to the barbarian, and undertook to furnish him with the workmen of whom he should have need (A.D. 90).

The Goths—Diocletian and Christianity.

Terms such as these Trajan, Domitian's successor, was not likely to fulfil. He refused to pay the tribute, threw two bridges over the Danube (not far from the present town of Orsova), crossed the river, and beat Decebalus on the plains of Temesvar. He then pushed on into Transylvania, where he forced Decebalus to fight a second time under the walls of his capital, Sarmizegethusa. The Dacian king was obliged to make peace and to give up the conquered territory, which included his own capital (A.D. 101). Three years afterwards,

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he tried to renew the war; once more vanquished, he slew himself, and Dacia became a Roman province. The colonists whom Trajan left on the Lower Danube are believed to be the forefathers of the Roumanian nation.

The conquest of Trajan marks the highest point reached by the Roman power in these countries. From the beginning of the second century onward, the German races, who had been for a time kept back by fear of the Romans, again invaded the country, and in the second half of it the waves of this vast flood, which was by-and-by to cover completely the whole empire, began to break down its frontiers. These struggles belong to the history of the Germans. We have only to do with those results which affected Austro-Hungary, only to point out those events which affected the countries which now occupy our attention. The Goths came down from the north, bringing with them the Suevian tribes; and towards the year 165 of our era, the frontiers of the Roman empire were attacked on all sides by the barbarians, who invaded Noricum, Pannonia, Rhaetia, and penetrated as far as Aquileia. In the year 170, the legate Vindex sustained a defeat which cost him no less than 20,000 men. In 175, however, Marcus Aurelius succeeded in stemming the invading torrent, and was even able to conclude an advantageous peace.

But this peace was of short duration. Two years afterwards, the Marcomanni and Quadi revolted, and Marcus Aurelius died at Sirmium, when on an expedition against them. "Had he lived a year longer," says Marcus Capitolinus, "a third campaign would probably have ended in the vanquishing of the barbarians." His son Commodus allowed the Vandals to settle on the banks of the Upper Danube, in the lands which now form Bavaria and Upper Austria. For some years the current of invasion seemed as if it were going to turn back upon the Upper Danube and the Main. But the prestige of Rome had suffered greatly in these endless struggles, and the time had come when emperors were made

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and unmade by armies. Rhaetia and Noricum were again attacked by the Marcomanni, and when Dacia was threatened by the Goths the emperor Maximus tried in vain to withstand them, and they took possession of some part of that country, while the Gepidae and the Burgundians occupied the northern parts of Hungary and Transylvania. Those Goths who were settled on the shores of the Black Sea soon began to ravage Maesia, Thrace, and Macedonia; and though they were defeated at Nissa (Nich) in Moesia by the emperor Claudius, the empire was obliged to abandon the whole of Dacia to the invaders in 274, in spite of all the efforts of Aurelian. The Goths were now masters of the entire province, and proceeded to found a double kingdom on the shores of the Lower Danube and the Black Sea. That of the Westgoths (Visigoths) included Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bessarabia; that of the Eastgoths (Ostrogoths) lay between the Dniester and the Dnieper, on lands which now form part of Russia. It then seemed as if the German element was destined to dominate in these Slav lands.

The soil of Austro-Hungary gave to Rome more than one emperor. Decius was a Pannonian. Probus came from Sirmium, and it was he who introduced the vine into Pannonia. Diocletian was a Dalmatian. He retired to his native country, to Salona, where the ruins of his palace still exist, part of the modern town lying within them. The name of Spalato (Spljet in Slav), derived from Palatium, even without these ruins, would be enough to recall the splendours of the imperial dwelling-place. His reign was marked by his persecution of the Christians. From the first century onwards, fervent adherents to Christianity were to be found on the shores of the Adriatic, and along the Save and the Danube. According to tradition, St. Mark evangelized Aquileia and consecrated as its first bishop St. Hermagoras, whose name is still popular among the Slovenes; the Apostle St. Luke is said to have preached in Dalmatia, and Andronicus, one of the seventy disciples of Christ, to have been the first bishop of Sirmium.

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However that may be, at the beginning of the fourth century Christian communities and an organized clergy are to be found in all the larger towns of Rhaetia, Noricum, Pannonia, and Dalmatia. Under Diocletian, Lauriacum, Siscia, Sabaria, Petovio, and Sirmium were especially remarkable for the fervour of their faith and the constancy of their martyrs.

Diocletian reorganized the government of the Alpine and Danubian provinces. He divided Rhaetia into two (Rhaetia Prima, Rhaetia Secunda, the latter including also Vindelicia); Noricum into two (Noricum Ripense, Noricum Mediterraneum); Pannonia into three, with Carnuntum, Sirmium, and Valeria as their chief towns.

There is no need to relate here how the empire, after having been divided between Constantine and Licinius, on the death of the latter was reunited under Constantine (323). By the edict of Milan, Constantine guaranteed the free exercise of their religion to the Christians, and the Church was able openly to organize itself. In the course of the fourth century Aquileia and Sirmium became the seats of archbishops, to whom the neighbouring bishops were subject. At Sirmium (A.D. 380) and at Aquileia (A.D. 381) were held councils in which the doctrines of Arius, which had made great progress in Pannonia, were condemned.

Constantine divided the empire into four prefectures: those of the East, of Illyria, of Italy, and of Gaul. The two Rhaetias were included in that of Italy; Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Noricum in that of Illyria. The prefect resided at Sirmium (Mitrovica).

During the reign of Constantine, several bands of Sarmatae, led by their king Rausimond, came from the borders of the Sea of Azof, settled themselves on the banks of the Lower Danube, and, aided by the Jazyges, repeatedly ravaged the Roman provinces (319–322). The emperor repulsed them. Later on, the Sarmatae sought help from Rome, and Constantine helped them to repulse the Goths. Later still, we find a band of Jazyges, chased by the Sarmatae, crossing the Danube

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and settling themselves as guests and colonists in Thrace and Macedonia. From this time onwards the slow but steady immigrations of these barbarians continued, and led up to the great invasion of the Slavs, Avars, and Hungarians. Under Constantius (356), the Alemanni, Quadi, and Sarmatae ravaged Rhaetia and Pannonia, but were repulsed with heavy loss (356–359).

In 364, another Pannonian, Valentinian, was chosen emperor. He divided the empire with his brother Valens, himself keeping the three western prefectures, with Milan and Sirmium as his capitals, while Valens took the east and resided at Constantinople. Valens had to beat back Athanaric, the king of the Goths; Valentinian, to repel the Quadi. Goths and Quadi united to attack the Pannonian provinces, and Sirmium had great difficulty in holding her own against them. Valentinian was in treaty with the barbarians when he suddenly died.

The Huns—Attila—The Lombards.

Thanks to the greater strength of her organization and to the spread of Christianity and civilization, Rome had hitherto been able to restrain and absorb the races which pressed her on all sides; but to these was now added a new element, hitherto unknown in Europe, endowed with formidable energy, well disciplined, and more to be dreaded than anything which had been hitherto seen. The Huns had long lived on the great plains which stretch between the Don and the Caspian Sea. In 375, the year of Valentinian's death, they attacked their neighbours the Ostrogoths, crossed the Dniester, spread over the kingdom of the Visigoths, and forced them back upon the Danube. The Visigoths begged for shelter within the boundaries of the empire, and were received; but, being ill-treated by the Roman officers, they repaid this hospitality by revolt, and marched against Valens, who perished in the battle of Adrianople (378). Theodosius put a stop to their successes, and by wily treaties incorporated

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some of them in the Roman army, while he scattered the rest over the provinces of Thrace, Maesia, and Asia Minor. Those of Thrace remained faithful and defended the empire against the Huns.

After the destruction of the two kingdoms of the Goths, the Huns occupied the whole of the country between the Dnieper and the Danube; they ended by crossing the latter stream and taking possession of a part of Pannonia. Their invasions had driven away the various races whom they had met on their road; but in the perpetual changes of this epoch, they had no time to form new states, and pushed on to the attack of Italy. On the death of Theodosius, the empire was divided between his sons Honorius and Arcadius (395), and was never again united. The two rival divisions quarrelled, and the Huns made use of these quarrels to offer their services to the one who would pay them best. The emperor Theodosius II. was obliged to give them an annual tribute of 350 pounds of gold, afterwards increased to 700 pounds.

In the year 437, on the death of their king, Ruja or Roas, the command of the Huns fell to his nephew, Attila or Etzel, whom the Middle Ages called, in their terror, the Scourge of God. He united his people more closely, and led them on terrible expeditions against Pannonia, Maesia, Thrace, and Macedonia, before invading Italy and Gaul. By him Sirmium was destroyed, and it has never since been able to rise from its ruins. In the year 447 the empire abandoned Sirmia to Attila, and undertook to pay him a heavy tribute. His two expeditions into Italy and Gaul are well known. He returned to die in his camp between the Danube and the Theiss (Tisza).

The Hungarians, who belong to the same family of nations as the Huns, see in Attila one of their most glorious ancestors. Some of their historians praise him enthusiastically. In the thirteenth century, the chronicler Kezai divided his *Gesta Hungarorum* into two books: the Arrival, which is that of Attila; the Return, which is that of Arpad (see chap. v.).

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The modern historian Boldenyi exclaims: "Who does not see in him a forerunner of Napoleon? When a prince has no Homer, says Fénélon, it is because he is not worthy to have one. If that be true, what shall we say of Attila, who had twenty Homers, who is renowned in every nation of Europe, and whom Raphael himself has not disdained to paint?" To this day the "Attila" is the national dress of the Magyar nobleman. By a strange freak of fortune the secretary of Attila, a citizen of Petovio, was the father of the last of the Caesars, Romulus Augustulus.

The empire of Attila did not outlive him; his sons were unable to defend it against the Germans, and were obliged to return to the first home of their race on the shores of the Black Sea. The Ostrogoths remained masters of Pannonia; the Visigoths and the Gepidae, of the basin of the Theiss and of Transylvania.

The Roman empire was soon to disappear. There remained to it outside Italy only Dalmatia, Rhaetia, and Noricum; the Alemanni and the Thuringians ravaged its provinces and settled themselves beyond the Danube, while the other German races continued alternately to advance and retire. By this time the Marcomanni and the Quadi have disappeared, and the Rugi have taken their place in Moravia and Lower Austria; the Heruli are in possession of Higher Hungary; the Ostrogoths of Pannonia press on into Maesia, and in 476 Odoacer destroys the Empire of the West.

Theodoric took possession of Italy and extended his rule over Dalmatia, Noricum, and Rhaetia. The Germans who were settled in the latter province recognized his authority; but for them the country would have contained nothing but ruins. In the following century Justinian avenged the Western Empire, and reconquered these provinces, together with Italy. A new people, the Lombards, had lent him aid in these expeditions, and were settled by him in Pannonia and Noricum, which they had to defend against the Gepidae. Their king, Alboin, sought allies in this struggle among the Avars, a

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people akin to the Huns (565), and with their help drove out the Gepidae. Soon after, the emigration of the Lombards into Italy left these Avars sole masters of the Danubian territory.

This emigration of the Lombards into Italy put an end to the ceaseless wanderings of the German races over the Danubian lands. Like a whirlwind, they had in turns passed over them without creating either an empire or a civilization; they had entirely destroyed all trace of Roman culture, and had then turned southwards to seek the country "Wo die Citronen blühn." One or two fertile districts only, such as the Tyrol with its mountains, Salzburg, and Upper Austria, had tempted them to remain. The Avars might have been able to found something more lasting; but as the Germans retired, they were followed by a migration more important, that of the Slavs, who were to bring new life to the countries of the Elbe and Danube.

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CHAPTER III.

THE MIGRATIONS OF THE SLAVS.

Origin of the Slav Race—The Chekhs—The Danubian Slavs.

NOTWITHSTANDING the numerous researches of the present century, the origin of the Slav races is still wrapt in mystery. Traces of them have been sought for in the basin of the Danube and of the Upper Elbe, long before the time when they really make their appearance in history. We cannot, in a book of this kind, insert a whole series of conjectures which are based only on philological inductions. One fact, however, is certain, and that is that when the Slavs first appear they are not a conquering race. They occupied and defended against the Finns the immense plains which stretch behind the Carpathians, the Vistula, and the Dnieper; broken up into separate tribes, and caring little to enter into any relations, peaceful or warlike, with either Romans or Teutons, they long remained unknown. They had no Caesar like the Gauls, no Tacitus like the Germans, to relate their history or search their annals. Perhaps they were known to the ancient world under the mysterious names of Veneti and Sarmatae; perhaps some of them might have been found among other nations of whom we do possess some information more or less authentic, such as the Huns, Goths, etc. We know nothing certain, owing to the little attention which the ancients paid to ethnography and language. All we can say is, that gradually as the Germans advanced southwards and eastwards, the Slavs occupied the

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lands they abandoned, and the countries between the Elbe and the Oder were at one time inhabited by the Slavs, who again, later on, were to disappear before German reconquest.

At an unknown date, but doubtless towards the middle of the fifth century, another branch of the Slavs, the Chekhs (Cechy), left Galicia proper, and penetrated into the mountain quadrilateral now known as Bohemia. History finds but little that is true among the legends that are told of this migration. But these legends are so dear to the hearts of the Chekh nation, and play so great a part in the struggle for existence which even now it has to carry on, that it is impossible to pass them over in silence. According to these traditions, there were formerly three brothers, Cech, Lech, and Rous. Lech, at the head of the Slav tribe, quitted the home of his race, reached Bohemia, and there gave his name to a new land. A tradition, which, however, has nothing to support it, makes Mount Rip, near the town of Roudnice (Roudnitz), the first halting-place of the Slavs in Bohemia. Believers even point out the very spot where the great ancestor (*praotec*) of the race, Cech, was buried. According to the same story, Cech was a native of Greater Croatia; that is to say, of the country lying at the foot of the Carpathians, towards what is now Galicia. From this mythical personage is traditionally derived a race-name, which no one has yet been able to explain, that of *Cech* (Chekh). Curiously enough, the Latin chroniclers of the Middle Ages were altogether ignorant of this name, and persisted in calling the people who bore it Bohemians, and thus the Slavs of Bohemia inherited the name of the Boii whom they had displaced.[1]

The Slavs of Moravia, no doubt, soon followed in the track of their kinsfolk; then came those Slavs who had hitherto remained peacefully behind the Carpathians, but who now gradually invaded first Upper Hungary and Lower Austria on all sides, and then Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania, where they came in contact with the few remaining Dacians,

[1] Compare the use of the term *Britons* for Englishmen.

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who had been Romanized by the Roman colonists, and blending with them formed the first elements of the Roumanian nation. Although the history of these Slav migrations remains obscure, they seem to have had a distinct character of their own which distinguishes them from the German migrations.

The Slavs and the Avars—Samo (627–662).

The Germans had invaded countries which had been conquered by the Romans, and ruled over peoples whom they had found there; the Slavs, on the other hand, took possession of lands which the Germans had abandoned. They had no need to do so by force of arms; their invasion was entirely peaceful. But they were not long allowed to remain in quiet possession of that which they had so easily gained; they were obliged to defend it against most pitiless invaders, among whom were the Avars (Obri). The Avars first conquered the Slav tribe of the Dudlebes in the present Galicia, between the Bug and the Styr; then, led by their *chagán*, the terrible Bajan, a new Attila, they crossed the Carpathians and conquered the tribes of Moravia and Bohemia. Encouraged by this success, their attacks soon reached Pannonia and the Frank kingdom (563–568). During these invasions the Slavs had to suffer from the Avars what the Germans had previously had to bear from the Huns. The plains of Hungary lying between the Danube and the Theiss became the seat of the Avar power, and large fortified camps, called *Hrings*, sheltered the invaders against all attack. The Slavs had to pay them tribute, and to furnish them with soldiers, and at times were transplanted by them from one district to another.

It was thus that Pannonia and Noricum were peopled by Slav colonists, who became the ancestors of the Slovenes. These, so to speak, Avarized Slavs came down as far as Friuli, where their descendants are to be found to this day, speaking a language which still bears traces of some Ural-Altaic influence. Those Slavs who settled in the valley of the Enns and of the Mur became known as Carinthian Slavs.

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Sure of the obedience or help of the Slavs, Bajan next ventured to attack the Eastern empire, conquered Sirmia (584), and made it the base of operations against Byzantium, and, later on, against Dalmatia and Istria. In 599, he reached Constantinople, and might have taken it had not a pestilence broken out in his army. This second Attila died in 603. Quarrels broke out among his heirs; the Slavs who had been conquered demanded their freedom, and prepared for revolt; and it was at this moment that a mysterious personage, named Samo the Merchant, first appeared. He is said by Fredegar to have been a Frank, who had come to trade among the Slavs. A later writer, an anonymous historian of the conversion of the Bavarians and Carinthians, calls him a Carinthian Slav; but his nationality is left uncertain by all authentic documents, though, according to Fredegar, he was a native of the *pagus Sennonagus* (the country round Soignies in Hainault?). The most that we can guess is that he belonged to some Slav tribe subject to the Franks, and mistakenly identified with them, as in our day the Chekhs are often confounded with the Germans of Austria, or the Croats with the Hungarians. However that may be, Samo, whether he were Slav, Frank, or Roman by birth, made common cause with the people who offered him their leadership; his rule spread over all the tribes of the Vends and Slavs, and, says Fredegar, "for five and twenty years he governed them happily. In his reign the Vends fought several battles against the Huns, and, owing to his prudence and courage, were always victorious. Samo had twelve wives chosen from the nation of the Vends, and had twenty-two sons and fifteen daughters." Gradually Samo became so dangerous a neighbour to the Franks, that there could not fail to be a collision. "In the year 630, the Slavs," writes Fredegar, "slew a number of Frank merchants in the kingdom of Samo, and stripped them of their goods. Thus began the quarrel between Dagobert and Samo. Dagobert sent Sicarius to this king to ask for justice. Samo did not wish to see Sicarius, and would not allow him to enter his

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presence, but he managed to get to him disguised in the dress of a Slav, and delivered the message he bore from Dagobert. Samo, however, would repair none of the wrong committed, and said only that he intended to have the matter tried, so that justice might be done both in these matters and in others that had arisen about the same time. The enraged envoy had recourse to threats and declared that Samo and his people owed submission to the king of the Franks. Samo replied angrily, 'The land we dwell in is Dagobert's, and we are his men, but only so long as he lives in friendship with us.' Sicarius answered, 'It is not possible for the Christian servants of God to be the friends of dogs;' on which Samo replied, 'If you are the servants of God, we are the dogs of God; and because you continually go against His will, we have received permission from Him to rend you with our teeth,' and ordered Sicarius to be driven from his presence." Dagobert declared war on Samo, and made an alliance with the Lombards; he attacked the Chekhs, whilst the Lombards made war on the Slovenes of the Julian Alps. Samo collected his forces at Wogastiburg (doubtless Tugost [Taus], on the western frontier of Bohemia), and there was fought a battle which lasted three days, and in which, as Fredegar himself confesses, the Franks were cut to pieces. They returned to their own country, leaving behind them in their flight even their tents and baggage.

This success increased the fame of Samo, and a prince of the Sorabes, or Slavs of the Elbe, submitted himself and his tribe to his rule. But Samo died in 658, and on his death the edifice of his power crumbled to pieces; the Slav chiefs would recognize no central power, and anarchy once more reigned amongst them. Modern Slav historians are inclined to exaggerate the importance of this mysterious personage, Samo; they wish to see in him the first representative of that Slav unity which they are only able to guess at in the past, or dream of for the future. But Samo possessed true political genius and a talent for organization, which appear to have been foreign to the race in the earlier ages of its history, and

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which would seem to prove that he was not a Slav. He might have played the same part in the history of the Chekhs and the Slovenes, as the Norman Varangians in that of primitive Russia.

The conquests of Samo had not, however, completely destroyed the power of the Avars. Shut in by him on the west, they turned with all the more vigour against the Eastern empire, attacked Constantinople, ravaged Dalmatia and destroyed its towns, and, putting all the inhabitants to death, imagined themselves to be in secure possession of their new lands. Heraclius, however, threatened on one side by the Avars, on the other by the Mussulmans, determined to repeople the desert countries of the Adriatic and the Save, by settling on them new races who would have to defend the lands occupied by them, and who would doubtless become converts to the Christian faith.

The Servians and Croats (634–638).

Which race should be chosen? Naturally he turned to that which had been subdued and shamefully ill-treated by the Avars; and two Slav peoples, the Croats and the Servians, became the instruments of the imperial policy. They had settled themselves to the north of the Carpathian mountains, where they were continually menaced by the Germans and the Mongols. Proposals were first made to the Croats, and one tribe answered to the appeal; Heraclius sent them to attack Dalmatia. The Avars, taken by surprise, were everywhere forced to retreat, and a war, lasting a few years, ended in the destruction of a large part of the Avar population and the enslavement of the rest. Heraclius then turned to the Servians, and induced one of the chiefs of that nation to bring half the tribes from the north of the Danube to settle in parts of Thessalonica. Discontented, however, with his lot, this chief returned home; but the prospect of a struggle with the Avars made him wiser and less exacting. He implored pardon, and appealed to the kindness of the emperor, who

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granted him the deserted districts of Upper Moesia, Lower Dacia, and Dardania.

Thus were established on the ruins of the Avar race two new nations, who founded flourishing states, which, in spite of various vicissitudes, have lasted to our day. We have no certain information of the date of this migration, but it appears to have taken place about the year 635 or 638. The Chekhs maintain that the very name of their leader is known; while the Croats, quoting Constantine Porphyrogenitus, tell us that they were led by five brothers, Kluka, Lobel, Kosenec, Muhlo, and Hervat, and two sisters, Tuga and Vuga. We mention these names because poetry has endeared them to a nation whose present is deeply rooted in the past. In their own tongue these two races were called Serbi and Hervati. The land they occupied was roughly marked out by the Adriatic to the west, and by the three rivers, the Drin to the south, the Save to the north, and the Morava to the east. The frontier between the Servians and Croats was uncertain and fluctuating, and their language was the same; the small differences which exist between them at the present day have been produced by historical events. To the one race Christianity came from Rome, to the other from Byzantium; Latin became the language of the Church of the former, while that of the latter remained faithful to the Slav idiom; and their history reflects the struggle between the two ecclesiastical capitals.

There had remained in Dalmatia a Roman element which the Avars had not been able completely to destroy. This disappeared before the new colonists, and took refuge in the islands and a few towns on the coast—in Ragusa (Rausium); in Spalato, which had been built on the ruins of Salona, destroyed by the Avars; in Zara (Jadera) and Trau (Tragurium). When the Croats freed themselves from the nominal suzerainty of Byzantium, these islands and towns still remained subject to it. Down to the present day, the old Roman tradition, kept alive by Italian influence, survives in them, and from it have arisen political and literary conflicts with the Slav race of the interior.

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The emperor and the pope lost no time in converting the new colonists to Christianity, and were able to do so with greater ease than might have been expected. In the space of about five and twenty years the Croats had become Christians, and, if we may believe Constantine Porphyrogenitus, had entered into a solemn engagement, swearing by St. Peter never to attack other men's lands, and to live at peace with the peaceful; in return the pope threatened with his curse all who should attack them. Spalato was their first metropolis. The Croats of the Save cannot have been converted so early as those of Dalmatia; they were still occupied with their struggles against the Franks and Avars, and when they accepted Christianity it came to them from the distant Church of Aquileia.

The series of Slav migrations into the lands now forming the Austro-Hungarian state closes with the arrival of the Croats and Servians. These migrations were distinguished, as we have already remarked, by their peaceable character. The Slavs did not rush down on the cultivated lands, attracted by the riches of the soil, by the thirst for conquest, or the mildness of the climate. Their advances were made peaceably, and they usually took possession of those districts which had been abandoned by their inhabitants. Descending from their home on the further side of the Carpathians, from the valleys of the Danube and the Vistula, they took the place of the Marcomanni in Bohemia, of the Heruli and Gepidae in Moravia. Sometimes, like the Slovenes, who peopled Carinthia and Carniola, they allowed themselves to be enrolled in the armies of their conquerors; sometimes, like the Servians and Croats, they simply occupied lands which had been offered to them. Nowhere do we find among them the spirit of pillage, the love of conquest; nowhere, except in the case of Samo, do we find any idea of a powerful organization founded either on unity of race or on religious ideas. At the time we have now reached, that is to say, about the middle of the seventh century, they possessed almost the whole of the present Austro-

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Hungary—the valley of the Elbe, the central valley of the Danube, and the shore of the Adriatic. These lands they had to defend against the Avars and the Germans, until there came, from the steppes of the Oural, that Magyar race which was to introduce a new element into these regions, where it was little expected. Unhappily the Slavs, far from having any genius for war or organization, have a natural antipathy to government. But before entering on any details of their history, or of their attempts, more or less successful, to found independent states, we must give a brief account of their manners and customs, of their primitive constitution, and of their religion.

Manners, Customs, and Religion of the Slavs.

As we have just seen, only a very small part of the present Austrian dominions was at first occupied by the Slavs; that is to say, the province of Galicia, which is now divided between Russians, or Ruthenes, and Poles. The valleys of the Dnieper and the Vistula seem to have been the cradle of the race. Half a century before the Christian era, the geographer Pomponius Mela observes that the Vistula was the boundary of Sarmatia. The name which we now give to the Slavs was not originally borne by the whole race; it belonged only to the northern tribes living in the Russia of to-day, towards the Valdai plateau. Those Slavs who lived near the Carpathians were called Serbs. The importance of this name will strike us if we recall the frequent mention of the Sorabes in German history; it is still borne by the Servians of Turkey, and by their distant kinsmen in Saxon and Prussian Lusatia. The dialects spoken at Bautzen and at Belgrade are so different, that two Slavs from these two towns, brought suddenly face to face, would be unable to understand each other, and yet both call themselves Serbi. History has preserved, more or less incorrectly, the names of a large number of Slav tribes whom there is no need here to enumerate. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that the Germans, in the Latin chronicles,

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give to the Slavs the name of Vends (Wenden, Veneti), and that they still use it to describe the Slavs of certain districts. The epithet *Windisch*, added to certain names of places, recalls a Slav origin.

According both to written documents and observations which can still be made in certain districts, the government of the family among the Slavs was entirely patriarchal. The family lived in common around its chief or elder (*stareshina*). The men cultivated the ground, the women were occupied with domestic work. The elder represented all tribal interests, offered sacrifices to the gods, and apportioned to each his share of labour. The members of the tribe all bore the same name, which was taken from that of its founder. This name always ended in *ici*, pronounced *itsi* or *itchi*. This termination still plays a great part in the geographical names; for example, the descendants of Lobek were called Lobkovici, whence the name Lobkowitz, the name of a family well known in Bohemian history. Such family names sometimes became those of the villages they inhabited. When a family grew too large, it sent out colonies, who in their turn took the name of their leaders, and founded new communities. The union of a certain number of families constituted a tribe. Most usually the tribe took its name from some feature of the land it lived in; thus the Poles were the dwellers on the plain (*pole*); the Rietchanes were dwellers by the stream (*reika*); the Drevlianes the inhabitants of the forest (*drevo*, wood). Occasionally it was taken from some pursuit practised by the tribe, as the Roudnici, the miners. The common interests of the tribe were discussed in meetings held by the heads of families. The chief filled all the most important offices; he was priest, judge, and leader of the armies. A few privileged chiefs (Lechs, Vladyks, etc.) formed a kind of aristocracy whose right it is hard to define. Among the Slavs the love of liberty seems to have been stronger than any wish for law or order. Procopius says, "They are not governed by a single man, but live as a democracy." "They are without government and hate one another," said the

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emperor Maurice. The well-known saying of Tacitus may be applied to them: "I love rather a dangerous freedom than a peaceful slavery." How many troubles have come upon Poland owing to the custom of the *liberum veto*, that is, the necessity that every decision of the diets should be taken on a unanimous vote, one single opposing voice paralyzing all legislation! Traces of this custom are to be found in other Slavonic peoples.

Each tribe had a fortified enclosure, which was used as a place of shelter, or as the basis of attack in time of war. This was called *grad* (the strong), and this word is still to be found in that of some German towns, which were at first Slavonic and were then gradually Germanized, as the town of Gratz in Styria. The names of towns, rivers, and tribes, and of the features of the ground are almost identical in all Slavonic lands, however widely separated from one another.

Gradually these tribes were united, sometimes as a means of defence, sometimes as the result of intestine warfare which resulted in the submission of the conquered. Thus nations were formed; thus the Chekhs took possession of the whole of Bohemia; thus the Russians of Novgorod came at last to give their name to an immense empire. With the birth of nations came that of monarchy, which ended by becoming the monopoly of a ruling family; women even were admitted to the honours of royalty; national dynasties were founded. But to the Slavs the idea of equality was too dear to allow monarchical institutions to develop easily. The members of the royal family obtained appanages, in which they tried to maintain a position of the greatest independence; hence the internal wars of which the history of the early Slavonic monarchies is so full. The idea of heredity and the right of primogeniture had not yet appeared.

As we have already stated, the first Slavs were not conquerors, but rather cultivators of the soil. The very nature of the vast plains on which they dwelt directed their efforts and led them to cultivate corn and raise cattle. They seem to

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have had little taste for life among mountains; to have early learnt the use of agricultural tools, such as the plough and spade; to have kept bees, and to have known how to make beer and hydromel.

The comparative study of the Slav dialects enables us to guess what degree of perfection the domestic arts had reached. There is no need to prove that the words which are common to these various dialects form the basis of the Slav tongue as it was spoken before the separation of the tribes, that is to say, in pre-historic times. They are sufficient to show that the Slavs not only cultivated the ground, but that they knew how to practise, no doubt in clumsy fashion, some industries which are unknown to those people whom we call savages. They were acquainted with iron and the commoner tools which are made of it; with gold, silver, copper, and utensils wrought out of these metals; they knew how to weave vestments of linen, and even glass was to be found among them. It is possible that some among them were acquainted with a rude kind of writing. "They read and calculated with strokes and notches," says an ancient witness. They had no share, however, in any literary civilization until they came under the influence of Western Christianity; nor had they any aptitude for trade, but willingly left it in the hands of foreigners; and this is a noticeable feature of the race down to the present time.

They knew how to make war, though they cared little for fighting. We have already learnt that they built fortified enclosures to defend their frontiers. They knew how to use the sword, the lance, the bow, the helmet, and the shield. Amongst them, conquering tribes were rare, and the old historians usually paint in favourable colours the manners of these peaceful folk. They tell us that they were kind, industrious, hospitable, chaste, and passionately fond of music and song. Their women were held in respect, and were chosen sometimes to lead the family, the tribe, and even the nation. Polygamy was met with occasionally, but it was the exception.

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They had laws, tribunals, and trials by ordeal; at the same time, private revenge, as it exists nowadays in Corsica and Montenegro, appears to have had, among the early Slavs, all the force of an institution sanctioned by custom.

The conversion of the Slavs of the present Austro-Hungary to Christianity, as we shall see later on, was effected without any struggle and almost without any difficulty. Nevertheless, they had a religious system of their own considerably developed, though it does not seem to have been of a kind to produce fanaticism. It readily made way for Christianity, directly the new faith came to them by means of friendly apostles and not through conquering missionaries; as we have already seen was the case with the Croats, who were baptized as soon as they had taken possession of their new country.

Among the Slavs of the Elbe and of Russia, paganism developed into a complicated system, but it would take us long to learn all the gods of their Pantheon, and we find hardly any trace of these divinities among our Slavs of Bohemia, Moravia, and Carniola. Nowhere would it seem that they worshipped deified men, or recognized a blind power in Fate.

"The religion of the ancient Slavs," says M. Jirecek, "was a true worship of Nature. According to them, the world was peopled with superior beings, who were good (*bozi*) or bad (*biesi*). The good were the most powerful, the *biesi* could only act by their permission. Health, happiness, and victory were all the work of the good; sickness, wretchedness, defeat were due to the *biesi*. In the winter time, however, the *biesi* got the upper hand. Sacrifices and vows were offered to the gods to propitiate them. These beings formed a vast society like that of human beings; they were all the sons of one greater than them all. The highest god was the god of heaven, Svarog; the sun and fire were his sons, and together bore the father's name, and were called Svarozici. Among the other gods, the more important were Veles, god of flocks, and Vesna, called also Siva or Lada, the goddess of spring and of fruitfulness. Among the *biesi* we must mention Morana, goddess of winter

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and o death; Tras, demon of terror; and Stribog, demon of the tempest; and, among inferior beings, the *Vilas*, nymphs, and the *Vjedi*, who dwelt in the air, and the *Jezdibaby*, sorcerers who dwelt on the earth, ought to be mentioned. The eclipses of the sun and moon were supposed to be the work of the Vjedi.

"A belief in vampires was common to all the Slavs. They believed the soul to be immortal; after having quitted the body, she flew from tree to tree until the body had been burned, and then she went to the Home of Shadows, which the Slavs called *Nav*, and which they pictured to themselves as a region of green fields and groves. In *Nav* every one occupied a position similar to that which he had held during his life; if he died before the other members of his family, he found himself alone and deserted. Hence arose the custom of wives causing themselves to be burnt on the funeral fires of their husbands. There are also indications of a belief in a place of sojourn with the *biesi*, as well as of a home with the gods."

Excepting the Slavs of the Elbe, none of the tribes had temples or priests. The head of the family or of the tribe, the prince, offered the sacrifices to the gods, and these consisted of animals, especially oxen, which were burned; the sacrificial fire was lighted on mountain tops, or other high places. Forests were the usual places of worship; in them images of the gods were raised, and objects of sacrifice were placed under the trees.

The great festivals of the year were that of the winter solstice, when vast sacrifices were offered to the gods of earth and water; that of the Renewal, when *Morana* (Winter) was burned under the form of a manikin, and *Vesna* (Spring) was carried in triumph; and that of the summer solstice, when sacrifices were offered to the sun and to fire. Besides these, there were frequent festivals during the summer in honour of the sun and fire, and in commemoration of the dead.

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CHAPTER IV.

MORAVIA AND THE SLAV APOSTLES.

The Chekhs, Moravians, and Carinthians—Early Legendary History of Bohemia.

THE long series of migrations which took place on the soil of the future state of Austro-Hungary does not close with the settlement of the Slavs in the valleys of the Upper Elbe, Middle Danube, and Save. We shall soon have to do with a new element, that of the Magyars, which had so decisive a part to play in the history of these regions. Then we shall see how the German race, led by able and fortunate chiefs, in time gained the ascendency over Slavs and Magyars alike. At the time of which we are now writing this German race dwelt only in the extreme western corner of these lands, and had by turns to struggle with the Slavs of Bohemia, Moravia, Carinthia, and Istria, and the Avars. We shall return to its history when it begins to play an important part in the Danubian territories, leaving all details of German history, strictly so called, on one side. The annals of the Chekhs, Moravians, and their Slav relations, during the two centuries which passed between the death of Samo and the Hungarian invasion, contain a certain number of interesting episodes which are generally but little known. These we will briefly narrate.

On the death of Samo, the Slav empire, which he had so quickly succeeded in founding, broke into three portions:

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i. Bohemia, whose geographical form evidently marks her out for an independent and homogeneous state; ii. Moravia, including, besides the province of that name, the country now inhabited by the Slovaks and the regions of the Middle Danube; iii. the country of the Korutanian or Carinthian Slavs,—Carinthia, Carniola, the north of Styria, and some parts of Lower Austria on the right bank of the Danube.

The history of these various nations during the second half of the seventh and the first half of the eighth centuries is exceedingly obscure. The account of the rise of Bohemia in the Latin and Chekh chronicles is fabulous, and only owes what reality it possesses to that religious faith in it which patriotism and poetry have inspired. It is a curious fact that Bohemian legends know nothing of Samo, who played so great a part in the annals of the country. The first prince mentioned by them is a certain Krok, who is said to have reigned in the second half of the seventh century; this mythical personage appears to offer some analogy with the Krakus of the Poles. Krok had three daughters, who are still dear to popular memory: Kazi, who possessed a knowledge of the secrets of nature; Teta, who was versed in the sacred rites and things religious; and Libusa (pronounced *Libusha*), who on the death of her father was chosen to rule his lands. Notwithstanding that wisdom with which tradition endows her, she felt herself too weak to govern a turbulent people alone, and chose for her husband the labourer Premysl of Stadice; he accepted the hand of the princess, and repaired to the castle of Vysehrad, near Prague, carrying with him the rustic sandals which he had worn. Tradition still points out the field where this Cincinnatus of the Slavs received the invitation to leave his plough, and at the beginning of our century a monument was there raised to him. Premysl became the founder of a royal dynasty which ruled over Bohemia down to the year 1306. The chroniclers praise his wisdom and that of his wife Libusa: To her they attribute the founding of Prague on the right bank of the river Vltava, called the Moldau by the Germans; they

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also tell us the names of the first successors of Premysl, the princes Nezamysl, Mnata, Vojen, Unislav, Kresomysl, Neklan, and Hostivit, but they tell us nothing of the events of their reigns. The German annals supply us with a few facts. In the year 791 the Chekhs allied themselves with Charles the Great against the Avars; towards the year 806 the Franks invaded Bohemia with three armies, and forced the inhabitants to pay tribute; in 845, fourteen Bohemian nobles were baptized at Regensburg. But Bohemian history has no real existence before the reign of Borivoj, who was baptized towards the end of the ninth century. Christianity entered Bohemia by way of Moravia. It may seem strange that for three centuries it had made no progress, but the reason of this phenomenon is not far to seek. The Chekhs had had many a struggle with the Germans, and would be little inclined to receive kindly the gospel which came to them through the hands of German apostles; Christianity meant nothing but conquest and slavery, when it came to them through such missionaries. On the accession of Charles the Great, an alliance offensive and defensive had been entered into by the Papacy and the Franks; the Frank monarch lent the pope the help of his armies, the pope lent the monarch all the prestige of his spiritual power; together they meant to conquer the world, by the sword and by the cross. What wonder that the sword roused hatred against the cross! The example, also, of the Saxons, and of the Slavs of the Elbe, was not likely to encourage the Chekhs to embrace the new religion. When, however, it came to them through the Slav missionaries, without any suspicion of conquest, it was easily able to obtain over them the salutary influence it had already gained over the races of the west and the south.

Moravia—Rostislav (846)—*Cyril and Methodius* (863–885)—*The Slav Church.*

Less fortunate than Bohemia, her neighbour Moravia has not even a legendary history. Her name appears for the first

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time at the beginning of the ninth century, under its Slav form, Morava (German *March*, *Moehren*). It is used to denote at the same time a tributary of the Danube and the country it waters; it is met with again in the lower valley of that stream, in Servia, and appears to have a Slav origin. During the seventh and eighth centuries there is no doubt Moravia was divided among several princes, and had a hard struggle against the Avars. The first prince whose name is known was Moïmir, who ruled at the beginning of the ninth century; like the Chekh Premysl, he gave his name to a dynasty. During his reign Christianity made some progress in Moravia, and Adalram, archbishop of Salzburg, who was metropolitan of Passau, consecrated a church at Nitra, the oldest Christian church which is heard of among the Moravians. Moïmir was at war with another Moravian prince, Privina, who later on obtained a fief on lake Balaton (*Blato*, mud, in Slav, German *Plattensee*) from Louis the German. Privina, apparently out of hatred to Moïmir, showed great sympathy with the Germans and their missionaries, and it is known that he became a convert to Christianity. He was assassinated in 860, and was succeeded by his son Kocel. Moïmir tried to withstand the Germans, but was not successful; and in 846 Louis the German invaded his country, deposed him, and made his nephew Rostislav, whom the chroniclers call Rastiz, ruler in his stead.

Christianity had penetrated into Moravia, but it was not until it possessed a national clergy that the new religion made any rapid progress. The people, as we have already said, distrusted the German preachers, and, knowing nothing of Latin, could neither understand the German sermons nor the Roman liturgy. As late as 852, the Council of Mainz pointed out Moravia as a land still knowing little of Christianity: *rudis adhuc christianitatis.*

The new prince, Rostislav, determined to secure both the political and moral freedom of his country. He fortified his frontiers and then declared war against the emperor. He was

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victorious, and when once peace was secured he undertook a systematic conversion of his people. Thus came about one of the great episodes in the history of the Slavs and their Church, the mission of the apostles Cyril and Methodius.

The Slavs of the Danubian valley had already come into contact with both the great centres of Christianity, Rome and Constantinople; and the great schism between them had not as yet taken place. But Rome, with all her zeal, could only send to the Slavs foreign missionaries, who were either ignorant or distrusted by the people; Constantinople, on the contrary, was surrounded by Slav Christians, who already possessed a native clergy. Rostislav therefore sent to the emperor Michael III., hoping perhaps to find in him an ally interested in creating some counterpoise to the power of the Germans. "Our people," he writes to the Byzantine Caesar, "have renounced paganism and have accepted the Christian faith; but we have no master who can preach to us the Christian truths in our tongue. Send us one." At that time there were living at Constantinople the two brothers Constantine, two priests already celebrated for their knowledge and the success of their mission work. In the Church they were known by the names of Cyril and Methodius. Were they Greeks or Slavs? No one knows. They were born in Thessalonica, a city of many languages, and their father held there an important office in the state. They had studied science and languages, and had distinguished themselves among the most learned men of the court of Byzantium. The one had become a monk, the other a priest, and their reputation had been increased by their missions to the Arabs and the Khazars. It was during their stay among the Khazars that they had had the good fortune to discover, at Kherson, the real or reputed relics of the pope St. Clement, who had suffered martyrdom in these regions. Their success as missionaries was considered miraculous, and languages of all kinds were familiar to them. Cyril had been named the Philosopher; Methodius had refused an archbishopric offered to him by the emperor and the patriarch; everything seemed to point them

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out as fit for the post. They accepted the honourable office of apostles to the Moravians; and Cyril undertook, before setting out on his mission, to create for the Slav tongue that alphabet which it had never yet possessed and to which his name is still attached (the Cyrillic Alphabet). He also translated the New Testament into Slav, and carried his translation with him into the country whither he was called by his apostolic zeal. The two brothers reached Moravia at the end of the year 863 or the beginning of 864, and were received with great honour by Rostislav. They soon gathered round them the young men destined for the priesthood, to whom they taught the new alphabet, while they continued their translations of the sacred books and the liturgy. "Then," says a Slav legend, "according to the word of the prophet, the ears of the deaf heard, and the tongue of the dumb was unloosed."

The names of the new apostles and the news of their success soon reached the ears of the pope. He summoned them to Rome, and they responded to his call. As they crossed Lower Pannonia, they visited the Slav prince Kocel, who confided to their care a certain number of young ecclesiastics. At Rome they were received with the highest honours; pope Adrian II. made them bishops, and consecrated as priests, deacons, or sub-deacons several of the disciples they had brought with them, besides authorizing them to make use of the Slav liturgy, and approving their translation of the Scriptures. Cyril died in Rome in February, 869, and was buried there. Methodius returned alone to his work, the pope assigning to him as his diocese all the Slav countries, and giving him letters for prince Rostislav and his neighbours, Svatopluk and Kocel. He approved of the use of the Slav liturgy, but recommended that the Gospels should be read in Latin, as a sign of the unity of the Church. On his return from Rome Methodius again spent some time at the court of Kocel in Pannonia.

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Svatopluk—Fall of Moravia and of the Slav Church (870–907).

When Methodius once more reached Moravia, Rostislav was no longer there to receive him. After having struggled successfully for some time against the Germans, he had been betrayed by his nephew and vassal, Svatopluk, into the hands of Karloman, duke of Carinthia and son of Louis the German, who put out his eyes and shut him up in a monastery. Svatopluk believed himself sure of the succession to his uncle as the price of his treachery, but a very different reward fell to his lot, as Karloman, trusting but little in his fidelity to the Germans, threw him also into captivity.

The German yoke was, however, hateful to the Moravians; they soon rebelled, and Karloman hoped to avert the danger by releasing Svatopluk and placing him at the head of an army. Svatopluk marched against the Moravians, then suddenly joined his forces to theirs and attacked the Germans. This time the independence of Moravia was secured, and was recognized by the treaty of Forcheim (874).

The German bishops had not seen without envy the success of Cyril and Methodius, and the favours bestowed on them by the pope. The extent of their jurisdiction and the value of their tithes had been considerably lessened by the creation of the new Slav diocese. They looked upon Methodius as a usurper, and as such cited him before them and imprisoned him in a convent, where they kept him for two years. From this time the life of Methodius was one long struggle against the German clergy. They constantly intrigued against him, and endeavoured to withdraw from him the favour of the pontiff. He nevertheless persisted in his work, and about 874 baptized the prince of Bohemia, Borivoj, and by his means introduced the Slav liturgy into Bohemia. Accusations against him continually reached the pope; now he was accused of heresy, now he was denounced for his use of the Slav liturgy; and he was but ill supported by Svatopluk. He was obliged once more to go to Rome to defend himself, but came

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out victorious from the trial, pope John VIII. recognizing his orthodoxy, and once more confirming the privileges granted to the Slav liturgy. It would take us too long to relate here how the enemies of Methodius substituted false documents for those which had been drawn up by the pope himself. Methodius was again obliged to appeal to the pontiff, who sanctioned his action in a letter which was publicly read to the assembled people. He passed the last years of his troubled life in completing his translation of the sacred books, and died on April 6, 885. On his death his disciples had no protection from the persecutions of their enemies, and were forced to seek refuge among the Bulgarians, by whom they were eagerly welcomed.

The departure of the disciples of Methodius completely disorganized the Slav Church. The German bishops of the neighbouring dioceses of Salzburg, Freisingen, Eichsstadt, Ratisbon, and Passau drew up and sent to the pope, John IX. (900), a *factum* in which they claimed for themselves jurisdiction over the country of the Moravians, "a country," said they, "which has been subject to our kings and our people both as regards Christian worship and the payment of tribute. . . . With their will or against their will," adds this apostolic *factum*, "they shall be subject to us:" *sive velint sive nolint, regno nostro subacti erunt.* These controversies, which were so little animated by the spirit of that religion which was their object, were put an end to in a most unexpected and bloody fashion by the invasion of the Magyars. Moravia was thrown into a state of anarchy, and the Slav liturgy perished. But few traces of it can be discovered in the history of those lands which gave it birth. Proscribed in Moravia, it flourished for a time in Bulgaria; from thence it passed to the Servians, Russians, and to the Croats, among whom it had a long battle to fight against the Roman clergy; then it gradually disappeared.

At the present time, throughout the empire of Austria, Latin is the language of the Catholic Church. The Slav

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liturgy is used only by about three millions of Uniate Ruthenians in Galicia, and three millions of Servians and Roumanians, but none of these have directly inherited the work of Cyril and Methodius. It has come to them through Bulgaria and Servia, but their alphabet is still called the Cyrillic Alphabet, and preserves the memory of its great inventor. On the shores of the Adriatic, in the present diocese of Veglia, Zara, Spalato, and Sebenico, about twenty-four thousand Catholics still make use of the Slav liturgy; but they use another alphabet, which is called the *Glagolica*. This is no place in which to discuss the various questions attached to the history of these two alphabets. Though they have returned more or less willingly to the use of the Latin liturgy, the Slavs of the Western Rite have by no means forgotten the great apostles of their race; their millennium was celebrated in 1863 with imposing solemnity, and they are still considered the representatives of that literary and religious unity which is the dream of certain patriots for the future. Cyril and Methodius deserve a far higher place in religious history than has hitherto been assigned to them. Their knowledge, their zeal for the Gospel, their indomitable perseverance, have nothing to fear from comparison with the apostles of Germany.

But we must return to Svatopluk and his ephemeral empire. The treaty of Forcheim secured the independence of Moravia; thenceforward peace reigned between Svatopluk and Louis the German. Complete master of his country, strong in the power of his army and of his Slav-speaking clergy, Svatopluk might have put himself forward as the representative and defender of the Slavs against the Germans. But this was a part he only half understood. He had sympathies for the foreigners which were to prove fatal both to himself and his people; he invited them to his court, and, whilst helping to spread the use of the Slav liturgy in his provinces, he himself made use of the Roman liturgy, and thus opened the door to the pretensions of the German clergy. He began his reign with a crime, he ended it with blunders;

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he possessed great talents, but his character was not equal to them, and his policy appears to have been fortunate rather than able. At one time he was the most powerful monarch of the Slavs; Rome was in treaty with him, Bohemia gravitated towards the orbit of Moravia, while Moravia held the empire in check. In 883, he took advantage of the struggle which was going on for the possession of the Ostmark, which adjoined his own territories, to interfere in the affairs of Germany. Arnulf, duke of Pannonia, took the other side, and war broke out between these two neighbours, both of whom were brave, powerful, and ambitious. Twice did Svatopluk ravage the country of Upper Pannonia without meeting with any resistance. According to the chronicle, so numerous was his army that from the rising to the setting of the sun it ceased not to march by. Charles the Fat himself came to the Ostmark to try to put an end to the struggle, and there received in 884 a visit from Svatopluk, who promised to respect the lands of the empire; and in 888 Svatopluk concluded a treaty of friendship and alliance with Arnulf, which was renewed in 891. At this time the kingdom of Svatopluk was a powerful state; it included, besides Moravia and the present Austrian Silesia, the subject country of Bohemia, the Slav tribes on the Elbe and the Vistula as far as the neighbourhood of Magdeburg, part of Western Galicia, the country of the Slovaks, and Lower Pannonia. But two such ambitious men could not trust each other; their friendship was only based on natural fear; and as soon as Arnulf believed that he had secured sufficiently strong allies he once more attacked Svatopluk. He entered into an alliance with Braclav, a Slovene prince, sought the aid of the king of the Bulgarians, and, what was of far graver importance, summoned to his help the Magyars, who had just settled themselves on the Lower Danube. Swabians, Bavarians, Franks, Magyars, and Slovenes rushed simultaneously upon Moravia. Overwhelmed by numbers, Svatopluk made no attempt at resistance; he shut up his troops in fortresses, and abandoned

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the open country to the enemy, who ravaged it for four whole weeks. Then hostilities ceased; but no durable peace could exist between the two adversaries. War began again in the following year, when death freed Arnulf from Svatopluk. The populace, which loves to surround its great men with legendary glory, would not believe that Svatopluk had died like any ordinary mortal. From the tenth century onwards a marvellous story has been told of him. One night the great Moravian chief left his camp unobserved, mounted his faithful steed, and gained the wooded sides of Mount Zobor, near Nitra, where was a well-known hermitage. Here he slew his horse, buried his sword in the earth, and presented himself before the hermits of the mountain; he became a monk, and lived long without making known his rank, which he only revealed at the moment of death. Through many vicissitudes his name remained popular in Moravia, and to this day the people make use of a proverb, "Seek for Svatopluk," when they wish to imply, "Seek for justice." We have criticised this prince severely, but we must not forget that almost all we know of him has reached us through his enemies. "He was a vessel of treachery," say the annals of Fulda; "he overturned the countries with his greed, and thirsted for human blood." "He was a man of great genius and great cleverness," writes Regino. "He was valiant and strong, and dreaded by his neighbours," says Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Modern Slavonic historians give him a high place in the history of the race, and look upon him as the successor of Samo, and the second founder of Slavonic unity in the West.

At his death he left three sons; he chose the eldest, Moïmir II., as his heir, and assigned appanages to each of the others. On his death-bed he begged them to live at peace with one another, but his advice was not followed. The Moravian kingdom was far from forming a homogeneous whole. Bohemia soon threw off those bonds which had attached her as a vassal to Svatopluk; the Magyars invaded Moravian Pannonia, and forced Moïmir into an alliance with them.

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Arnulf fomented the discord between Moïmir II. and Svatopluk II.; and in the year 900 the Bavarians, together with the Chekhs, invaded Moravia. In 903 the name of Moïmir disappears. As to the cause of his death, as to how it was that suddenly and for ever the kingdom of Moravia was destroyed, the chronicles tell us nothing. Cosmas of Prague shows us Moravia at the mercy of Germans, Chekhs, and Hungarians; then history is silent, towns and castles crumble to pieces, churches are overthrown, the people are scattered. "A mournful silence reigns over the universal desolation," says the Chekh historian Palacky, "and we know not when or how this work of horror was accomplished." The brief duration of the Moravian kingdom has been justly compared to that of the mounds of sand which are raised by the breath of the tempest, and by the tempest dispersed. This monarchy of a day has not even left ruins behind it; we hardly know the site of that capital of Svatopluk, that marvellous city of Velehrad (*ineffabilis munitio*), where Methodius baptized the prince of Bohemia. The poetry of the people alone still bewails the memory of a vanished world: "Hard by the wide Danube, hard by the foaming waves of the Morava, . . . bleeds the wounded heart of the Slavs. O Fatherland of our noble forefathers! theatre which echoes to our ancient struggles! thou liest in thy vast extent entombed; the arrow of misfortune has pierced thy breast. Thy time has gone by; thy glory sleeps an eternal sleep. Thy sons now find but the shadow of the glory of their forefathers.

"The sword of Moïmir slumbers, the helmet of Svatopluk lies buried beneath ruins. Only at times from the bosom of forgetfulness a memory flies to heaven in a song.

"Nitra, dear Nitra! great Nitra! where are the times of thy glory? Nitra, dear Nitra! thou mother of the Slavs, when I think of thee, needs must I weep. Once thou wast the mother of all the Danube, the Vistula, the Morava. Thou wast the throne of Svatopluk, when his powerful hand ruled; thou wast the holy city of Methodius, when he taught our fathers the Word

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of God. Now is thy glory veiled by the shadows. Thus do times change! thus passes away the world!"

The Slovenes—The Croats under a National Dynasty (780–1090).

The Slovenes, or Korutanian Slavs (*i.e.* of Carinthia and Carniola), were of but small importance during the times of which we have been writing. After the death of Samo they separated from the Chekhs, but were able to form neither a nation nor a state. During the seventh century, when they were divided into several principalities, they had many struggles with the Friulans, the Bavarians, and the Avars. Borut, their first prince whose name is known, sought the aid of Pepin the Short against the Avars (748), and obtained it at the price of almost complete submission to the Frank monarch. His successor, Karat, was obliged to renew this bond of vassalage. Chotimir, who was a cousin of Borut, was brought up in Bavaria, and was a Christian; he was a fervent apostle of the Gospel among the Slovenes. With the help of Virgil, bishop of Salzburg, he worked hard at the conversion of his people, but he did not obtain his object without meeting with some resistance. Their conversion was due solely to the efforts of the German clergy, and its first result was the complete Germanizing of the Slavs of Salzburg and the Tyrol. We are told of a pagan chief, named Droh, who rose against a prince Valduch. Valduch sought the protection of Tassillo, duke of Bavaria, and was stripped of his lands by Charles the Great, who divided the Slovene country between the duke of Bavaria and the duke of Friuli. Later on, Arnulf, when he was king of the Romans, confided a portion of Pannonia to a native prince, named Braclav. The history of these Slavs belongs in the main to that of the Ostmark and the empire. One thing only deserves to be recorded here, and that is the curious mode in which Korutanian Slavs (or Carinthians) installed their princes. The ceremony took place near the town of Celovec (Klagenfurt). A peasant mounted on a rock to

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await the coming of the new prince, who advanced clothed in rustic garments. The peasant asked, "Who is this who approaches?" the people answered, "It is the prince of this land." The peasant then asked, "Is he a good judge? is he the friend of truth?" and, on receiving a reply in the affirmative, the peasant yielded his place to the new-comer, who mounted the rock and, brandishing his sword, swore to defend the country of the Slovenes. This custom lasted down to the fifteenth century. The people who had imagined it deserved a more brilliant destiny.

The historical individuality of the Croats is much more clearly marked than that of the Slovenes. We have already seen how, on their arrival in their new country, they adopted Christianity without difficulty. It came to them from the sees of Aquileia and Salona, and was accepted by the populace at once. The Germans could invoke no pretence of conversion to justify their attempts at conquest among the Croats, but it was sufficient warranty for German ambition that the Croats formed a boundary to the empire. In 796, Charles the Great overthrew the Avars by the capture of their fortified camp, and after the year 822, we no longer meet with their name in the chronicles; it still remains in the Slav tongue (under the form of *Obr*) as a synonym for giant. A Russian phrase, which is quoted with enjoyment by the monk Nestor, says, "disappeared like the *Obrs*;" that is, gone, leaving no trace behind. When Charles the Great was once master of the country between the Danube and the Theiss, his dominions enclosed the Croat country, although they were still independent. The margrave of Friuli was appointed to attack their coast, and the Croats of Dalmatia and Slavonia passed from the yoke of Byzantium to that of the West. The Franks spread over the country; Frankochorion is known to have been the name given by the Byzantines to Sirmia, and we meet with it to-day under the form of *Fronchka* (Fronchka) *Gora*, or the Mountain of the Franks, in Slavonia.

The civilization of the Croats was modelled on that of the

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Latin races, and, notwithstanding their early connection with Byzantium, they retained no trace of Hellenism. They did not, however, willingly accept the Frankish rule. Their chief Ljudevit (823) revolted against the foreign yoke, but was defeated and forced to fly to Servia, where he was assassinated. We cannot undertake to explain the tangled history of the Croats of Dalmatia and the Save districts; after being sometimes divided and sometimes united, they were finally united towards the end of the ninth century. At this time the great zhupan Mutimir proclaimed himself chief of the Croats by the grace of God (*divino munere juvatus Croatorum dux*) (892–900), and organized his court on the model of the other European courts. Tomislav (914–940) took the title of king, and henceforward the Croats of Dalmatia and those of the Save shared the same destinies. The Byzantine emperor, Constantine, was unable to prevent the independence of Tomislav, and granted him the title of consul for Dalmatia. During his reign, the Council of Spalato was held, at which the use of the Slav liturgy was forbidden and Croatia was declared to be ecclesiastically subject to the archbishop of Spalato.

In Croatia, as in Moravia, Western influences had banished the Slav liturgy, and the Croats found themselves more and more separated from the Servians, while the introduction of the Latin language prepared the way for the Venetians, who gradually took possession of the whole coast of the Adriatic. Drzislav (970–1001) obliged the court of Byzantium to recognize his title of king, and an agent (*protospathare*) established at Zara was the only representative of Byzantine overlordship. But Drzislav was less fortunate against the Venetians, who, under the doge Peter Urseolus II., conquered the towns of the coast, Zara, Trogir (Trau), Spalato, etc. The Venetian doges took the title of dukes of Dalmatia. King Kresimir III. tried in vain to recover the lost towns (1018); King Stephen I. lived in friendly relations with Venice, and even married the daughter of the doge. His son Peter Kresimir, called the Great, recovered the Dalmatian cities and the Isles, and took

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the title of king of Dalmatia; conquered from the Bulgarians the district of Sirmia which they had captured, and from the Servians part of Bosnia; he also seized part of Carniola, Styria, and Istria.

During his reign, another council was held at Spalato to combat the Slav liturgy, which still enjoyed the popular favour in spite of all the anathemas hurled against it, and Kresimir supported pope Nicholas II. in his measures for driving the national tongue out of the Church. Persecuted as the means of teaching heresy, it took refuge in a few isles of the Adriatic, where it has lasted down to our time.

King Svinimir, or Zvonimir (1075), is known best from his relations with pope Gregory VII. That pontiff, who was carrying on an energetic struggle with the empire, aimed at directly attaching to the Holy See those secondary states who were dependants neither of Germany nor Byzantium. He sent cardinal Gebizon to Croatia, bearing royal insignia to Zvonimir. On the 9th of October, 1076, Zvonimir was consecrated in the basilica of St. Peter in Spalato, in the name of the pope, and received from the hands of his envoy the royal diadem, sword, and sceptre. In return for this honour, he promised to remain faithful and obedient to the Holy See, to cause tithes to be paid, to oblige the clergy to live decent lives, and to prevent all marriages forbidden by the laws of the church, and all traffic in slaves. He also undertook to pay two hundred ducats yearly to the pope. The chronicles of Croatia look upon the reign of Zvonimir as the climax of the national power: "Under good king Zvonimir the country lived in joy, the cities were full of gold and of silver. The poor man had no fear that the rich would do him wrong; the servant dreaded no wrong-doing from his master. The king defended them, and they had nought to fear but the anger of God." Zvonimir died without children, and the nobles of Croatia and Dalmatia elected one of his relations, Stephen II., who reigned but a short time, and was the last king of the line of the Derzislavic. On his death, the Croats, after long discussion,

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offered their crown to Ladislas, king of Hungary, who accepted it. Later on, we shall see how and under what conditions the union of Croatia and Hungary was brought about. We will sum up in a very few words what is known of the organization of the kingdom of Croatia, and of its constitution during the period of its independence.

The Croats were grouped together in families in the same way as the other Slav races already described. A certain number of families made up a *zhupa* (*zupa*), at the head of which was a *zhupan*. In early times, one amongst the *zhupans* was recognized as the head of the nation, with the title of the *great zhupan;* he had no absolute authority, but took counsel with his colleagues. These *zhupans*, who are named in the Latin texts *zuppani*, were called by foreigners *duces*, *comites*, and *principes*.

Around the *great zhupan*, or king, gathered a nobility of counts and barons. The powers of the *great zhupan* do not seem to have differed from those exercised later on by the kings; this supreme authority, moreover, was hereditary. At the same time we find that when there was no lawful heir, the people exercised the right of election: it was thus that the *ban* Zvonimir was elected *concordi totius cleri et populi electione.* Legislative, administrative, and judicial functions were exercised by the king with the aid of a national assembly. The capital was Belgrade, in Dalmatia. The court included a number of dignitaries, similar to those found in western kingdoms: the *zhupan* of the palace, called also *comes curialis* and *comes curiae regiae*, the *curiae regiae judex*, the *aulae regiae cancellarius*, the *cubicularius* or chamberlain, the butler, the pantler, the master of the horse, etc.

After the king, the most important officers of the State were the *bans*. At first there was but one *ban*, who was a kind of lieutenant-general; but later on there were seven of them, each known by the name of the province he governed, as the *ban of Sirmia, ban of Dalmatia*, etc. To this day the royal lieutenant of Croatia (or "governor-general," if that

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title be preferred) is called the *ban*. Below the *bans* came the *zhupans*, the under-*zhupans*, and the *centeniers*, or hundred-men. All grave questions of legislation, of peace and war, and of election to the throne were treated in the diets, whose organization is but ill defined. The towns on the Dalmatian coast had preserved municipal institutions of Roman origin, which were independent of the rest of the kingdom.

According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, under the *great zhupan* Trpimir the Croatian army already numbered 100,000 foot soldiers and 60,000 horsemen; the fleet was composed of 140 vessels, manned by 5000 sailors.

At the head of the Church was the archbishop of Spalato, which was the metropolis of the Dalmatian bishoprics. The bishopric of Nin was the metropolis of the rest of the kingdom. Byzantine orthodoxy made but little progress in Croatia, and we have already seen with what distrust the Roman clergy and the Holy See treated the Slav liturgy, even though it was Catholic. The court of Rome remained all-powerful in Croatia; the Church was rich, and the monasteries, especially those of the Benedictines, very numerous. The Latin language, owing to the influence of Rome, became the official language of politics, literature, and religion. At the same time, there remain some manuscripts which prove that the national tongue was occasionally used in legal proceedings.

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CHAPTER V.

FORMATION OF THE MAGYAR STATE (892–1038).

The Magyars—Their Origin—Their Arrival in the Valley of the Danube—Their Invasions (892–955).

We have already spoken more than once of the Magyars. This nation appears in history under a double name—that of Magyars, the name they use themselves, and that of Hungarians, the one used by foreigners. The first time we hear of them, they are spoken of as living by the chase near the Ural Mountains and the river Volga. These nomadic tribes, wandering over the immense plains of Eastern Russia, gradually made their way westward, and settled first not far from the shores of the Black Sea. There seven tribes are said to have given the chief command to a young leader named Arpad, who became the founder of a dynasty. Evidently the wealth of Europe attracted these wanderers, as Italy had formerly attracted the German race; and the imprudence of the Western monarchs prepared an easy path for them to the very heart of its fertile lands. First, the Eastern emperor implored their help against the Bulgarians, and then Arnulf sought their aid against Svatopluk.

The districts in which they now found themselves had been ravaged and occupied by their ancestors or their kinsmen for more than two centuries. The Huns of Attila had encamped there, and they had been followed by the Avars, who had settled there from the end of the sixth century, down to

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the time when Charles the Great destroyed their great *hring* between the Danube and the Tisza (Theiss) (796).

The first attack of the Magyars, which was directed against Moravia in 892, met with but little success. Two years later, they returned, determined this time to settle in whatever part of the land they might be able to conquer. Few examples of a migration so vast are to be found in the history of barbarian invasions. Two hundred and sixteen thousand men able to bear arms, which implies a total population of almost a million, are the numbers mentioned in the national traditions, where it is said that this multitude took nearly three years to cross the Carpathians. We need feel no astonishment either at the number of this host, when we remember the frequent migrations of vast hordes in the Ural-Altaic regions, nor need we be surprised at the slowness of their movements, when we think of all the chariots, all the arms and tools, all the spoil which this moving multitude would bear with it.

The nation was led with so exact and wise a discipline as to call forth the admiration of an illustrious Byzantine critic. "Their vigorous bodies," says Sayous, "used to the privations of the desert, felt neither heat nor cold, neither hunger nor thirst. Accustomed to all manner of hardships, no task seemed impossible to them. Every kind of weapon, sword, bow, or lance, was alike to them, for they knew how to fight both on foot and on horseback; but, horsemen rather than foot-soldiers, they preferred to fight on their small and agile steeds, who never felt fatigue, and the arrow was their favourite weapon. When arrayed for battle they were divided into bodies of one thousand men each, who were equally prepared to form one compact mass or to pour down upon the enemy in flying squadrons from every side at once. A cloud of arrows was the prelude to a furious onslaught which bore all before it, and often a pretended flight finished the complete rout of their enemies when they were madly confident of victory."

The legends of the Magyar tell us the names of some of the small Slav princes who were the first to give way before

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this terrible invasion, the Slovak Zalan, the Bulgarian Menmarot in the east and south of the present Hungary. But they tell us nothing of the manner in which the Moravian kingdom was conquered. By the end of the tenth century we find the ruin of that power completed, and the rule of the Magyars established in the whole of the district along whose centre runs the Danube, and whose north and east are bounded by the Carpathian Mountains.

This invasion had the gravest consequences for the history of these lands. "It was not the mere immigration of a new Finnish race, destined to disappear as the Huns and Avars had already disappeared, or to become absorbed like the Bulgarians among the conquered race. The intellectual qualities of the Magyars, the finest of the Altaic races, their physical strength, their immense numbers, their keen patriotism, guaranteed them against all chance of destruction, slow or rapid."

The settlement of this people and the ruin of Moravia was a terrible blow to the Slavs. The Chekh historian Palacky says, "The invasion of the Hungarians was the gravest misfortune that ever befell our race. From Holstein to the Peloponnesus the Slav tribes extended; they were but loosely united and their customs differed, but they were all of them vigorous and ready for civilization. In the centre of this long line a kernel had been formed by the efforts of Svatopluk. As in the west, under Latin influences, the Frankish monarchy was in process of formation, so in the east, under Byzantine influences, a Slav empire might have been formed; but the fate of Eastern Europe was changed; the advent of the Magyars into the heart of the growing organism completely destroyed all these hopes."

The lands on which they had settled did not suffice for the new conquerors; the Danubian districts were to them only a halting-place, a base of operations for further invasions. The various hordes brought with them nomadic and warlike instincts which time and the influence of the Christian religion could

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alone transform and make of use to civilization.[1] Italy, "to whom Heaven has granted the fatal gift of beauty," was the first object of their desire. They invaded the Venetian country; but the City of the Lagunes beat them back, as it had already beaten back the Huns. In 907, Arpad died, and, according to tradition, his remains lie at the foot of the rock of Buda, where he had placed his capital or camp. Under his young son Zoltan the invasions continued; the Germans suffered a terrible defeat at Presburg in 907; then again in 910, near Augsburg; but they repulsed the Magyars before Wels, where, if we are to believe their account, eighty-six Magyars alone escaped. An old German poem proudly celebrates this victory; "They fought a terrible fight. Many a Hungarian lost his life; the Bavarians avenged their women and children. So many Hungarians were killed that no one could tell the number nor count the dead. They fled night and day till they reached the Leitha. Yet were they not weary of the fight."

Assuredly they were not weary; their unconquerable hordes pushed on to Alsace and Lorraine. In 924, it was again Italy that they attacked, and even Provence and Champagne saw the terrible horsemen within their borders. At last, however, Henry of Saxony repulsed them before Merseburg (933). But it was only for a time; their invasions continued under the successor of Zoltan, and it was not until after alternations of fortune too numerous to relate here, that their progress was definitely stopped by the battle of Augsburg (955). Thenceforward the Magyars were forced to fall back, and to content themselves with those lands which they had secured in the valley of the Danube.

King Geiza (972–997) was the first pacific ruler of pagan Hungary. In his reign the Hungarians tried to inter-

[1] It was long believed that the horror into which the nations were thrown by the Hungarians was the origin of our word *ogre*. Unhappily, Romance philology proves that this word comes from the Latin *orcus*. See Littré's Dictionary.

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fere in a quarrel between Henry of Bavaria and the emperor Otto II. But Otto, detaching the frontier district of Austria from Bavaria, conferred it upon Leopold of Babenberg, and the new ruler succeeded in repulsing the Hungarians near Vienna.

Thus a new military state appeared which was destined to play an important part in the history of these lands. Hungary was enclosed within limits which she was never again able to cross, and even within these limits the Magyars were not the only inhabitants; in almost every part they were surrounded by Slavs, whose language and laws were to exercise over them a lasting influence, and on the south-east they touched on that Romance or Wallachian element which, from the time of the Roman colonies of Trajan, had continued to develop there. Numerous marriages with these neighbours gradually modified the primitive type of the Magyars; they have long ago lost the high cheekbones and slanting eyes of the Mongols, and, improved by the intermixture of races, they have now become one of the most beautiful, perhaps the most beautiful race in Europe.

Manners and Religion of the Pagan Magyars.

There are but few traces left of the religion of the pagan Hungarians, and from these it is difficult to make out a system of mythology. They would seem to have recognized a Supreme God (*Isten*). He is the Father of men, and below him are a certain number of secondary deities, such as the demon *Ördög* and *Mano*, an evil spirit. Below them again are the *tünder*, fairies and apparitions who influence the destiny of man in various ways. "Somewhere among the mountains of Transylvania lies the palace of the king of the *tünder*, where he dwells with his queen and many beautiful maidens; this palace is built of silver and copper, and is guarded by a golden lion; it is reflected in a shining lake and surrounded by great forests, where the song of birds fills the air with delightful melody. A tradition of the *Comitat*[1] of Houth tells how, in a spot which is

[1] See p. 68.

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now deserted and covered with stones, with here and there the stump of an old tree, there formerly lived fairies who at break of day combed their golden locks over the country in such fashion that every one was rich; but a miser seized one of the fairies, intending to cut off her hair, whereupon they all took flight, and the land was filled with desolation, and poverty took the place of plenty. In the town of Deva, the good fairy used to appear every seven years; while other fairies built walls for men and made them rich with their treasures, till human ingratitude continually disappointed them and forced them to quit the place" (Sayous). Besides the fairies of the earth, there were also those of the air and of the water. One of the most poetical and most original fancies of the Magyar imagination was *Delibab*, the fairy of the south, the personification of the mirage, who was the daughter of the plain, the sister of the sea, and the beloved of the wind. Lakes and rivers were peopled by mysterious spirits. The elements were the objects of worship.

"Alone among all created things, the human soul preserved an indestructible and immortal existence; it could return to earth, especially if it had been the soul of an illustrious warrior. The soul passed beneath the vault of death on horseback, and crossed a bridge which led to happiness in another world,—a warrior's happiness, as the funeral ceremonies had been those of a warrior" (Sayous).

Power was divided between the priests and the prince. The priests offered songs and prayers, and even human sacrifices, upon altars in the woods.

A nomadic race, such as were the Magyars before their conversion to Christianity, could have but a very imperfect form of government. It was military rather than political. The power of the highest chief had no limits but those imposed by the right of self-government possessed by each tribe. He was chosen by the voice of the people, and it would seem that the choice had become hereditary in the family of Arpad, though without the right of primogeniture being recog-

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nized either by custom or law. This election was confirmed by the supreme judicial power, and by the general assembly of chiefs, assisted by many of the free men.

All the members of a family, and even of a tribe, looked upon each other as brothers; they were all free and all noble. Here we find the origin of that numerous class of *petite noblesse* which has always been the strength of Hungary. "The headship of the families and tribes was partly hereditary, partly elective. The land assigned to the tribe or family by the duke or by the national assembly was the property of all, even when the various branches of the family had divided it into portions. On these they might build the huts which gradually became houses, and pasture their cattle until it was brought into cultivation, but still it remained the property of the tribe. The chief had no peculiar domain. It was not until later, till Hungary had become an agricultural country, that properties were well defined, and that the chiefs became proprietors of part of the land and feudal lords of the rest. In early times the ducal tribe, the one which was under the immediate authority of the prince, settled in the centre of the country near Pesth and Stuhl Weissemberg" (Szekes Fejervar).

Naturally the old Magyars had but little taste for town life; they left the towns to their old inhabitants, or else peopled them with colonists from foreign countries. Their nomadic life afforded but small opportunity for intellectual or artistic culture; the Magyar archæologists can find few ruins belonging to this pagan time, and not a verse has reached us of the rhapsodies sung by the bards to the honour of their heroes, or at the great festivals and marriages. All we know is that music played a large part on these solemn occasions. The famous melodies of the Tsiganes (gypsies) may perhaps have preserved for us some faint echo of those early songs.

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The First Princes of the House of Arpad—Christian Hungary—St. Stephen (997–1038).

Geiza I. had married as his second wife a sister of the duke of Poland, Mieczyslaw. She had been converted to Christianity, and, like Clotilde of France, this princess knew how to use her influence in favour of her religion. She persuaded her husband to receive the missionaries who came to preach the Gospel in the country of the Magyars, and Pilgrim, archbishop of Lorch,[1] undertook the systematic conversion of the nation. The mention of him in the *Nibelungen Lied* in connection with Etzel (Attila), king of the Huns, is doubtless due to the memory of this mission. He sent priests from his diocese into Hungary, and in 974 he was able to announce to the pope five thousand conversions. Foreigners who up to this time had practised their religion secretly began to profess it openly, had their children publicly baptised, and built churches. Geiza himself consented to be baptised, but long afterwards he continued to mix pagan ceremonies with the Christian rites. The great Chekh apostle, St. Adalbert or Vojtech, bishop of Prague, continued the work begun by Pilgrim. About 994, he went to Gran (Esztergom), where the duke of Hungary then dwelt, and solemnly baptized the son of Geiza, to whom he gave the name of Stephen. Henceforth the court of the duke became the resort of knights from all the neighbouring countries, but especially from Germany, and these knights, entering into intimate relations with the native nobility, drew Hungary and the empire into still closer union. Prince Stephen, heir presumptive to the throne, married the princess

[1] [Lorch, the Roman Laureacum, on the Danube, was destroyed by the Avars in 738, and the see transferred to Passau. The bishop of Passau was subject to the archbishop of Salzburg, but some of Pilgrim's predecessors had held the title of archbishop of Lorch, and, in reward for his zeal in the conversion of the Magyars, Pilgrim again received it from the pope, with jurisdiction over Bavaria, Lower Pannonia, Moesia, and the adjoining Slav countries. But the grant was not confirmed by the emperor, and Pilgrim's successors remained simple bishops of Passau and suffragans of Salzburg.—J. C. Robertson, *History of Christian Church*, bk. v. ch. vii.]

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Gisella, daughter of the duke of Bavaria, while one of the daughters of Geiza became the wife of the Polish duke Boleslaw, and another married Urseolus, doge of Venice. Through these alliances, Hungary obtained for itself a recognized place among European states, and the work begun so well by Geiza was completed by Stephen, to whom was reserved the honour of establishing the position of his kingdom in Europe and of completing its conversion. When this prince came to the throne (997), the countries surrounding Hungary were all ruled by celebrated princes. Otto III. governed Germany; Boleslav III., Bohemia; Boleslau the Brave, Poland; Vladimir the Great, Russia; and Basil, Constantinople. In order to maintain the existence of Hungary in the midst of these flourishing states, it was needful that it should attain the same degree of civilization, and this was the work of Stephen. The Hungarians honour him as the second founder of their country, the first being the legendary Arpad.

In the very beginning of his reign, Stephen had to struggle against the revolts of a pagan chief, Koppany, who saw in the introduction of Christianity danger to the national institutions, but he was at last overcome beneath the walls of Veszprim. Once freed from this formidable enemy, Stephen could give all his thoughts to the spread of Christianity in his territories. His zeal was remarkable. "Hungary became Catholic," says a Magyar historian, "not through apostolic teaching, nor through the invitation of the Holy See, but through the laws of king Stephen" (Verböczy). He was not always content to use persuasion alone to lead his subjects to the new faith; he hesitated not to use threats also. When Hungary became Catholic, there was some danger that she might become an object of ambition to the German clergy. Pannonia was subject to the jurisdiction of the German bishops of Lorch and Salzburg, and these now laid claim to ecclesiastical authority and tithes. It was needful to free Hungary from their control, and to secure for her a national clergy; it was needful to remove every pretext for the intervention of the

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Holy Roman empire, and every opportunity for its claiming a suzerainty over the nation which would be sure to prove more or less burdensome. To this end Stephen sent an ambassador to Rome, to treat directly with pope Sylvester, who graciously received the homage done by him for his kingdom, and, by a letter dated the 27th of March, 1000, announced that he took the people of Hungary under the protection of the Church. By the same brief he granted the royal crown to Stephen, and gave his sanction to the creation of the archbishopric of Gran, and of the several bishoprics that the new king was about to found. Besides this, he conferred on him the privilege of having the cross always borne before him, as a symbol of the apostolic power which he granted to him. The authenticity of this pontifical letter has indeed been disputed; but, however that may be, the emperor of Austria, king of Hungary, still bears the title of Apostolic Majesty.

On the 15th of August in the same year the king was crowned at Gran, with the crown sent to him by the pontiff. The coronation of Stephen secured the continuance of power to the dynasty of Arpad. He still, however, met with some resistance, especially in Transylvania, where its prince, Giulay, refused to admit the Christian religion into his province. Stephen marched against him, defeated him, and granted Transylvania to a voïévode[1] of the race of Arpad; he also defeated and killed a prince of the Petcheneguens, who had similarly refused to embrace Christianity. He reconquered part of Moravia from Bohemia, and dared even to attack Germany on the side of Bavaria, but, being invaded in his turn, he was obliged to make peace. The river March became the north-western frontier between Hungary and Germany, and remains so to this day.

[1] Voïévode is a word of Slav origin which means *duke* (*dux*, commander of an army).

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The Laws of St. Stephen.

Under this great king, Hungary became a completely independent kingdom between the two empires of the East and West, and was probably enabled to preserve its independence by that equilibrium which was now established between those two ambitious rivals. The state was completely united, and was not divided into appanages. The king was supreme, but he had a council of the old and wise men continually at hand to advise him. "For," said Stephen in the directions which he wrote for his son Emerich, "it is right that each should busy himself with that which suits him best, the young with fighting, the old with counsel." He himself calls this institution *regalis senatus, regale concilium, primatum conventus, commune concilium.* The national historians see in it the first elements of the national diet; rough beginnings, doubtless, and as little subject to fixed rules as had formerly been the meetings of the tribes in the Puszta.[1]

Ecclesiastically, the kingdom was divided into ten bishoprics, all subject to the archbishopric of Gran (Esztergom). They were fixed at Kalocsa, Veszprim, Pecs, Bacs, Raab, Erlau (Agria), Csanad, Nagy-Varad, and Karlsburg in Transylvania. Stephen also founded several abbeys, which were granted to the Benedictines, and in which schools were opened; and religious edifices were built by Italian or Byzantine architects.

This king delighted in pious foundations; the booty he found in the camps of the Petcheneguens he employed in building the great church at Fejervar. He insisted on the exact payment of tithes, and obliged villages and estates of a certain size to group themselves in tens for the building of churches. Those who neglected their religious duties were severely punished. All property belonging to the clergy was placed under the protection of the king (*sub defensione regis*), exactly like Crown property.

Politically the nation was divided into *comitats.* The germ

[1] [The Puszta is the great Hungarian plain which occupies the larger part of the country.]

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of this division had existed already among the Slavs, who had had to make way for the Magyars, and the name, like most of the political terms used in Hungary, was borrowed from the Slav language. It was the name *zhupan* (head of the *zhupa*), which became in the Magyar *ispan*, a word which plays so prominent a part in the history of the nation. Each *comitat* possessed a camp (*var*), and these camps formed together a complete system of defence. The *comitat* was governed by a count (*ispan*, whence comes the German, *gespann*), who exercised civil and military powers in the name of the king; he was aided by a general, *major exercitus*, by a castellan, or governor, and by centurions and decurions.

When Stephen began to reign, property was of two kinds, the property of the state and the property of the tribe. Individual ownership had no existence. Stephen maintained the property of the state, but put an end to all tribal rights; he declared that each citizen had the right to keep and to bequeath to his children the possessions he had acquired, or which he had received from the king. But we must not look upon these royal gifts as hereditary fiefs. The aristocracy was formed of those who held high offices, and was divided into two classes. The first included the counts, bishops, the leaders of the army, and perhaps the descendants of the chiefs of the old Magyar tribes. The second was composed more especially of warriors. After these two classes came the soldiers of the fortified towns and the citizens. Quite early we find a large number of Germans among the inhabitants of certain towns (Old Buda, Gran, Raab, Szathmar, Nemethi); they are known by the name of *hospites*. The towns exercised municipal self-government under the control of the *ispan* and the bishop. The mass of the people did not possess land. The artisans (*udvornici*, from the Slav *dvor*, or court) were the connecting link between the nobles and the serfs. Stephen did not suppress slavery, but he improved the condition of the slaves.

The king was supreme judge, and under some circumstances

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he administered justice in person. Bishops and abbots, civil and military dignitaries, could only be summoned to appear in the king's court, presided over either by the sovereign himself, or by the count palatine (*nador*, Slav *nadvor*, head of the court). This court acted also as a court of appeal against all judgments delivered by the counts of towns, bishoprics, or abbeys. Oral witness was admitted as well as trial by single combat. The penal code was very severe. The right of sanctuary was refused to all who conspired against the king or country, and he who sowed discord among the people was condemned to lose his tongue. A false witness had his arm cut off; murderers had to pay a heavy fine; at the same time, the murderer of a slave was only obliged to pay the value of the slave to his master. The murder of a wife was valued according to the rank of the murderer; a count paid to the family of his wife fifty young oxen, a warrior only ten. Human life was tolerably cheap. The loss of a limb cost more; it could only be atoned for by the loss of the same limb, thus putting in practice the old Biblical precept, "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." Rape was punished by the payment of ten or five oxen, according to the rank of the criminal. The thief who could not restore the value of the stolen thing was sold as a slave. In such fashion did this imperfect legislation combine Christian principles with the customs of barbarians.

The revenue of the king was made up of the contributions of the *udvornici* and the lower classes, the taxes on towns, the produce of mines and salt-works, a monopoly of the coinage, and some portion of all fines. Besides this, subjects were bound to maintain the royal household as the king travelled from place to place. Every man had to serve as a soldier; the warriors of the nation were summoned by a bloody sword sent from *comitat* to *comitat;* and the castles were the meeting-places of the nobles. The laws of Stephen are contained in fifty-six articles divided into two books. His ideas on all matters of government are also to be found in the counsels which he wrote, or caused to be written, for his son Emerich. This

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book has more than one claim on our interest. Among the counsels which the sovereign gives to his son is one which would seem to bear a prophetic character. He bids him to treat well all foreigners and guests: *nam unius linguae uniusque moris regnum imbecille est.* Those Magyars of the nineteenth century who wish to impose their language and their rule on the various peoples of the kingdom would seem to have forgotten this precept of the apostolic king.

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CHAPTER VI.

HUNGARY UNDER THE SUCCESSORS OF ST. STEPHEN (1038–1301).

The First Successors of St. Stephen—Ladislas the Holy (1077–1095).

THE son for whom the great king had written his maxims died before his father in 1031, and is honoured as a saint by the Church. The last years of king Stephen were harassed by rivalries and plots. He died on the 15th of August, 1038, thirty-eight years after his coronation to the very day, and was buried at Szekes Fejervar (Alba regia, Stuhl Weissenburg). Stephen had chosen as his successor his nephew Peter, the son of the doge Urseolus. This prince, a stranger in Hungary, made himself unpopular by his insolence and by the brutal way in which he behaved towards the widow of his predecessor; the Hungarians rose against him, and elected in his stead Samuel Ala, the chief of one of the tribes. Peter thereupon fled to Germany, and implored help from Henry III., promising to pay tribute to that prince if he would replace him on his throne. The German diet declared war against Hungary; the imperial army penetrated as far as Gran, and Samuel Ala was obliged to purchase peace on humiliating conditions. More fortunate in a second campaign, he repulsed the Germans, but his tyranny, which proved as great as that of Peter, provoked a fresh insurrection. Peter again sought his old allies, and on the occasion of a solemn festival he did homage to the

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emperor for the kingdom of Hungary and received investiture of it. This act of humiliation, however, was of no avail; a popular assembly at Csanad pronounced him dethroned, and proclaimed in his stead Andrew, son of Ladislas the Bald (1046).

The beginning of Andrew's reign was marked by a violent reaction among the pagans against Christians and foreigners, but Andrew succeeded in maintaining his position, had himself consecrated, and was able at last to forbid, on pain of death, all exercise of the rites of paganism. He was attacked by the emperor, but, with the help of his brother Bela, successfully resisted him, and concluded an honourable peace. Soon afterwards, however, he was dethroned by Bela (1061), and died fighting on the banks of the Tisza. Bela, also, had to suppress a new rising of the pagans against Christianity; he was successful in doing so, and endeavoured by wise economic measures to remedy the disastrous condition into which Hungary had fallen as the result of these perpetual struggles. He died from an accident in 1063. According to the Asiatic custom which still prevails in Turkey, he was succeeded by his nephew Solomon (1063). This prince was only twelve years of age, and the emperor, Henry IV., took advantage of his youth to place him in a humiliating position of tutelage. During his reign the kingdom was ravaged by the Polovtses or Cumans, who invaded Transylvania, but were defeated at the battle of Cserhalom (1067), where, according to a contemporary, the shorn heads of the Polovtses fell to the ground like pumpkins. The Petcheneguens were also defeated on the banks of the Danube. But unhappily the royal house was harassed by continual intrigues. The enemies of Solomon accused him of being the creature of the Germans, and reproached him for having done homage to the emperor for a state which belonged to St. Peter. Pope Gregory VII., who was then struggling against the emperor, encouraged the rebels. "The kingdom of Hungary," he said, "owes obedience to none but the Church." Prince Geiza was proclaimed

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king in the place of Solomon, but he died without having reigned.

He was succeeded by Ladislas the Holy (1077), who was able to make himself equally independent of emperor and pope. He withstood successfully all Solomon's attempts to recover the crown which had been torn from him, and managed to keep on good terms with the court of Rome, which consented to canonize both king Stephen and his son Emerich. He was not less fortunate in his struggles against the Cumans and Petcheneguens, who continued to invade Hungary. He overcame them on the banks of the Temes, and then offered them a permanent settlement in the country on condition that they became Christians. They accepted his offer, and colonized a portion of the valley of the Tisza, being bound, in return for the land they received, to furnish bowmen to the royal army. On the death, moreover, of the Croat king, Stephen II. (1090), Ladislas obliged that country to accept as their new king the Magyar prince Almos, son of Geiza I., and thus prepared the way for that union of the two crowns which was soon after to be effected.

Like St. Stephen, Ladislas was the law-giver of his country. In a great assembly of prelates, nobles, and citizens, held at Szabolcz in 1092, he promulgated laws of which the most important treat of religious matters. They authorize the marriage of priests notwithstanding the recent decisions of Gregory VII. on ecclesiastical celibacy, and they carefully regulate the collection of tithes. They contain penal measures against the last adherents of paganism; any one who offers sacrifices near a tree or a spring is condemned to forfeit an ox; the Jew who works on Sunday, the Mussulman convert who returns to Mahomedanism, are both to be punished. Other laws of St. Ladislas concern the administration of justice, enact penalties for theft, and regulate the protection of property. They are extremely severe; the theft of a goose is punished by the loss of an eye, and all acts of violence are repressed with Draconian rigour. The Church has shown her gratitude to the monarch

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who gave her so many proofs of his attachment and submission by placing him among the number of her saints.

Koloman (1095–1114)—*Croatia united to Hungary—German Colonies— Wars with Galicia and Venice.*

The dying Ladislas chose his nephew Koloman as his successor. This young prince, destined at first for the Church, was very learned for those times, and was called by his contemporaries "The Bookman" or Scholar (*Könyves*). Shortly after his accession the crusaders marched through Hungary. The excesses committed by these bands of enthusiastic but undisciplined men were but little likely to inspire the Magyars with enthusiasm for their cause. Koloman, after having allowed the first portions of the army to march through his lands, was obliged to arm his subjects, not to free the Holy Sepulchre, but to fight against the plunderers who were ravaging his country. When Godfrey of Bouillon reached the frontier, he demanded an interview with Koloman, which took place not far from Soprony, on the bank of Lake Neusiedl (*Fertö tàva*). Koloman, in order to secure good order and the peace of the land, fixed the route of the crusaders and demanded hostages, of whom the first was Godfrey's brother Baldwin. By these means all the annoyance and disorder which had arisen from the first armies were successfully avoided.

The most important act of this reign was the annexation of Croatia. In 1090, St. Ladislas had been elected to the throne of Croatia, and he, on his death, left the government of it to his nephew Almos, who very soon made himself unpopular. Koloman drove him out of Croatia, and had himself proclaimed king. He next set about the conquest of Dalmatia from the Venetians, seized the principal towns, Spalato (Spljet), Zara (Zadir), and Trogir (Trau), and granted them full power of self-government. Then (1102) he had himself crowned, at Belgrade, king of Croatia and Dalmatia. From this time the position of Croatia, as regarded Hungary, was very much the same as the position of Hungary in regard to Austria in later

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times. The destinies of the two kingdoms of St. Stephen and Zvonimir were united, but Croatia maintained a more or less definite individuality, and the *ban*, or viceroy, of Croatia was the representative of the autonomy of a Slav state associated with a Magyar state, a condition of things which has remained down to the present day. At this time the Croats freely chose as their king one who undertook to respect their laws. They preserved the right of administering their internal affairs as they chose, of electing their own bishops and *zhupans*, and of granting the rights of citizenship to whomsoever they would; they kept their own coinage, army, and taxes. The relations between the two kingdoms are still partly regulated by this old agreement, and the Croats proudly quote this maxim of constitutional law; *regnum regno non praescribit leges.*

Koloman continued the legislative work of Stephen and St. Ladislas, and improved the penal laws of his predecessor, making them more merciful. He was sufficiently liberal and enlightened to do away with all trials for sorcery, "inasmuch as there are no sorcerers"—*de strigis quae nullae sunt ne ulla quaestio fiat.* He increased the number of the law-courts, restrained judicial combats, and established a rigorous distinction between ecclesiastical and lay discipline. The celibacy of the clergy ceased to be optional.

The end of Koloman's reign was disturbed by revolts and conspiracies caused by his brother Almos, who had been deprived by him of the government of Croatia. After pardoning him several times, Koloman yielded to the barbarous spirit of the age, and caused the eyes, both of his brother and of his little nephew of five years of age, to be put out; but this is the only act of barbarity that history records of this enlightened sovereign, who enlarged the kingdom till its boundary touched the sea, and finally secured its position in civilised Europe. Among the kings who occupied the throne of Hungary during the twelfth century, none can be compared to Koloman and St. Ladislas.

Stephen II., the son of Koloman, was only thirteen years

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old when he came to the throne; he died when he was thirty, without having rendered any great service to his country. He appointed as his successor that son of Almos whom Koloman had blinded, who reigned under the title of Bela II. the Blind (1131). Bela revenged himself cruelly on all whom he suspected of having caused his misfortunes, and it is related that in one single day at the diet of Arad (1132) he ordered sixty-eight of his enemies to be slain. Geiza II., the son of Bela, succeeded him (1141) at the age of ten. Comparatively speaking, his reign was a happy one; and it was marked by an event of considerable importance in the internal history of Hungary,—the arrival of Saxon colonists in Northern Hungary and Transylvania. Faithful to the teaching of St. Stephen, Geiza settled them in the *comitat* of Zips (Szepes) at the foot of the Carpathians, and in the valley of the Maros, on the left bank of the Lower Tisza. The Germans were easily able to reclaim the forests which clothed the sides of the Tatra, and founded there four and twenty towns, which had the right of electing their own priests and magistrates according to statutes written in their own language. Their obligations to the king were light; they had to furnish him with a certain number of troops, and to recognize his supreme authority in judicial matters. The Saxons of Transylvania enjoyed complete autonomy. Sole proprietors of the soil, they could prevent the settlement on it of any Magyar or Szekler, and their national assemblies (*universitas nationis Saxonicae*) had an exclusive right to legislate for them. It is most important to observe their institutions at the moment of their establishment; in such a country as Hungary, where there are many nationalities and various historical rights, they are still interesting from a political point of view.

The reign of Stephen III., son of Geiza II. (1161), was disturbed by the rivalry of his two uncles, Stephen IV. and Ladislas. Manuel, the Byzantine emperor, took the side of Stephen IV., who was his son-in-law, and at one time hoped to be able to bring Hungary under the protectorate of the eastern empire. But Hungary refused to submit to the control of the

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foreigner, and Stephen III. died on the throne of his father (1173). His brother, Bela III., had been partly educated at Constantinople, and he was received with distrust by the Magyars, owing to their hostility to Byzantium. The primate of Hungary refused to crown him, and he was obliged to have recourse to the bishop of Kalocsa. But he triumphed over all difficulties, and showed so much ability and moderation that he gained the love of his subjects and the esteem of his neighbours. He married the princess Margaret of France, daughter of Philip Augustus and widow of prince Henry of England. During the negotiations, he drew up an interesting statement for the king of France of the revenues of the kingdom of Hungary.

The reigns of the last three princes were signalized by wars against the Russians of Galicia and against Venice. The territories of Koloman had been ravaged by the Cumans, with the help of Volodar, prince of Eastern Galicia, whose capital was Premysl. Koloman had attacked Volodar, but had been defeated while besieging Premysl. Stephen III. determined to avenge his father, and conquered the city in 1127, but he was driven back by the Poles acting in alliance with the Russians. Later on, Geiza lent troops to his brother-in-law, the grand prince of Kiev, to help him against the princes of Souzdal and Zvenigorod. In the reign of Bela III., Vladimir, prince of Premysl, was forced to take refuge in Hungary, and Bela took advantage of this circumstance to establish his son Andrew in Galicia, from whence indeed he was soon forced to fly, the Poles again aiding the Russians. Bela had, however, obliged some part of Galicia to do homage to him, and on this were founded the claims of Hungary to Galicia, claims to which Andrew II. thought to give some colour by taking the title of king of Galicia and Lodomeria, and which were revived by Austria at the time of the first partition of Poland.

Meantime the republic of Venice, seeing the rule of Hungary definitely established on the shores of the Adriatic, took alarm at so formidable a neighbour. The doge Falieri

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asked for the alliance and help of Constantinople, whose power was also threatened by the growth of Hungary. He then equipped a fleet, and attacked the fortified towns on the coast, capturing Zadar (Zara), Spljet (Spalato), Trogir (Trau), Belgrade, and Sibenico. In the war which followed, the town of Belgrade, where Koloman had had himself crowned, was entirely destroyed, and Zara left in the possession of the Venetians. The rest of Dalmatia remained in the hands of Bela III.; he treated the province well, and confided its defence to the family of the Frangipani, or Frankopans, henceforward well known in history.

The relations of Hungary with the two empires of East and West spread the renown of her power through the whole of Europe. In 1147, king Louis VII. and the emperor Conrad crossed Hungary on their way to the crusade, and Louis VII. speaks highly in his letters to Suger of the warm welcome which he received, though the German chronicler, Otto of Freisingen, draws a picture of the country which is not very flattering, and represents the Magyars as little more than well-disciplined savages: "One might well reproach fortune, or stand amazed at the long-suffering of God, when one sees so fair a country in the possession of such monsters." The connection with France was strengthened by the marriage of Bela with the princess Margaret. Hungarian students began to find their way to Paris.

In 1189, the emperor Frederick Barbarossa crossed the country at the head of the third crusade; he was received with great magnificence, and fêtes were held in his honour. At this time, Constance, the daughter of Bela, was affianced to the duke of Suabia.

The relations of Hungary with Byzantium were less friendly. On several occasions Constantinople endeavoured to bring the country under her control; but, with the help of Vladislav king of Bohemia, the Hungarians were able to maintain their independence.

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Andrew II. (1205–1235)—*The Golden Bull.*

The two sons of Bela III., Emerich (Imré) and Andrew, both occupied the throne, the former from 1196 to 1204, and the latter from 1205 to 1235. Bela III., who had been prevented by death from fulfilling the vow he had taken of going to Palestine, had made Andrew promise to accomplish it in his stead. Andrew gathered together money and troops, and then employed them against his brother, whose authority roused his jealous ambition. The interference of pope Innocent III. obliged him to content himself with the government of Dalmatia and Croatia; and even there he was not able to keep Zadar, which was again taken by the Venetians, with the help of the crusaders, in 1203. Emerich died in 1204, and his young son Ladislas reigning but one year, in 1205 Andrew mounted the throne which had been so long the object of his desires. The beginning of his reign was not fortunate. He had married Gertrude of Meran, who sent for her brother Berthold, a bishop of scandalous life, and procured for him the bishopric of Kalocsa. Berthold and his sister surrounded themselves with favourites of infamous character. Not content with the see of Kalocsa, the foreign bishop heaped upon himself all manner of dignities. Ban of Slavonia and voïévode of Transylvania, he behaved as if he were the equal of the primate. The public indignation against him reached its height when it became known that he had attempted to seduce the palatine's wife. The people rose against him; Berthold was able to escape from the kingdom, but queen Gertrude was slain, together with some of her favourites. And yet it was this queen, so justly unpopular, who gave birth to the pious princess Elizabeth of Hungary, who married in 1221 the landgrave of Thuringia, and has become one of the saintly heroines of Christianity.

Andrew was in Galicia when these tragic events happened; he was vainly attempting to force upon this "orthodox" Russian province the sovereignty of his house and union with the Roman Church. His grief for the loss of his wife cannot

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have been very great, for soon afterwards he married Yolande of Courtenay, who was related to the Latin emperors of Constantinople. Perhaps he hoped one day himself to become emperor at Byzantium, but meantime it was needful for him to make himself of importance to the Latin world, and to take upon himself the character of defender of the Christian religion. He decided to join the crusade, and an expedition was to set out from Spalato, but ships were wanting. Venice consented to lend some, but, true to her motto, "*Siam Veneziani, poi Cristiani*" (Venetians first, and Christians second), she insisted upon the cession of Zadar to her for ever, besides forcing Andrew to pay considerable sums of money; so that he was obliged to pledge the very treasures of the Church. He set out in the month of August, 1217; but his health failing on the expedition, he returned to his country without having added to his reputation. On his return he made large grants of property in Hungary to the knights hospitalers. The only important results of his expedition were the alliances he formed with the Christian princes. His eldest son, Bela, married the daughter of the emperor Lascaris; his younger son, the daughter of king Leo of Armenia; and his daughter, Asen, king of Bulgaria.

On his return, he found Hungary in the greatest disorder. The royal authority had been much diminished since the days of Koloman; a feudal oligarchy had grown up, and the clergy had possessed themselves of secular estates. The hereditary right of the family of Arpad to the crown was still contested, nor was the law of primogeniture accepted within the family itself. We have already seen formidable rivals disputing the throne in several of the reigns. The support of the great territorial lords, lay and ecclesiastical, had become of great importance to the sovereign, and to obtain it he had gradually deprived himself of his domains, to divide them among a powerful and greedy minority of his subjects. The smaller landholders were neglected, and diets met less frequently. The great dignitaries of the Church, enriched by the royal

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bounty, had become a state within the state, and relied upon the pope for aid to resist the royal commands. The Holy See, faithful to the traditions of Gregory VII., endeavoured to exercise within the kingdom an authority equal, if not superior, to that of the king. The clergy were scandalously corrupt. The state of the whole kingdom called for prompt remedies; but, far from daring to carry out energetic measures, Andrew yielded continually to the torrent which had borne before it each one of his predecessors, and in 1219 he issued an edict making all gifts and honours granted by previous kings irrevocable and hereditary. The result of such a measure would have been to create a complete oligarchy, on which thenceforth both king and populace would have been dependent. The discontent to which it gave rise led to the meeting of a diet in 1222 and the enactment of the law known as the Golden Bull—the Magna Charta of Hungary. In it Andrew II., calling himself hereditary king of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, Servia, Galicia, and Lodomeria, solemnly enumerates the privileges of the people, or rather of the small landowners. He promises to hold a solemn diet each year in the town of Szekes Fejervar (Stuhl Weissenburg); to imprison no noble until he had been regularly tried and sentenced; to raise no tax on the lands of either noble or priest; to summon no noble to accompany the king at his own expense beyond the frontiers of the kingdom; to allow no suit which involved the loss of life or property to a noble to be tried by the palatine without the knowledge of the king; to indemnify the families of those nobles who lost any relations in the wars; to admit no guests or colonists on the soil of Hungary to any dignity whatsoever without the consent of the diet; no longer to make hereditary the grants of *comitats* or offices; to allow tithes to be paid in kind and not in money; and to grant land to no foreigner. The Golden Bull contained thirty-one articles, of which these are the chief, while the last ordained that seven copies should be made of it, and sent to the pope, the knights hospitalers, to the Temple, to the king,

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to the chapter-house at Gran, to the chapter-house at Kalocsa, and to the palatine, who was to see that the charter was observed by the king and nobles. If the king should attempt to violate it, "the bishops and nobles of the kingdom have the right to remonstrate, and to resist the sovereign, *sine nota alicujus infidelitatis*," *i.e.* without by so doing laying themselves open to an accusation of high treason.

This last article was to play an important part in the history of Hungary, as to it are due many of those rebellions which give so revolutionary a character to the history of a country essentially conservative. The same principle is to be found later on in the "Declaration of the Rights of Man."

The constitution of Andrew II. is far from fulfilling the ideal of modern times. It was, nevertheless, a great advance on former ones, and maintained the unity of Hungary by preventing hereditary succession to office and the consequent division of the country into a number of principalities. It secured to the nation—that is to say, to the nobles—the right of criticising the administration, and it obliged the king to respect the national rights by placing all his actions under the control of the palatine. The part assigned to the palatine is an anticipation of the ministerial responsibility of our own times. He is indeed a prime minister.

Soon after the promulgation of the Golden Bull, a special charter was granted to the Saxons of Transylvania, securing their privileges. Their political and religious autonomy was confirmed; they were to be subject to no authority except that of a court chosen by the king. In return they were to furnish him with five hundred armed men in case of a defensive war, one hundred for foreign expeditions. The Golden Bull was again solemnly confirmed in 1231, when some new clauses were added to it, which enacted that the bishops were to be present at the yearly diet at Szekes Fejervar (Stuhl Weissenburg); that if the palatine ruled badly, the states were to choose one more worthy; and also that no Jew or Mussulman was to receive government employment.

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Struggles against the Mongols (1239–1241) *and the House of Austria—The Last Kings of the Race of Arpad* (1235–1301).

The reign of Andrew II. has become memorable in the history of Hungary owing to the Golden Bull; apart from that it was not fortunate. Like king John of England, his name is associated with a legislative document of the highest importance, but, like him, he has left behind a reputation for feebleness and want of character. His son, Bela IV., began his reign (1235) under the best auspices. He withstood his enemies both from within and without, amongst them the emperor Frederick II., who had put forward a claim to tribute from Hungary. Unfortunately he soon had to deal with a more pitiless enemy than the Germans. The Tartar or Mongol khan Batou, followed by a formidable army, forced his way through the defiles of the Carpathians, and invaded the valley of the Tisza. The Mongols belonged to the same race as the Magyars, but the Magyars had become Christian and European. These pagan Mongols attacked Europe with a fanaticism which can be compared only with that of the Saracens; but while the Mussulmans founded new states, and had in fact attained to a high degree of civilization, these Mongols were nothing but destroyers. They were intrepid horsemen, and brought with them fire-arms, of which they had learnt the secret from the Chinese, as well as destructive besieging engines, while their dauntless courage was aided by inflexible discipline.

The alarm at their approach was great throughout the land. The bloody sword was sent from town to town, from castle to castle. The Cumans, who formed the vanguard of national resistance, were unable to withstand the overwhelming flood, and Vacz (Waizen) fell into the hands of the invaders. In the general terror the Cumans were accused of treason, and their chief and the leading men among them were put to death, which so angered the tribe that they passed over to the side of the Mongols. The royal army came up with the forces

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of Batou on the banks of the Sajo, a tributary of the Tisza, and there suffered a terrible defeat in which, according to some historians, a hundred thousand, according to others sixty thousand, men perished. *Fere extinguitur militia regni Hungariae*, writes the emperor Frederick. Hungary as far as the Danube was at the mercy of the barbarians; Pesth was taken; Varad yielded after an heroic resistance; Csanad was destroyed. The Mongols pushed forward as far as Croatia, where the Croats put a stop to their further progress by the victory of Grobnik (1241). After many adventures, Bela found refuge in Austria, where duke Frederick, to whose care he had confided his family and treasures, took shameful advantage of his misfortunes. In exchange for the hospitality which he granted, he obliged Bela to give up to him the three Hungarian *comitats* which lay nearest to the Austrian states. Bela made his escape from this treacherous neighbour and retired to Croatia. At last Christendom was aroused; king Vacslav of Bohemia called upon the princes to come to the aid of Hungary, and the pope ordered a crusade to be preached. With the usual disinterestedness of German sovereigns, the emperor offered to save Hungary on condition that he should receive her homage. Meantime, winter came on, and by freezing the rivers became the ally of the invaders. The Mongols crossed the Danube and took Gran, putting to death all the inhabitants; Szekes Fejervar and Nitra (the town of Svatopluk) alone resisted. The Mongols were determined to get possession of the person of the king. Bela fled into Dalmatia, first to Spljet, then to Trogir, and was followed closely by the barbarians; but they did not succeed in seizing him, the Slavs of Dalmatia and the Italian colonists repulsing them in furious conflicts. Beaten back, they next penetrated as far as Ragusa, and would have gone still further had not their chief Kadan received orders to retrace his steps. The Asiatic hordes returned into Asia, and it has never been known what led to this sudden recall. Perhaps Batou had received tidings of the death of the great khan Ogdaï; perhaps, finding nothing left to destroy, the

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invaders feared they might die of hunger in the midst of the ravaged country. The most horrible cruelty marked the last days of their ephemeral conquest.

Slowly Hungary recovered from the ruin they had caused; colonists from Germany filled up the gaps in the population, and towns were rebuilt, surrounded by stronger fortifications, and adorned with finer buildings. The Magyar nation had not attained to such a height of civilization as to have lost much in the whirlwind.

From this time forward they had another enemy to struggle against, one perhaps more formidable, certainly more persevering, in the house of Austria, which has always been skilful in taking advantage of the misfortunes of her neighbours to increase her own patrimony. We have already seen how the unknightly Frederick had taken advantage of the misery of Hungary to get possession of three of her *comitats*. As soon as he was free from the Mongols, Bela set to work to reconquer them. He marched against Frederick and defeated him on the banks of the Leitha, where Frederick perished in the fight (1246). With this prince the house of Babenberg came to an end. Bohemia and Hungary both laid claim to the inheritance, and though Bela was unable to prevent the king of Bohemia from gaining possession of Austria, he succeeded in establishing his own son Stephen in Styria. War broke out between the two kingdoms, and ended in favour of Bohemia. But Premysl Otokar II. proved a generous foe; he would not, according to his own expression, "by enfeebling the great kingdom of Hungary, once more open to the Tartars the road to the two kingdoms." Later on, he married the daughter of the king of Hungary (1270).

But there was soon to appear upon the scene a third combatant, who knew how to turn to his own advantage the rivalry of the two kingdoms; this was Rudolf of Habsburg. Rudolf drew Ladislas IV. into alliance, and at the battle of Marchfeld, where Premysl Otokar fell, fifty-six thousand Hungarians and Cumans fought by the side of Austria. Thus Hungary, while

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she ruined Bohemia, founded the power of Austria, which was so soon to be turned against herself. In his letters written at this time, Rudolf shows the greatest tenderness for the Hungarians, "My beloved sons, bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh;" a dozen years later, as emperor, he claimed the right to dispose of the crown of Hungary as its suzerain.

The last years of king Bela IV. had been disturbed by the revolts of his son Stephen. In fact, this prince was the real king, and it was to him that the envoys of the duke of Anjou applied, when they came to negotiate the marriages which were to secure Hungary to the Angevin house. He gained little by his intrigues, for he reigned but two years, during which a war again broke out between Bohemia and Hungary, and was brought to an end without any advantage to either side. His young son, Ladislas, succeeded him (1272), a foolish and dissipated prince who earned the hatred of his people by his avowed partiality for the Cumans. This wandering and half-pagan race was still looked upon as almost foreigners by the rest of the nation. Ladislas determined to convert them to Christianity and to a settled mode of life, and assigned to them that district between the Danube and the Theiss (Tisza), which is called to this day Greater and Lesser Cumania; but for some time yet they remained barbarians. Ladislas, who betrayed a partiality for their women that was unworthy of his position, was assassinated by the Cumans in 1290. He left no son, but he had adopted the grandson of Andrew II., and this prince was crowned under the name of Andrew III. Andrew energetically resisted the claims of the Habsburgs and of the Holy See, repulsed the invasion of Albert of Austria, and laid siege to Vienna. The court of Rome, which was favourable to the Neapolitan princes of the house of Anjou, would never recognize Andrew III., and during his reign Charles Robert of Anjou forced his way into Croatia, and had himself crowned at Zagreb (Agram) by the papal legate.[1] The death of Andrew in 1301 put an end to these rivalries. He was the last prince of the house of Arpad.

[1] See *infra*, p. 217.

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Progress of Civilization.

Hungary is still grateful to those monarchs of the transition period who laid down the lines along which the Magyar race was to travel. On various occasions they had tried to extend their rule over the neighbouring countries, but the titles of king of Servia, of Rama (Bosnia), of Galicia and Lodomeria, and of Bulgaria, had never represented any real authority, and at most recall a momentary occupation or an ephemeral protection. The only important acquisition of the dynasty of Arpad was the voluntary union of Croatia, which gave Hungary a seaboard. We have already described how Croatia preserved her autonomy. Transylvania also, at the other extremity of the kingdom, had her own peculiar constitution. The Transylvanian diet was divided into three *nations*, the Hungarians, the Szeklers, and the Saxons. The old inhabitants of the country, the Wallachians, who had been conquered by the Magyars or by the Saxon colonists, were only peasants and counted for nothing. The Szeklers, who were all freemen and noble, formed a special body of horsemen, to whom was entrusted the defence of the frontier, and in return for this service they were exempted from taxation.

We have seen how the constitution of Andrew II. had placed obstacles in the way of the increase of power among the oligarchical aristocracy and territorial lords, and had aimed at preventing the partition of the kingdom. The lesser nobles were always on the watch to maintain their own privileges and to prevent encroachments on the part of the great lords. About this time we first see a distinction growing up between magnates and simple deputies. The assemblies of the *comitats* became periodical, and formed the best guarantees of public liberty. The citizen class was without political influence, and was largely composed of foreigners, Jews, Germans, and Italians. Considerable privileges were accorded to the Jews, who were so much ill-treated in other parts of Europe. The less aptitude a nation has for commerce the more it feels the

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need of attracting this race of clever traders. Vines began to be cultivated and produced wine of good quality.

The Hungarian nobles gradually imitated the nobles of the rest of Europe, introducing into the country knightly manners and usages. They began to take an hereditary name from their estates, and to use coats-of-arms, and trials by combat became the fashion.

Those arts which are the most delicate expression of civilization had made much less progress in Hungary than elsewhere. The Gothic style of architecture had, however, penetrated into the country, and French architects were employed there at this time. A Frenchman, Villard de Hannecourt, built the Gothic church at Kassa (Kaschau), and Mathias of Arras the cathedral of Prague. The clergy distinguished themselves rather by their courage in battle, or their ardour in fighting heresy, than by their learning. In 1279, the synod of Buda, alarmed doubtless at the progress of the Patarine heresy, placed a limit on the knowledge which monks were to be allowed to acquire, and forbade them to study in foreign schools. The most important school in the kingdom was the *studium generale* at Veszprim, which conferred no degrees, but which paid for its best scholars to go to the university of Paris. Latin was universally known and studied among the upper classes, but at the same time books were so rare that a complete copy of the Bible cost half a village. The Magyar tongue tended to give way before Latin, which was the organ of the Church and of government; it was, however, still used, though very few fragments have come down to us from these primitive times: only a funeral oration and a legend of St. Margaret.

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CHAPTER VII.

BOHEMIA UNDER THE EARLIER PREMYSLIDES.

The First Christian Princes—St. Adalbert.

Borivoj was the first Christian prince of Bohemia, and with his name both history and legend associate that of his wife, St. Ludmila. He built the first Bohemian church, and dedicated it to St. Clement, no doubt in memory of the finding of the relics of St. Clement by the apostles Cyril and Methodius. His son Spytihnev (894–912) put an end to the connection of Bohemia with Moravia, and went to Regensburg (Ratisbon) to ask for the protection of Arnulf and the empire, in the belief that by so doing he made the independence of his kingdom more secure. In consequence of this step, Bohemia was attached to the bishopric of Ratisbon, and the Latin took the place of the Slav liturgy, of which but few traces now remain in the country. Vratislav (912–925) succeeded his brother Spytihnev. He married a Slav princess, Drahomira, daughter of a prince of the Lutices, ~~or Lusatians~~, who were still pagans. Quarrels arose between the ambitious Drahomira, and her mother-in-law, Ludmila, and in 921 Ludmila was murdered. She and her grandson, the prince or voïévode Vacslav (925–934), were both subsequently canonized.

At this period Bohemia was far from being a united kingdom. Like France in the Middle Ages, it consisted of a number of small states, which were often at war with one another, and against which the prince of Prague had occasion-

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ally to go to war. The members of the ruling families obtained appanages which were practically independent, and the rivalries which resulted proved most favourable to the ambition of Germany.

In 928, Henry the Fowler, in alliance with Arnulf of Bavaria, entered Bohemia and obliged St. Vacslav to pay him an annual tribute of five hundred pieces of gold, and one hundred and twenty oxen. It was St. Vacslav who founded the cathedral of St. Vit at Prague. He was assassinated by his brother Boleslav, who was the prince of the town of the same name, Boleslava (Alt Bunzlau).

Legends have surrounded the name of St. Vacslav with a halo of tender memories. Like Robert the Pious and St. Louis, he has become the typical example of a devout and charitable prince. During his life, as well as after his death, he was able to work miracles. When engaged in single combat against a prince of the Chekhs, an angel from heaven bore him company and terrified his adversary by the wondrous sight. When they took his body from Boleslava to Prague, the car which bore it crossed by itself a river over which there was no bridge. On arriving before the court of justice, it stopped suddenly and could not be moved; it was discovered that an innocent man was unjustly imprisoned in the building, and, as soon as he was set at liberty, the car went on. The name of Vacslav, under its Latin form of Venceslas, Wenceslaus, or the German form Wenzel,[1] became popular throughout Europe, and Bohemians still sing the old canticle of the Middle Ages: "Svaty Vacslave, vevodo ceské zemé." "St. Vacslav, voïévode of the land of the Chekhs, our prince! pray for us to God and the Holy Spirit, kyrie eleison." His portrait long adorned the standards and the coins of Bohemia.

Some historians have endeavoured to justify the crime of Boleslav by reasons of patriotism; according to them, he only assassinated his brother in order to free Bohemia from the

[1] The Chekhs are often called by this name by the Germans (*Das ist ein Wenzel*).

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suzerainty of Germany. However that may be, as soon as Boleslav became king, he was attacked by the Germans, and two armies entered his kingdom by way of Thuringia and Saxony (936). The war lasted long with little advantage to either side, till at last (950) Boleslav was obliged to submit to the emperor Otto, and to promise to pay the usual tribute. He afterwards became the ally of Otto, and sent a thousand Chekhs to help him against the Magyars; he himself fought against them successfully, and took possession of part of Moravia and the land of the Slovaks, while his conquests on the banks of the Vistula brought him in close neighbourhood to the Poles. The Polish prince, Mieczyslaw, became his ally, and married his daughter Dubravka. This princess converted her husband to Christianity, and brought Poland into the bosom of the Church (966). After having done somewhat towards lessening the power of the Chekh princes, Boleslav died in 967, and was succeeded by his son Boleslav II. (967–999).

Boleslav II. continued his father's conquests towards the East, and took possession of Galicia, but that province was recovered later on by the Russian prince, Vladimir the Great (981). At this period the power of Bohemia was considerable, and Boleslav was able to interfere as umpire in the conflicts which took place between the German margraves and the duke of Poland. He obtained permission from the emperor and the bishop of Ratisbon to found a see at Prague, to be subject to the archbishop of Mainz; the bishop to be chosen by the prince and the people, but to receive investiture from the emperor. The first bishop was a Saxon priest called Thietmar, and his successor was the celebrated Chekh saint Vojtech, better known under the name of St. Adalbert, one of the great figures in the religious history of the Middle Ages.

After having organized the Church of Bohemia, St. Adalbert was invited into Hungary by Geiza I., whose son, the future king St. Stephen, he baptized; and thus Bohemia was the means of spreading the Christian religion in all the neighbour-

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ing lands. Later on, he gave up his bishopric, and after being for a time the confessor of Otto III., he travelled into Poland, whose king, Boleslaw the Brave, sent him to convert the heathen on the shores of the Baltic. In these distant lands he was murdered by the Prussians (997). Boleslaw the Brave caused him to be buried in the church at Gniezno, whither, three years later, the emperor Otto came to worship at his grave. The Poles ascribe to him the first of their religious songs, the most ancient monument of their language, the hymn to the Virgin beginning "Boga rodzica."[1] Prince Boleslav II. had to defend his country from the attacks of the Germans and Poles, but was able to maintain his position against them. Bohemia also suffered in his reign from civil wars, which are, however, of no general interest. In his time monasteries were first founded, schools arose around the churches, and Latin civilization spread more and more throughout the land.

Bretislav (1037–1055) *and the Institution of Primogeniture—Vratislav First King of Bohemia* (1061–1092).

Under the successors of Boleslav II., Bohemia fell into a state of deplorable anarchy, and became alternately the tool of Germany and Poland. A powerful sovereign, Boleslaw the Brave, reigned at this time in Poland, and he obliged Bohemia to accept as her ruler a Polish prince named Vladivoj, who, however, afterwards recognized the suzerainty of the empire, and acknowledged himself its vassal. Thereupon Boleslaw the Brave (1002) tried to conquer Bohemia for himself; he did not succeed, but it was not until after the death of this formidable neighbour (1025) that Bohemia could once more take breath. Almost immediately afterwards she was attacked by Stephen of Hungary, but her independence was finally secured by Bretislav (1037–1055), whose reign proved a time of renewed vigour for Bohemia. On the death of Boleslaw the Brave, Poland was left without a ruler, and Bretislav took advantage of this to conquer Silesia and Lesser Poland and to take

[1] See Morfill, *Slavonic Literature*, p. 180.

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Cracow by assault. He next entered Greater Poland, and pushed on his way to Gniezno, where was the tomb of the national apostle, St. Adalbert. The Chekhs took possession of his remains, and, after a propitiatory fast of three days, bore them off to their own country. The emperor Henry II. interfered to stop the further progress of Bretislav, who returned to Prague, bearing with him in his triumphal entry the treasures of his enemies and the holy body of the martyr. But when the emperor proceeded to demand from him the restitution of all his Polish conquests, war again broke out; the German troops were given possession of the passes by treason, forced their way into the kingdom, and obliged Bretislav to make peace. Of all his conquests he was only able to retain part of Silesia, with the see of Vratislav, since called by the Germans Breslau, and in 1054 he gave up this district to the Polish prince Kazimir for the annual payment of thirty pieces of gold and five hundred pieces of silver. He was accused before the pope of sacrilege, for having carried off from Gniezno the relics and sacred vessels, but obtained absolution on condition of founding a collegiate church in the town of Stara Boleslava (Alt Bunzlav). The Poles, however, affirm that the true relics are still in their possession, and that a pious fraud had substituted for the bones of the saint those of some other person. However that may be, the tomb of St. Adalbert is the object of popular devotion both at Gniezno and at Prague.

Bretislav had five sons. Fearful of the disputes which might arise among them, he ordained that henceforward succession to the throne should be determined by primogeniture, while younger sons were to receive dependent appanages, a settlement known as the seniorate. This wise arrangement was, however, but little respected. Spytihnev II., the successor of Bretislav, had immediately after his accession to fight for his throne against one of his brothers, who was prince of Moravia. The reign of this Spytihnev was of little importance. He drove out of Bohemia some Slav monks who still used in their monastery the liturgy of Cyril and Methodius, and he thus

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secured the definite triumph of Latin Christianity in that country. He died without children (1061).

Vratislav II. (1061–1092) was the first *king* of Bohemia. He divided Moravia between his two brothers, giving to the one Olomouc (Olmutz), and to the other Brno. He also founded a bishopric at Olomouc. The beginning of his reign was marked by an incident which throws some light on the relations then existing between the Germans and the Chekhs. Even at this remote period Germans were gradually obtaining high civil and ecclesiastical office, partly owing to princely marriages, which had drawn Bohemia closer to Germany, partly to ecclesiastical organization, which included this country in the province of Ratisbon. Since the foundation of the bishopric of Prague, out of seventeen bishops who had obtained the see, seven had been Germans. We must not forget that national differences must have been far less striking at a time when Latin was the universal language of educated men, but, nevertheless, the people began to murmur, and grew weary of having to obey foreigners. Vratislav found this out when, in 1068, he wished to nominate as bishop of Prague a German named Lanzon. The nobles and military chiefs who were assembled round his camp near Nachod, however, demanded the bishopric for the prince Jaromir, who in the end succeeded in obtaining it, though, according to custom, he was obliged to go to Mainz to receive investiture from the archbishop.

Vratislav lent the aid of his troops to the emperor Henry IV. in his struggles against the Saxons, and in return for this he obtained possession of Lusatia, a Slav district, which was thus united to Bohemia. Later on, he again helped the emperor in his expeditions against Italy, three hundred Chekh warriors taking part in the siege of Rome, and as a reward for this service the emperor granted him the title of king (1086). He also gave up the tribute hitherto paid to the empire by Bohemia in exchange for a loan of four thousand marks of silver. Henceforward Bohemia was only bound to furnish to the emperor three hundred armed knights, well equipped, for

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expeditions into Italy. On the 15th of June, 1086, Vratislav and his wife Svatova were solemnly crowned at Prague, in the cathedral of St. Vit, by the archbishop Egilbert. Thus was constituted that kingdom of Bohemia which, with the kingdom of Hungary, was one day to form the principal part of the Austrian empire. In order to understand the struggles of modern politics, it is needful to recall the double origin of the two kingdoms, the one founded by the Holy See, the other by the empire. Hence have arisen those retrospective claims on Bohemia which Germany has since put forward. The title of king bestowed on Vratislav was, however, purely personal, and was not transmitted to his successors. It was, perhaps, in exchange for the crown he had received that this prince granted certain privileges to the Germans in Bohemia.

The reigns of the immediate successors of Vratislav offer but few points of interest. Bretislav II. (1092–1111) abolished the wise law which had established primogeniture in the family of the Premyslides. He even asked the emperor Henry IV. to grant the investiture to his brother Borivoï, and by so doing recognized the imperial right to treat Bohemia as a fief of the empire, threw her provinces into their old state of anarchy, and strengthened the claims which Germany was continually advancing on the neighbouring countries. Hence arose a long series of conflicts between the princes of Prague, Olomouc, and Brno, conflicts during which the empire took occasion more than once to intefere, selling its protection to one or other of the combatants. It was during these troubles that the great and turbulent family of the Vrsovici, whose ambition had so often troubled the land and made its princes to tremble, was massacred (1108). We will pass rapidly over this time of incessant struggle, which has but little interest for us, and during which Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland were perpetually at war with one another, and the emperor claimed the right to dispose of Bohemia as a fief.

More than once these pretensions met with energetic resistance. Thus (1125–1148) prince Sobeslav I. did not hesitate

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to declare war against Lothar, who had claimed the right of giving Bohemia to whom he pleased, and had bestowed it on prince Otto of Olomouc. Sobeslav refused to appear before the tribunal before which he was cited by the emperor, and replied in these proud words: "My hope is in the mercy of God and in the help of St. Vacslav and St. Vojtech, who will not see this country delivered into the hands of foreigners." The Bohemians all rallied round the standard of St. Vacslav, and the emperor, vanquished at Chlumec, was obliged to renounce his claims and to recognize Sobeslav as prince of Bohemia (1126). He even conferred on him the title of high cup-bearer of the empire. Later on, Sobeslav became the ally of Lothar in his struggles against the Hohenstaufen, but on the death of Lothar he took the side of Conrad III. of Hohenstaufen. He concluded an alliance with Leopold IV., duke of Austria, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage (1138).

During the reign of Sobeslav, in consequence of the increase in the number of the various branches of the Premyslide family, Bohemia and Moravia were broken up into a large number of appanages, which led to internal conflicts and revolts that had to be suppressed by the prince by force of arms. He endeavoured to secure the crown for his son, and to this end had him elected by the diet of Sadzko. But immediately after his death the *zhupans* offered the throne to his nephew Vladislav II., whom they believed they could direct as they wished. Vladislav II. (1140–1173) did not fulfil their hopes, and had, in consequence, more than one conspiracy to put down. The Moravian princes and the great nobles entered into an alliance against him, raised an army, and obliged him to ask for help from the emperor. He defeated them, forced them to retreat to Moravia, and took from them the principalities of Znoïm, Brno, and Olomouc.

During his reign, a papal legate, cardinal Guido, was sent to Bohemia to supervise the organization of the Catholic Church; celibacy was imposed upon the clergy who had not previously observed such a rule; and the legate reconciled Vladislav with

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the Moravian princes, obtaining for them the restitution of their estates. Vladislav was the first Chekh prince who went on the crusades. He left the government in the hands of his brother Diepolt (1147), and followed the emperor Conrad to Jerusalem. This crusade had, however, but little success, and after many Chekhs had perished, Vladislav returned home by way of Constantinople, Kiev, and Cracow. He was soon after at war with Frederick Barbarossa. Frederick had seized Silesia, which was a Bohemian fief, and in consequence of this act the prince of Bohemia refused the three hundred armed men for the expedition against Rome that Bohemia was bound by old treaties to furnish. In 1156, Silesia was restored to Bohemia, and finally Frederick granted Vladislav the title of king for himself and his successors. As the seal of their reconciliation, the new king offered his aid to the emperor in the expedition he was about to undertake against Milan, but he was obliged to raise the troops at his own expense, as the diet refused to admit his right to levy an army for so distant and useless an expedition. He assembled ten thousand men, and with them crossed the Alps. The Chekhs signalized themselves by their bravery, especially at the siege of Milan, and there is still to be seen in the cathedral at Prague one of the trophies of this war.

Later on, Vladislav went to the aid of the king of Hungary, Stephen III., whose two daughters his sons had married. Again the diet refused to grant him an army, but he set out with volunteers and fought with some success against the Eastern emperor. These victories, which spread his fame abroad in foreign lands, did not, however, prevent the revolt of the princes at home, and the emperor Frederick, with but little gratitude for old services, favoured their attempts. In 1178, Vladislav, weary of power, abdicated and retired to a convent. Several rivals contended for the supreme power, and they were all cited to appear before the tribunal of Barbarossa at Nuremberg, the emperor claiming the right of deciding the succession at the same time that he suppressed the title of king which he had previously granted to Vladislav.

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Again Bohemia fell into anarchy, and the emperor interfered continually in its affairs. Space fails us to give any details of these inglorious struggles, in which blood was shed on more than one field of battle, and in which even ecclesiastics took part. We find the bishop of Prague, in 1187, declaring that his position as prince of the Holy Empire gave him the right to refuse obedience to the prince of Bohemia. It was only on the accession of Premysl Otokar I. (1197) that the country began once more to breathe freely.

Premysl Otokar I., Hereditary King (1197–1230)—*Vacslav I.* (1230–1253)—*Invasion of the Tartars* (1242).

This time of anarchy proved fatal to Bohemia. The quarrels among the princes increased the power of the nobles, who believed they had the right to decide the election to the throne, while they also made the interference of the empire in the internal affairs of the nation increasingly easy. The great lords took advantage of the opportunities such a time gave them to oppress the people and to exact from them heavy taxes and enforced labour. To escape from these exactions, the small proprietors found themselves obliged to seek the protection of the more powerful lords, and this enabled the nobles to form bodies of vassals dependent on them. Magnates who had supported the prince at the time of his election claimed a right to be repaid for such support by gifts of land. Gradually, by these means, an hereditary nobility was created, whose power no longer depended on the office they held in the household or army of the prince, but on the possession of large estates; and the owners of these large estates claimed all the rights of sovereigns, the administration of justice, the levying of troops, and the power of leading them to battle under standards of their own. This hereditary great nobility begins to take form towards the end of the twelfth century. It was naturally much more independent of the prince than an aristocracy of officials, and its assemblies were real diets in which the will of the prince was discussed and controlled. As early as the twelfth century it was a generally admitted,

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though unwritten, principle that the prince had no right, except in case of invasion, to summon the national army without the consent of the diet; and laws could only be passed with its help. It was only under extraordinary circumstances that the king might levy taxes, as he possessed large estates which amply sufficed for his own requirements. As was the case throughout Europe, the Church had acquired considerable influence. There were six cathedral chapters in Bohemia and nine Benedictine monasteries, besides convents belonging to the Premonstratensians, Cistercians, and Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Since the time of Gregory VII. papal legates had frequently visited the country. Almost all the peasants were serfs of the soil, some privileges and a certain amount of freedom being granted, however, to those who had cleared the ground of forests. There was but little commerce, and what there was had fallen mainly into the hands of Jews and foreigners, especially Germans. Ever since the time of Vratislav there had been a German colony in Prague, and this colony was subject to a special tribunal. Germans also obtained many of the more important positions in State and Church, owing to the close relations which were continually kept up with the empire, the princes usually marrying German princesses who used their influence in favour of their countrymen. We often find the heir to the throne bearing two names, one Slav, the other German, such as Premysl Otokar, Vladislav Heinrich, and the policy of such monarchs, who were half Slav and half German, was dynastic rather than national.

On the death of the emperor Henry IV. (1197) Philip of Swabia was elected emperor, but his rights were disputed by Otto of Brunswick. Premysl took the side of Philip, and obtained important advantages for his country in exchange for his services. The emperor undertook to interfere no more in the internal affairs of Bohemia, but simply to confirm her own choice of a prince; he restored the royal title, and he renounced all right to the investiture of the bishop of Prague. Premysl had himself solemnly crowned, and in 1204 Innocent

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III., by a special bull, confirmed the royal title granted to the princes of Bohemia.

The friendship of the emperor and the new king lasted but a short time. It was soon disturbed by a war which ended in a treaty, followed by the betrothal of the emperor's daughter Cunegunda to the heir of the king of Bohemia (1206). Later on, Premysl lent his aid to Frederick II. to ensure his election to the empire, and again obtained payment for his services by important concessions from the emperor. The kings of Bohemia were no longer to be obliged to furnish three hundred men for expeditions to Rome, this tribute being replaced by the payment of three hundred marks in gold; they were no longer to be required to attend the diets of the empire, unless they were held in towns near their frontiers, such as Bamburg, Nuremberg, or Merseburg. Besides this, Frederick gave Premysl several towns in Misnia (Meissen) (1216); and when Premysl caused his son Vacslav to be elected and proclaimed by the national diet, this election was immediately recognized by the emperor. The succession to the throne by the law of primogeniture in the direct line thus became finally the law of the kingdom. Premysl more than once used his power with an energy which had never been shown by any of his predecessors; on the death of Vladislav, margrave of Moravia, he assigned that province as an appanage to his two younger sons, and in his own lifetime he had his son Vacslav crowned king of Bohemia. At this coronation was omitted for the first time the ceremony of showing to the new prince the sandals and wallet of the labourer Premysl, the founder of the dynasty; no doubt the Bohemians were ashamed of this old national custom, and did not care to make use of it before the foreign princess. But the populace saw in this omission an irritating sign of the increasing ascendency of the foreigner in their land. The number of Germans in the capital was growing rapidly; while in the provinces they had colonized certain towns, and had even begun to found whole villages on the north-west frontier of Bohemia.

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The emperor Frederick had chosen the daughter of Premysl Otokar as the future bride of his first-born son, but, faithless to his promise, he had afterwards affianced him to the daughter of Leopold II. of Austria. This led to another fruitless war between Bohemia and Austria.

Vacslav, called the One-eyed, peacefully succeeded his father (1230–1253). His education had been entirely German, and his reign proved a golden age for the Germans. They obtained leave to fortify the towns they dwelt in, and at this time the native nobility began to build for themselves strong castles, to which they usually gave German names, such as Steinberg, Lichtenburg, etc. The knightly orders, such as the Hospitalers and Templars, also established "commanderies" in the country, while the Dominicans and begging friars multiplied greatly. Luxury increased, and knightly habits and customs became the fashion. King Vacslav was one of the most brilliant sovereigns in Europe; he invited minnesingers to his court, and himself composed love-songs after their fashion.

His reign, however, was not peaceful. The growing enmity of the house of the Premyslides and the house of Austria led to continual wars between them, in which Bavaria and Hungary took the side of Bohemia. They ended, however, fortunately for Vacslav. Frederick of Austria was obliged to give up to him some of his lands to the north of the Danube, and the Austrian princess Gertrude, the heiress of the duke of Austria, was affianced to Vladislav, the heir-apparent of Bohemia. This marriage prepared the way for the annexation of Austria and Styria to the crown of Bohemia.

A more serious event was the invasion of Moravia by the Tartars, or Mongols. We have already seen how these dreaded hordes rushed down upon Europe. One of them at this time invaded Silesia, and the whole of Christendom took fright. Pope Gregory IX. caused a crusade to be preached against them, but the quarrels then going on between the Holy See and the empire made any united effort impossible, and the

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threatened lands were obliged to depend upon themselves for their defence. King Vacslav manfully withstood the storm, and assembled under his banner forty thousand foot soldiers and six thousand horsemen. The enemy had already penetrated into Moravia, where they pillaged, ravaged, and burnt towns, castles, and monasteries. The inhabitants fled to the woods. The fortified towns of Olomouc and Brno alone resisted this torrent of invaders, who overthrew everything in their course. The Chekhs met the Tartars beneath the walls of Olomouc, where, according to tradition, they were commanded by a brave leader named Jaroslav, of the family of Sternberg. They were victorious, and the Tartars, either in consequence of the terror inspired by this defeat, or as the result of that capricious restlessness which has always distinguished Asiatic invaders, suddenly turned aside and threw themselves upon Hungary (1242).[1]

A common danger had drawn the houses of Austria and Bohemia together, but when it had passed their alliance came to an end. Frederick even wished to give up the marriage proposed between the princess Gertrude and prince Vladislav, and a war between the two countries was needed before he could be induced to keep his word (1246). The young prince received Moravia as a marriage gift from his father, this province having been in the hands of the king since the year 1239; and soon afterwards, on the death of Frederick, the last of the Babenbergs, in spite of the emperor's opposition, he obtained possession of Austria and Styria. But Vladislav himself died the following year, and the emperor hastened to place a lieutenant of his own over these two provinces. Vacslav dared not interfere at that time, as his own throne was menaced by dangerous conspiracies. The greater part of the nobles had been irritated by his amours, his excessive prodigality, and his favouritism. The malcontents insisted that Premysl Otokar, the son of Vacslav, should share the government with his father. War broke out between the father and son, and

[1] See p. 83.

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Vacslav was obliged to beg for assistance from the German princes. It was only with great difficulty, and after employing by turns force and cunning, that he was able at last to put down this insurrection, which had so inconveniently disturbed his wonted life of love and the chase.

In 1251, the states of Austria invited Premysl Otokar to become their ruler. Bela, king of Hungary, in alliance with Daniel, grand prince of Galicia, disputed the possession of Styria with him; but in spite of this Premysl was able to retain the larger part of his new territory. Vacslav the One-eyed, who had rendered his son no assistance whatever in these difficult circumstances, died in 1253. It was in the reign of this knightly prince that Bohemia adopted the arms which she bears to this day, a crowned lion with two tails, *argent*, on a field *gules*.

Premysl Otokar II. (1250–1278)—*Struggle against Rudolf of Habsburg—Glory and Decay of Bohemia.*

On his accession to the throne of Bohemia, Premysl Otokar II. was one of the most powerful monarchs of Europe, Bohemia, Moravia, Upper Lusatia, and Upper and Lower Austria being united under his rule. The character of the new king was equal to his high position. He had apparently done wrong in taking up arms against his father, but the conduct of Vacslav and the interests of the kingdom had justified his rebellion. Just, hard-working, and valiant in war, he was both a wise ruler and an able leader. National historians accuse him of having, like his father and his uncle, too much encouraged foreign manners and customs, and consequently of having helped to increase the influence of the Germans in Bohemia. The rhymed chronicle of Dalemil exclaims, "How sad to think that so noble a king should not have remained true to his native tongue! What glory he would have acquired, and what riches, by its help! He would have destroyed all his enemies." Premysl Otokar's first care was the royal domain, which had been impoverished and dismembered by the careless

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liberality of his father and by civil war. He obliged all estates held illegally to be given up to him, and built fortresses on his lands, which he placed in the hands of royal burgraves, whose business it was to check all possible risings of the nobles, and to maintain order and public security. He increased the number of German colonies in Bohemia and Moravia, and created a certain number of royal towns, which paid taxes directly to the king and had the right of self-government, subject only to the royal control; some of these even observed the Magdeburg code. Some of the forests on the frontier, moreover, were reclaimed by German colonists, which explains the presence of Germans in such large numbers in these districts. Owing to these measures, the riches both of the kingdom and the royal domain increased considerably during the reign of Premysl Otokar II.; but, at the same time, the increasing number of foreigners and the introduction of a new system of law prepared the way for numerous disputes in the future. No prince had ever ascended the throne under such favourable circumstances. Frederick II. had just died in Italy, and the long interregnum in the empire had begun, during which the electors offered the crown to the highest bidder. Otokar was either the relative or the friend of almost all his more powerful neighbours. In Bavaria alone he had enemies, who envied him the possession of Upper Austria, while the king of Hungary, supported by the princes of Cracow and Galicia, was the only neighbour he need dread. Pope Innocent IV. was favourable to him, and in the beginning of his reign invited him to undertake a crusade against the pagan Prussians on the shores of the Baltic, whom the Teutonic Knights had not yet been able either to conquer or to convert. Such an enterprise had almost a national interest for Bohemia, for it was in these distant lands that the great apostle of the Chekhs, St. Vojtech, had been martyred. Under the command of Premysl Otokar and the margraves of Brandenburg and Misnia, sixty thousand men marched to the north and crossed the rivers on ice; they made their way into the country of the pagans, burned

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the sacred trees and the images of their gods, and defeated the Prussians, of whom a large number were baptized. Otokar founded the city of Kralovec (Königsberg) in the conquered land. Thus, by a strange freak of fortune, a king of Bohemia founded in a pagan land the town where, in later times, the sovereigns of German Prussia were to be crowned.

These exploits spread the fame of Premysl Otokar throughout Europe, and in 1256 the archbishop of Cologne came to Prague to offer him the imperial crown. He refused it, and the electors then bestowed it on Richard of Cornwall, brother of the king of England, a prince who possessed but little power, and not an inch of land in Germany. Premysl Otokar, however, was far from taking no interest in the affairs of the neighbouring lands. Soon after this, we find him interfering in favour of the archbishop of Salzburg, his relative, whom the princes of Bavaria wished to deprive of his see. This act of interference brought him into conflict with Hungary, as Styria took advantage of it to free herself from the suzerainty of Hungary, and Otokar settled one of his lieutenants at Gratz. The struggle between Bohemia and Hungary began to take formidable proportions, for we find that Bela IV. and his allies set on foot an army of one hundred and forty thousand men, a considerable number for those times, while Otokar marched against them, aided by the margraves of Brandenburg and Misnia and the princes of Silesia and Carniola.

The two adversaries met in the plains of Austria, on the two banks of the Morava, near the juncture of that river with the Danube. Neither army dared cross the stream to begin the attack. According to the knightly custom of the time, Otokar sent a messenger to the king of Hungary to demand either that he should cross the river, or that he should allow the army of the Chekhs to cross, in order that the battle should begin in proper form. Bela chose to cross himself, and Otokar withdrew his troops in order to leave him a clear field. The battle took place near the village of Cressenn-

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brünn. The heavy Bohemian cavalry, clad in armour, repulsed the impetuous attack of the Hungarians, the Cumans fled, and Prince Stephen, heir presumptive to the crown of Hungary, was seriously wounded. Soon the rout of the Hungarians became general; eighteen thousand men were slain, and it is said that fourteen thousand were drowned in the Morava. The Chekhs pursued the enemy as far as Poszony (Presburg). Bela sued for peace, abandoning all claims on Styria, and shortly after, Richard of Cornwall granted the investiture of this Austrian province to Premysl Otokar.

This success increased the fame of Otokar. The Tartars named him the Iron King, because of the heavily armed knights whom he led to war; the Christian princes called him the Golden King, because of the magnificence of his court. But this mighty monarch had no heir. He therefore obtained permission from the pope to divorce his wife, Margaret of Austria, widow of the last of the Babenbergs, whom he had married from ambition, and sought the hand of the princess Cunegunda, daughter of the Russian prince, Michael Vsevolodovitch, who had taken refuge in Hungary at the time of the Tartar invasion. She was grand-daughter of Bela, and this marriage strengthened the alliance which had been concluded between the two kingdoms. It was celebrated with great pomp on that plain of the Morava which had so lately been the scene of the struggle between their armies.

Soon after this, a successful expedition against Bavaria, undertaken on behalf of the archbishop of Salzburg, enabled Bohemia to acquire some new territories; amongst others, Cheb or Eger, where Wallenstein was assassinated in later times. Otokar was now more powerful than any of the German princes, and, finding himself in a position to dictate to them, he resolved to free his country from the spiritual suzerainty of the archbishopric of Maintz and to create an archbishopric at Olomouc; but he was not able to carry out his intention.

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In 1269, Ulric, duke of Carinthia and Carniola, dying without children, left his lands to the king of Bohemia, who took possession of them, in spite of the resistance offered by the patriarch of Aquileia, Philip, and the king of Hungary, Stephen V. (1269). The kingdom of Bohemia now extended from the Riesengebirge to the Adriatic.

Soon after this, war broke out once more between Bohemia and Hungary, during which the Magyars ravaged Austria and carried off sixteen thousand persons into captivity. Otokar, in return, invaded Hungary, captured Poszony and Nitra, crossed the Danube, and defied the Hungarians on the banks of the Leitha. Want of provisions and an unexpected attack from duke Henry of Bavaria obliged him, however, to make peace. Again, in 1271, the archbishop of Cologne came in the name of several of the German princes to offer him the imperial crown, and again Otokar deemed it prudent to refuse. No doubt the crown of St. Vacslav, though it might be less brilliant, appeared to him far more secure than that of the empire.

This was, however, a fatal resolution for Bohemia and her king, as Rudolf of Habsburg was elected in his stead, and Rudolf soon found it impossible to maintain his position with dignity while so powerful a rival as the king of Bohemia stood by his side. The election had taken place without Otokar's consent, and in defiance of his rights as an elector, and no sooner did he hear of the accession of the new sovereign, than he hastily concluded a peace with Hungary, against which country he had again taken up arms in consequence of the assassination of his father-in-law, Bela. He protested against the election of his rival, and appealed to the pope, Gregory X.; but in 1274 the sovereign pontiff recognized the new emperor. Rudolf prepared for the struggle with his formidable adversary, calling to his aid both the power of the law and of arms. He persuaded the assembly of princes, in a meeting held at Nuremberg, to decide that all fiefs of the empire which had become vacant since the excommunication of Frederick II. ought to belong to the king of the

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Romans, and that every vassal who should not receive investiture in the space of a year and a day should forfeit his fiefs. This was to demand from Otokar all that he had inherited from the houses of Carinthia and Austria. The count palatine Ludwig cited Otokar to appear before the tribunal of the empire, on the ground that he had not, during a year and a day, done homage for his dominions. Besides this, Rudolf excited the subjects of Otokar in Austria, Carinthia, and Styria to revolt, and invited the archbishop of Salzburg and the bishop of Prague to assist the rebels, while, at the same time, he entered into a secret understanding with some of those nobles in Bohemia who could not forgive the king for having deprived them of the crown-lands which they had unjustly appropriated.

All the enemies of Otokar rallied round the emperor, but the king of Bohemia believed himself sufficiently powerful to hold his own against them. He subdued the revolts in Austria and Styria, and even invaded the domains of the Church in Salzburg. Rudolf, on his side, prepared for the war by entering into alliance with Frederick, burgrave of Nuremburg, Menhardt, the count of Tyrol, and Ludwig of Bavaria.

Humiliation and Death of Premysl Otokar II. (1278).

On the 15th of May, 1275, Otokar was placed under the ban of the empire, and all his lands and offices declared forfeited if within a year he should not give in his submission. At the expiration of that time a German army assembled at Nuremberg, ready to invade Bohemia, while the count of Tyrol prepared to attack Carinthia and Styria. The duke of Bavaria, who had at first taken the side of Otokar, also abandoned him, and the Hungarians, gained over by Rudolf, undertook to march against Austria and Moravia; blind to their own interests in so doing, they were weakening the only state which stood between them and the greed of Germany. Success crowned the efforts of the allies. Carinthia and Styria fell into the hands of Menhardt of Tyrol, while Rudolf,

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suddenly throwing himself upon Austria, captured Vienna. This town had been devoted to Otokar, but yielded before the threat of Rudolf to tear up all the vines which had been planted round the city.

Otokar had concentrated his army on the frontiers of Bavaria, on which side he expected the enemy. Surprised by these unforeseen attacks, he now made a forced march on Austria, but at this critical moment the family of the Vitkovici, one of the most powerful in his kingdom, whose chief then was Zavisa of Falkenstein, abandoned the cause of Premysl Otokar, and set to work to ravage the royal domain. It seemed impossible to withstand so many enemies at once; the army of Otokar was reduced to twenty thousand men, while the forces of his adversary were far more considerable. The king of Bohemia found himself forced to sue for peace, and to gain it, he was obliged to sacrifice to Rudolf those countries which, together with the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, were in time to form the larger part of the Austrian empire, namely, Carinthia, Carniola, Austria, and Styria, together with the territory of Cheb (Eger). His only son, Vacslav, was to marry the daughter of Rudolf, and Hartmann, the son of Rudolf, the daughter of Otokar. The first of the Habsburgs thus entered upon that "policy of marriages" which was one day to establish the fortunes of his house;[1] and, not content with having impoverished and humiliated the king of Bohemia, he secured for his race the inheritance of the crown of St. Vacslav, in case of the extinction of that of the Premyslides. Rudolf gave his daughter as her dowry Lower Austria and forty thousand golden ducats, and the same sum of money to the daughter of Otokar. The king of Hungary was a third party to the treaty, and Bohemia was forced to restore all the lands she had taken from him in the last war.

By the terms of this treaty Otokar recognized Rudolf as emperor, and accepted from his hands investiture for the

[1] "Bella gerant alii; tu, felix Austria, nube;
Quae dat Mars aliis, dat tibi regna Venus."

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kingdom of Bohemia and the landgraviate of Moravia. As it was understood by the king of Bohemia, this clause neither interfered with the independence of the realm nor with its internal government. Rudolf, however, insisted on regarding Bohemia as an integral part of the empire, and claimed the right to interfere in those disputes which arose between Otokar and the Bohemian nobles who had deserted his cause; in a word, he meant to reduce Bohemia to a state of complete vassalage. Otokar resisted, and long negotiations were entered into by the two kings, but they came to nothing. Two such rivals could not be reconciled, and it was inevitable that one of them should be forced to submit to the other. Otokar had but a small army of thirty thousand men with which to fight the empire, and no other allies than the princes of Silesia. Nevertheless, he began a fresh campaign, and during the summer of 1278 he made his way into Lower Austria by the Morava and reached Marchegg, close to the glorious battle-field of Cressennbrünn, on the right bank of the stream. Rudolf, who, since his last victories, had established his seat of government at Vienna, marched to meet him, and soon forced him to retreat, and on the 26th of August, 1278, a battle took place between them, which was one of the most terrible of the Middle Ages, and one of the most important in its results.

Rudolf had secured the alliance of the king of Hungary, and the battle began with a furious attack on the flanks of the Bohemian army by the Cuman horsemen on their swift steeds. The two kings themselves more than once took part in the fight. The fortunes of the day remained for some time doubtful, but suddenly the rear-guard of the Bohemian army, at the moment of their advance, took to flight, and from this time the day was lost. Otokar rushed into the midst of his enemies, and gave himself up as prisoner, but he was slain by two Austrian knights, and his body, stripped of its armour, was shamefully outraged. Rudolf, who arrived too late to save his life, caused his remains to be gathered together and carried to Vienna, where they were clothed in the royal purple and

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exposed for four and twenty days. The court of Rome, which was one of the many allies of Rudolf, had placed the king of Bohemia under an interdict, and his body was in consequence refused Christian burial. But Bohemia took no heed of the interdict. Both the Church and the nation mourned for the sovereign who, notwithstanding his faults, had gained so much glory for his kingdom. There were some who regretted him even in Germany. "Virtue and honour," says Henry of Heinburg, "weep for the king of Bohemia; his hand was liberal; he was the rampart of Christendom against the Cumans; he was a lion of courage, an eagle of goodness."

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CHAPTER VIII.

THE LATER PREMYSLIDES.

The Last Premyslides—Vacslav II. King of Bohemia and Poland (1278–1305)—*Vacslav III.* (1305–1306).

RUDOLF did not lay down his arms on the death of the king of Bohemia, but at the head of his victorious army he made his way into Moravia. The towns here were mostly inhabited by German colonists, by whom he was gladly welcomed, but he allowed the country districts to be horribly ravaged, and treated the whole land as conquered territory and a fief of the empire. To some of the towns he granted important privileges, making Brno (Brünn) one of the free cities of the empire. The nobles submitted, and Cunegunda, the widow of Otokar, threw herself and her son on the mercy of the conqueror. In Bohemia meanwhile the greatest confusion prevailed. Those nobles who had been faithless to Otokar, and whom he had banished from the kingdom, returned and prepared to offer the crown to Rudolf, while the patriots who wished to maintain the independence of their country made ready to defend it. Young Vacslav, the heir of Otokar, was only seven years of age. Two princes were eager to become his guardians—Henry of Vratislav (Breslau) and Otto, margrave of Brandenburg; the latter was nephew of the late king, and was able to furnish some troops for the defence of Bohemia. Meantime Rudolf had invaded and ravaged the country as far as Czaslaw (Caslav) and Kutna Hora (Kuttenberg), and the Bohemian nobles, with

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an army, marched to Kolin, on the Elbe, to await his coming, prepared to fight for their independence. Rudolf, however, did not yet feel himself sufficiently strong to complete the conquest of the country, and therefore determined to conclude such a treaty as should leave him full opportunity for doing so in the future. Accordingly an agreement was entered into by which he was to be allowed to keep Moravia in his power for five years, during which time the government of Bohemia was to be left in the hands of Otto of Brandenburg. The old arrangements regarding marriages between the families of the Habsburgs and the Premyslides were renewed at the same time, and it was decided that Vacslav should marry the princess Guta, who was the daughter of Rudolf, and the emperor's son, Rudolf, Aneska, the daughter of Otokar. The oldest of these children who were thus sacrificed to the ambition of their father was only ten years of age. But Rudolf was not satisfied with a simple promise; he insisted that these absurd unions should receive the sanction of the Church, and the double marriage was celebrated on the same day in the town of Jihlava (Iglau) in Moravia. After the ceremony the children returned to the care of their parents, that their education, which had scarcely been begun, might be completed. The queen-mother of Bohemia and the new regent established themselves at Prague, and Rudolf returned to Austria, after having confided the temporary government of Moravia to the bishop of Olomouc, who had formerly been one of the devoted adherents of Otokar, and was now the no less zealous supporter of his successful adversary.

It was no spirit of self-sacrifice which led the margrave of Brandenburg to undertake the guardianship of his young cousin. No sooner was he settled at Prague, than he set himself industriously to work to plunder the country which he had been appointed to rule. He made friends with the chief members of the German colony, seized the revenues, and shut up the queen-mother and her son in a castle in a distant part of the country. He even sent the treasures of the cathedral

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of Prague to Brandenburg. Riots soon broke out, and fights took place between the Germans and the Chekhs, and between the royal towns and the nobles. The diet of the kingdom tried in vain to obtain the freedom of the king and his mother. The queen managed to escape, and took refuge in Moravia; but the young prince remained a prisoner, and was treated very harshly. At last the Chekh nobles grew tired of the insolence of Otto, and became indignant at the insults inflicted on the heir of their kings, and Otto was obliged to quit Bohemia and return to his own country. He carried off the young prince, however, with him, and left the government in the hands of Eberhardt, bishop of Brandenburg. An insurrection broke out, which was suppressed by bishop Eberhardt, with the help not only of the Germans already settled in Bohemia, but of adventurers of all kinds who had come out of Saxony prepared to take possession of the country as their prey, and Bohemia became the scene of the most furious struggles. But this new invasion of the Germans had at least the merit of arousing once more the sentiment of nationality among the nobles, who had hitherto too readily submitted to the attraction of foreign manners. At last Rudolf, who had for some time taken but little interest in the fate of his son-in-law, interfered; he began to see that if Otto were to get rid of prince Vacslav and keep Bohemia for himself, the hopes with which he had concluded the double marriage of Jihlava would be seriously endangered. In the month of September, 1280, he entered Bohemia, and brought about a truce by which the nobles and the representatives of the towns agreed to maintain the regency of Otto of Brandenburg, provided that he would not leave the government in the hands of foreigners during his frequent absences from the country; that he would send all the foreign troops back into Brandenburg; oblige all Germans who were not settled in the land to leave it within three days on pain of death; and that, on the payment of fifteen thousand marks of gold, he would bring back the young prince Vacslav to his capital. But, notwithstanding this agreement, Otto managed to

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keep Vacslav in his power for three years longer, badly fed and badly clothed, and only finally agreed to give him up to his people on condition of their paying an additional ransom of twenty thousand marks of gold, or, should they fail to produce the sum required, the surrender of a certain number of the most important strongholds in the kingdom.

At last, in 1283, after a delay of five years, Vacslav came out of prison and ascended the throne. Rudolf, true to his engagements, gave up Moravia to him, and later on interfered to prevent the payment of the twenty thousand marks which the margrave of Brandenburg tried to extort. The Bohemians had looked forward with impatience to the accession of a prince who symbolized to them the awakening of the spirit of nationality and the new life which animated the kingdom. But Vacslav was too young to govern alone, and his mother, Cunegunda, came with him to Prague. During her exile in Moravia she had married Zavisa de Falkenstein, a Chekh nobleman, who was an elegant soldier and a poet of some talent. He had won the love of the royal widow by his brilliant qualities, and obtained great influence over Vacslav. This influence continued even after the death of Cunegunda, and enabled him to enrich himself at the expense of the state, while he encouraged Vacslav in his love of pleasure. When the young queen Guta was sent to Prague, Rudolf insisted on his removal from the court, and Zavisa was forced to retire to his estates on the confines of Bohemia and Moravia. Still powerful and still ambitious, he married the sister of Ladislas, king of Hungary, and was accused of endeavouring to make his lands an independent principality. Such a subject was too formidable not to be an object of fear to the king. Vacslav invited him to visit him at Prague, and then threw him into prison. He amused himself during his captivity by the composition of songs in the Bohemian tongue, which have now entirely disappeared, but which continued popular for a long time. The friends of the prisoner rose in arms, and help was sent to them by the king of Hungary, while Rudolf interfered

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also and furnished troops to his son-in-law. The rebels held out for some time, and it was necessary to besiege them one by one in their castles. Rudolf gave Vacslav one piece of advice which was rather politic than Christian, when he suggested that he should take his prisoner Zavisa on all his expeditions, and summon each burgrave to surrender, telling him that, in case of refusal, the head of Zavisa would be cut off. This advice was followed, and several of the rebels submitted in consequence. At last the king arrived before the castle of Hluboka, not far from Budejovice (Budweiss), which was commanded by Vitek, the brother of Zavisa. The dreadful summons was proclaimed, but Vitek did not believe the threat of the king and would not yield, whereupon the head of his brother was cut off before his eyes in front of the castle ditch. The tragic end of Zavisa, his brilliant qualities, and his poetic talents have secured for his name great popularity, which has been revived in the present century by those interested in the national literature. At this time Vacslav was nineteen. This act of severity startled the rebels, and thenceforward the royal authority was recognized throughout the land.

Vacslav increased the revenues of the crown, and worked on a large scale the silver mines of Bohemia, which were then extremely rich, especially that of Kutna Hora, "the mountain of mines." He kept up a luxurious court, which enriched the town of Prague and made it the favourite abode of foreigners. That city became in his day the seat of several renowned schools.

The series of fortunate events which placed the crown of Poland on the head of Vacslav helped to make him one of the most powerful monarchs of Christendom.

For some time past the custom of creating appanages had seriously weakened Poland. It was now more or less equally divided among all the princes who were descended from the dynasty of the Piasts; the one who ruled over Lesser Poland, and whose seat of government was at Cracow, being the overlord. His power, however, had become almost nominal, for

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the right of primogeniture was but little respected, and Mazovia, Silesia, and Greater Poland had each in turn endeavoured to get possession of Cracow and Lesser Poland. Even the lesser principalities themselves began to split up, and in Silesia alone we hear of no less than ten princes. Some of these smaller princes endeavoured to strengthen their position by foreign alliances, and with this object in view we find, in 1288, a prince of Vratislav (Breslau) doing homage to the emperor for his principality. In the following year another Silesian prince, Kazimir of Bytom, placed himself under Vacslav, and in 1291 three others followed his example. This event was soon followed by the formation of a party in Cracow which, taking advantage of the confusion then prevailing, offered the province of Lesser Poland to the Bohemian king. Vacslav accepted the offer, proceeded to Cracow, and took possession of that town and of the duchy of Sandomir.[1]

Troubles continued to increase, and a few years later the nobles of Greater Poland offered their province also to Vacslav. He caused himself to be crowned at Gniezno, obliged the princes of Mazovia[2] to recognize his suzerainty, and thus united the kingdom of the Piasts to that of the Premyslides. This union, which might have proved so advantageous for the two countries, was unfortunately of very short duration, and did not last beyond the life of Vacslav. The time had not yet come for the Slav nations to understand the duties which their common origin imposed upon them, and the need there was for common action against the Germans. Only a short time before, Premysl Otakar had invited the Poles to help him in his struggles against the insatiable ambition of the Germans, and had received but little assistance. In years to come the two crowns of Bohemia and Poland were once more to be united on the same head; but the two countries were never able to form a powerful or permanent state.

[1] Sandomir was the province east of Cracovia; its chief town, Sandomir, is on the Vistula, about midway between Cracow and Warsaw.

[2] The duchy of Mazovia was north of Sandomiria.

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Another crown was soon offered to Vacslav. The race of Arpad had become extinct in 1301, and although the pope, Boniface VIII., had chosen Robert of Anjou to be king of Hungary, some of the nobles revolted against the papal pretensions, and offered the throne to Vacslav. He dared not accept it for himself, but he suggested to the Magyars the choice of his son of twelve years of age, who was accordingly crowned at Szekes Fejervar (Stuhl Weissenburg) in 1301. The emperor Albert and the sovereign pontiff refused to sanction this election, and entered into an alliance against Bohemia, the pope persisting in recognizing the count of Anjou as king of Hungary and offering the crown of Poland to Wladislaw Lokietek. The emperor called upon Vacslav to renounce the crown which he had accepted without the imperial consent, and demanded the cession of the province of Misnia and the country of Eger (Cheb); he also claimed the payment of all the arrears of the tenths due to the empire from the mines of Kutna Hora (1303). Vacslav was not afraid of the struggle. He quickly assembled an army, marched into Hungary as far as Buda, carried off the young king, together with the crown and royal insignia, and brought them into Bohemia, and then made ready to meet the imperial forces. Albert I. entered Bohemia by way of Budejovice, and marched upon Kutna Hora, the rich mines there having especially excited his greed. But this town defended itself bravely, and when the emperor saw the royal troops arrive he quitted Bohemia in haste. Vacslav was preparing to invade Austria in his turn, when he died, after a short illness (1305).

Albert hastily concluded a peace with his successor, Vacslav III., on terms most unfavourable to Bohemia, as they obliged him to give up to the emperor Misnia and the country of Cheb. Albert, on his side, renounced all interference in the disputes between Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland. Vacslav III. was a frivolous and debauched prince, who knew not how to make the most of the situation. He gave up his rights to the crown of Hungary to his friend

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Otto of Bavaria, and allowed Wladislaw Lokietek to establish himself on the throne of Poland, though when he was remonstrated with by the abbot Conrad of Zbraslav, one of his councillors, he took up arms to defend his rights to the latter kingdom. Upon his march he stopped at Olomouc, and there he was treacherously assassinated by a Thuringian knight (1306). The man was immediately slain by the Bohemian courtiers, and died without naming his accomplices—without any one even thinking of asking him if he had any accomplices. Rumour said that he had been employed by the emperor Albert, but, in the entire absence of documentary evidence, it would be rash to credit this assertion. At the same time, when we remember the plans formed by the emperor Rudolf after the death of Otokar, and the intrigues which followed on the death of Vacslav III., it is difficult not to apply to this murder the legal maxim, *Is fecit cui prodest.* The patriot Dalimil, in spite of his ambiguous language, allows us to guess with tolerable ease on whom his suspicions fell. "Ah! Thuringian, evil man, what hast thou done?" writes the chronicler poet. "Was it perchance after the manner of thy race thus to slay the last of our kings? Rather would I say . . . But let us leave the guilty to the judgment of God."

Vacslav left no son, and with him the dynasty of the Premyslides, who had reigned over Bohemia since mythical times, became extinct. It came to an end in 1306. The race of Arpad disappeared in 1301. There is something curious in this coincidence.

Bohemia under the Premyslides—Bohemia and the Empire.

The death of the last of the Premyslides marks an important date in the history of Bohemia. Up to this time, notwithstanding some periods of anarchy, the country had recognized the hereditary authority of a national dynasty. On the death of Vacslav without heirs, it was suddenly left to itself, an easy prey to the greed of its neighbours, and from this time we rarely find it governed by a national king. The foreign elements

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which had been allowed to settle within it continued to increase in power, and caused complications, disturbances, and even at times catastrophes, which would have completely annihilated any people less vigorous than the Chekhs. Before we turn our attention to this new period, it will not be without interest to look back and to study, on the one hand, the position of Bohemia in its international relations with the emperor and empire; on the other, the internal condition of the country and the development of its civilization.

The neighbourhood of Germany has always been dangerous for non-German nations, and Bohemia has felt this more than most countries. Since the time when Charles the Great, with the help of the pope, restored the empire of the West, the emperor had looked upon himself as the temporal head of Christendom. Even those states which had no immediate relations with him, such as England and Spain, admitted this claim in theory. "*Semper Augustus*," the epithet added to the title of emperor, came to be translated "*Immer Mehrer des Reichs*," *i.e.* "He who continually increases the empire." Those lands which the emperor did not attempt to conquer were considered as owing that privilege to the imperial generosity. At times it was necessary to purchase this privilege by the payment of tribute, and thus, according to the somewhat doubtful testimony of Eginhard, Bohemia paid tribute to Charles the Great. In a document of the year 817, Louis the Pious represents Bohemia, and also the country of the Avars, and the Slavs to the west of Bavaria, as all forming part of the empire. At the end of the ninth century, as we have already seen, Bohemia was paying to the emperor a tribute of one hundred and twenty oxen and five hundred marks of silver. In 895, the two princes, Spytihnev and Vratislav, tired of the authority of Svatopluk, did homage for their states to the emperor. In 928, prince Vacslav I. renewed the engagement to pay the tribute of oxen and silver. In 1081, this was changed into one which bound Bohemia to furnish three hundred knights to accompany the emperor to Rome for his

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coronation. At the same time, we do not hear of the princes of Bohemia doing homage or claiming investiture at the accession of each German sovereign, and the payment of tribute proves nothing more than that there was an international treaty between them. Vassals, indeed, did not pay tribute. Louis the Child and Henry the Fowler paid tribute to Hungary, but they were not the vassals of Hungary; Poland at one time paid tribute to Bohemia in the same way, but she was not her vassal. The emperor never exercised any right of sovereignty over Bohemia; he never levied troops, he exercised no judicial authority, nor could he bind Bohemia by the treaties which he entered into with the court of Rome. The interference of the empire in the disputes of the princes of Bohemia (as, for example, in the matter of inheritance) was exactly the same in character as the interference of the Chekhs themselves in the affairs of Poland and Hungary. The emperor Lothar failed in his attempts to impose a king on Bohemia in 1126. At the beginning of the twelfth century a Bohemian prince received the honorary title of cup-bearer as a reward for services rendered to the empire. Later on, Otokar I. and Vacslav I. took part in the election of the emperor, but this title of elector was a purely personal one, and involved no sort of obligation on the part of Bohemia itself. Just as, at the present time, the sovereigns of Europe exchange orders of knighthood, and all the members, for example, of the order of the Golden Fleece recognize the king of Spain as their grand-master, so in the same way the acceptance of the title of king from the emperor implied, according to the notions of the time, no sort of feudal obligation. As time went on, the German emperors took advantage of the rivalries and quarrels of the Bohemian princes, just as the Tartars profited by the anarchy caused in Russia by the quarrels of the princes of the house of Rurik. They tried more than once to get possession of certain portions of Bohemia, such as the bishopric of Prague and the margraviate of Moravia, but after each attempt the unity of the kingdom was quickly restored. When once the pope had

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given his sanction to the adoption of the royal title, any special connection between the prince of Bohemia and the emperor resting on the imperial grant must have disappeared. After the election of Rudolf, Premysl Otokar II. was called upon to do homage for Bohemia and Moravia, and we have seen to what a struggle this claim gave rise. Albert I., in his treaty with Vacslav, renounced this claim, but we shall soon see how it was revived during the time of anarchy which followed the tragic death of the last of the Premyslides.

Thus the claim of the empire was never clearly defined. The power and individual pretensions of each sovereign differed, and history can only state the facts without being able to lay down any definite rule. But, at the same time, we can understand the conclusions arrived at by Pan-Germanic jurists who dream of the reconstruction of an ideal Holy Empire.

Bohemian Institutions—German Colonies.

The doctrine which maintains that all power proceeds from the people is confirmed by the history of Bohemia. The crown was elective before it became hereditary, and the prince was assisted by a diet which was at first composed of the chiefs of tribes, the heads of families, and the representatives of the free cities. Later on, the earlier Premyslides convoked diets in which we find the princes of the royal family, the higher clergy, twelve judges chosen by the sovereign, and the representatives of the nobles. The powers of this diet were mainly judicial and deliberative; by it the prince, who could only be chosen from the ruling family, was elected; the national militia was called out; and in exceptional cases taxes were levied. This diet also elected the bishop of Prague. But its powers were never very clearly defined, and the prince often governed without its aid. From the end of the twelfth century the power of the diets increased, and we often find them refusing their permission to the sovereign to levy troops and extraordinary taxes. The diet was also the highest court of justice. The earliest authentic documents dealing with the relations between the prince and

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the diet bear date 1310. The nobility was at first formed of the chiefs of the tribes, and later on of officials chosen by the prince, but the whole order of nobility was gradually modified by the feudal ideas which prevailed in Germany.

The territory of the kingdom of Bohemia during this period repeatedly extended beyond the present limits of Bohemia and Moravia. At various periods the frontier included portions of the present Saxony, Poland, Bavaria, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, but all these outlying districts, most of which were occupied by inhabitants not belonging to the Chekh race, were gradually lost. Their loss would have been of but slight importance if the Chekhs had been a strong and united nation within the quadrilateral formed by the mountains of Bohemia and Moravia. Unfortunately this was not the case. They allowed themselves to be not only weakened externally, but also internally, by the constant infiltration of a German element, which, from many points of view, was far more dangerous than ten serious defeats in the field. The time came when Bohemia had to struggle not only with enemies from without, but also with enemies from within. The Chekhs had found Bohemia deserted, and they had occupied only the centre of the country; the Germans had gradually taken possession of the mountainous districts and the frontiers, which had at first remained uncultivated and uninhabited. The Christian princes of Bohemia, unhappily, sought their wives among the Germans, and these foreign princesses brought to the court a large number of their countrymen, while a great many German priests and monks found their way into the churches and monasteries. German merchants, who were allowed to settle in the *vicus Teutonicorum* in Prague, ended by getting possession of an entire district of the town. From the twelfth century onward whole towns and villages of Germans were to be found along the frontiers, where the soil had been lately reclaimed, and many royal and baronial towns which were built by the king, nobles, and abbots, were occupied by German settlers. The celebrated poets of Germany,

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Ulric of Turlin, Ulric of Eschenbach, and Henry of Freiburg, appeared at the Bohemian court, and renowned soldiers filled their estates with Germans, as was the case, for example, at Komotau. A popular proverb says, "There are men everywhere, but there are Germans at Komotau." The mines of Kutna Hora and Nemecky Brod (the "German Ford") also attracted many foreigners.

The Slav agriculturists gladly left all trade and commerce in the hands of foreigners; in Poland the Jews, and in Bohemia the Germans, got possession of it. Some far-seeing patriots became alarmed at the growth of German influence. The Chekh chronicle of Dalemil, compiled probably in the fourteenth century, expresses, sometimes in very outspoken fashion, the grief and anger of a Slav who sees his native tongue and his fatherland threatened. The following words are put into the mouth of the princess Libusa:—"If a foreigner comes to rule you, your nation will not last. A wise man does not consult foreigners. A foreigner will employ the people of his own tongue and will seek to do you evil. He will divide your inheritance among his own people. Look well that you trust not your fortune to the stranger, O Bohemian chief! There, where but one language is spoken, there glory is to be found." But these warnings of some unknown patriot were to remain without any echo till the days when the Hussites unfurled the standard alike of religious reform and of national unity.

Religion—Arts—Civilization.

When the Catholic Church introduced the Roman liturgy into Bohemia, she did much to clear the way for German influences. Bohemia had been Christianized by Moravia and Germany, but, in consequence of the destruction of the archbishopric of the Moravians, she had been placed under the jurisdiction of Ratisbon, and remained so until the creation of the episcopal see of Prague, which was attached to the archbishopric of Mainz. The pope, when he made Bohemia into a bishopric, insisted that the Roman liturgy alone should be employed. The bishop was usually elected by the diet and

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the prince together; after the middle of the twelfth century he was chosen by the chapter, whose choice was ratified by the prince. Notwithstanding the papal decrees, the Slav liturgy continued to find some adherents. In 1032, prince Oldric founded the monastery of Sazava, in which it was used, but the Slav monks were soon exiled into Hungary in consequence of the protests of the Latin clergy. They were recalled in 1068, but disappear entirely in 1096.

Most of the foreign orders flourished in Bohemia. We find Benedictines, Premonstratensians, Cistercians, Johannites, Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Carthusians. The only schools in the country belonged to them. In the thirteenth century the most celebrated school was the *Studium Generale* established in the castle at Prague, where grammar and logic were taught by eminent masters. The clergy possessed considerable influence, and Bohemia remained faithful to Catholic unity down to the fourteenth century; the first heresies make their appearance in the beginning of that century.

Though the literature of that time was but little developed, it had produced some works of interest. The Latin tongue, so dear to the priests, had not entirely put an end to national culture. Cosmos, dean of the chapter of Prague, wrote a chronicle of Bohemia at the beginning of the eleventh century, which now, in spite of the pseudo-classical style of the author, is extremely valuable. We find religious hymns, sacred texts, lyric and heroic poems in the language of the Chekhs—some describing the life of the nation and of great poetic value; others, imitations of Christian or romantic legends of the Middle Ages, such as the legends of St. Catherine, St. Dorothy, and Alexander the Great.

Neither were the fine arts neglected. The Church interested itself in their development and employed them for religious purposes. At the end of the eleventh century, Bozetech, abbot of the Slav monastery of Sazava, is spoken of as a clever painter and a skilful carver in wood and stone. The chronicle relates how the bishop of Prague, jealous of his powers, imposed upon him a singular penance; he ordered

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him to carve a Christ in wood of the size of life, and to bear it to Rome on his shoulders.

The two styles of art, the Byzantine and the Italian, may be said to have met in Bohemia, but the triumph of the Roman Church carried with it that of Italian art. A large number of churches were built in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, among them the Roman basilica of St. Vit at Prague. About one hundred and fifty churches built in the Roman style are known to exist in Bohemia. Gothic art made its appearance there in the thirteenth century, and reached its highest point of delicacy in the fourteenth.

We have already seen how Prague became the seat of a brilliant and knightly court under the last Premsylides. The coronation of Vacslav II., in 1297, was one of the most brilliant ceremonies of the Middle Ages. "It was," says a German chronicle, "such a festival as had never been celebrated, neither by a king of Assyria, nor by Solomon himself." The number of strangers who flocked to it was so vast that, according to contemporary accounts, food had to be found for nineteen thousand horses. There came to it not less than twenty-eight princes, lay and ecclesiastic; the archbishops of Mainz and Magdeburg, the bishops of Prague, Olomouc, Cracow, Basel, and Constance; the archduke Albert of Austria, with a suite of seven thousand knights; the princes of Saxony, Brandenburg, and of Misnia. The town of Prague was not large enough to hold the crowd of visitors, and a vast palace of wood, decorated with valuable tapestry, was built on the neighbouring plain, and there the guests of high rank were entertained magnificently. In the public squares the fountains flowed with wine. The coronation took place in the cathedral of St. Vit. The royal crown was worth two thousand marks of silver; the sword and buckler, three thousand; the mantle, four thousand; and no one dared to say what was the worth of the girdle, the rings, and the royal cap. Such unheard-of splendour awaited the strangers who then visited the town of Prague!

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CHAPTER IX.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE AUSTRIAN GROUP—THE HOUSE OF BABENBERG, 973–1246.

The Eastern March—The First Babenbergs—Henry Iasomirgott (973–1177).

AUSTRIA, as is well known, is but the Latin form of the German Oesterreich, the kingdom of the east. This celebrated historical name appears for the first time in 996, in a document signed by the emperor Otto III. (*in regione vulgari nomine Osterrichi*).[1] The land to which it is there applied was created a *march* after the destruction of the Avar empire, and was governed like all the other German *marches*. Politically it was divided into two margraviates:[2] that of Friuli including Friuli properly so called, Lower Pannonia to the south of the Drave, Carinthia, Istria, and the interior of Dalmatia—the sea-coast having been ceded to the Eastern emperor;—the eastern margraviate comprising Lower Pannonia to the north of the Drave, Upper Pannonia, and the Ostmark properly so called. The Ostmark included the Traungau[3] to the east of the Enns, which was completely German, and the Grunzvittigau. The ecclesiastical govern-

[1] In other documents we find a Latin translation of the word—*orientale regnum—orientalis provincia*.

[2] *Mark graf*, count of the frontier.

[3] The *Traungau* is the district between the two tributaries of the Danube, the Enns and the Traun.

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ment of these lands was divided between the bishops of Salzburg and Aquileia. The bishopric of Salzburg had been founded in 710 by St. Emeran of Poictiers; that of Aquileia presumed to date its foundation from the time of the apostle St. Mark. The population was principally composed of Germans and Slavs, but except in Dalmatia, these Slavs gradually lost their individuality, and could not be distinguished from the rest of the inhabitants. The early history of these countries lacks the unity of interest which the fate of a dynasty or a nation gives to those of the Magyar and the Chekh. They form but a portion of the German kingdom, and have no strongly marked life of their own.

The march, with its varying frontier, had not even a geographical unity. In 876, it was enlarged by the addition of Bavaria; in 890, it lost Pannonia, which was given to Bracislav, the Croat prince, in return for his help against the Magyars, and in 937, it was destroyed and absorbed by the Magyars, who extended their frontier to the river Enns. After the battle of Lechfeld or Augsburg (955), Germany and Italy being no longer exposed to Hungarian invasions, the march was reconstituted and granted to the margrave Burkhard, the brother-in-law of Henry of Bavaria. Leopold of Babenberg succeeded him (973), and with him begins the dynasty of Babenberg, which ruled the country during the time of the Premyslides and the house of Arpad.

The Babenbergs derived their name from the castle of Babenberg, built by Henry, margrave of Nordgau, in honour of his wife, Baba, sister of Henry the Fowler. It reappears in the name of the town of Bamberg, which now forms part of the kingdom of Bavaria.

Leopold, on whom the chroniclers bestow the title of Illustrious, was already count of the Donaugau, the district in which lies the town of Ratisbon, and of the Traungau, while his father, Berthold, was count of the Nordgau, the land lying north of Ratisbon. In his time, the town of Moellk, on the Danube above Vienna, was captured from the Magyars. His

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successor, Henry, resided there, and it was there, according to tradition, that Leopold founded a monastery for twelve secular priests. He perished at Würzburg, struck by an arrow aimed at his nephew, Henry of Schweinfurt, to avenge the blinding of one of the knights of that town. His eldest son, Henry I. (994–1018), received investiture for the margraviate from Otto III. Though not of right an hereditary office, the margraviate soon became so, and remained in the family of the Babenbergs; the march was so important a part of the empire that no doubt the emperor was glad to make the defence of this exposed district the especial interest of one family. The other sons of Leopold were equally well provided for. Ernest obtained the duchy of Swabia, and Poppo the bishopric which had been recently founded at Bamberg, and afterwards that of Trieste. The emperor also granted a large number of hereditary domains along the shores of the Danube to the margrave Henry. The conversion of the Magyars to Christianity had softened the manners of this conquering race, and made Henry's task of protecting Germany comparatively easy, but Adalbert the Victorious (1018–1056) had a hard struggle against them, and owes his name of the Victorious to the successes he gained. He extended the march of Austria as far as the banks of the Leitha. He also helped the emperor considerably against Hungary, and received in return fresh grants to himself and his heirs of estates within the march.

The Ostmark was almost doubled in size under the rule of Adalbert, who chose the town of Tulln, on the Danube, between Vienna and Melk, as his place of residence. His son, Ernest the Valiant (1056–1075), gave a fresh proof of the loyalty of the Babenbergs to the emperor and empire by his death in battle against the Saxons at Unstrut. But Leopold the Handsome (1075–1096) proved faithless to the traditions of the family, and took the side of Gregory VII. against the emperor Henry IV. in the quarrel about investitures. He was defeated by the imperial forces and reduced to submission, but soon after took up the cause of the anti-king, Hermann of

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Luxemburg. Henry IV. thereupon granted investiture for the march of Austria to Vratislav, duke of Bohemia, but Vratislav was never able to gain possession of the land, and, in spite of the disloyalty of Leopold the Handsome, his son, Leopold III., succeeded him in the government of the march. This prince, who proudly styled himself margrave of Austria *by the grace of God*, entered into an alliance with the king of the Romans, Henry V., who had revolted against his father. Henry V. rewarded him for this valuable assistance by giving him his sister Agnes in marriage. She was the widow of Frederick of Swabia, so that the marriage allied the house of Austria with the future dynasty of the Hohenstaufen. Agnes had eighteen children, of whom two, Leopold and Henry, succeeded their father. One of these eighteen children was the celebrated annalist, Otto of Freisingen, bishop of that town. By their marriages the daughters of Leopold allied the house of Babenberg with the ruling families of Thuringia and Montferrat, with the Piasts of Poland and the Premyslides of Bohemia. When the Salic dynasty became extinct in the person of Henry V., Leopold III. was proposed as emperor, together with Frederick of Swabia and Lothar of Saxony; a strong proof of the importance which had been acquired by the march of Austria and the family which governed it. Leopold retired in favour of Frederick, but the princes chose Lothar of Saxony.

In the fifteenth century, Leopold was canonized by pope Innocent VIII., and, indeed, his generosity to the Church deserved its gratitude. He founded new monasteries, and enriched those which already existed. He gave Klosterneuburg to the Benedictines, and Heiligenkreuz to the Cistercians; he also richly endowed Kremmunster and St. Florian. On his death, the emperor Lothar granted investiture to one of his younger sons, Leopold IV. (1136–1141). The marriages of the Babenbergs were fortunate; in 1138, the brother-in-law of Leopold, Conrad of Hohenstaufen, duke of Franconia, was made emperor. It was now that the struggle began between the

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house of Hohenstaufen and the great house of Welf, whose representative was Henry the Proud, duke of Saxony and Bavaria. Henry was defeated in the unequal strife, and was placed under the ban of the empire, while the duchy of Saxony was awarded to Albert the Bear of Brandenburg, and the duchy of Bavaria fell to the share of Leopold IV. (1138). Henry the Proud died in the following year, leaving behind him a son under age, who was known later on as Henry the Lion. His uncle Welf would not submit to the forfeiture by his house of their old dominions, and marched against Leopold to reconquer Bavaria, but he was defeated by Conrad at the battle of Weinsberg (1140). Leopold died shortly after this victory, and was succeeded both in the duchy of Bavaria and in the margraviate of Austria by his brother, Henry II. This prince was surnamed Iasomirgott from his favourite motto (*Iach sam mir Gott helfe*—So God be my aid). He was the first hereditary *duke* of Austria.

Henry II., Iasomirgott (1141–1177), endeavoured to strengthen himself in Bavaria by marrying Gertrude, widow of Henry the Proud, and forcing her to obtain from her son, Henry the Lion, a renunciation of all his rights in favour of her new husband. But after the death of his mother, Henry declared this renunciation null and void, on the plea that it had been extorted from him when he was young and inexperienced. This marriage, which had been entered into solely on grounds of expediency, was speedily dissolved, and soon after we find Henry Iasomirgott taking part in one of the crusades and marrying, at Constantinople, the daughter of the Byzantine emperor, Theodore Comnenus. The emperor Frederick I. of Swabia, who was allied both to the family of the Welfs and that of the Babenbergs, either dared not or would not interfere to put an end to the quarrel. He left it to be decided by the German princes, and, in 1156, the diet decreed that Bavaria should be restored to Henry the Lion. It was owing to the wise counsel of his relation, Otto of Freisingen, that Henry Iasomirgott finally gave up Bavaria,

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and he lost nothing by this unwilling act of disinterestedness, for he secured from the emperor considerable compensation.

From this time forward, Austria, which had been largely increased by the addition of the greater part of the lands lying between the Enns and the Inn, was removed from its almost nominal subjection to Bavaria and became a separate duchy. An imperial edict, dated the 21st of September, 1156, declares the new duchy hereditary even in the female line, and authorizes the dukes to absent themselves from all diets except those which were held in Bavarian territory. It also permits them, in case of a threatened extinction of their dynasty, to propose a successor (*jus affectandi*). This edict has been named the *privilegium minus*, to distinguish it from another but apocryphal document called the *privilegium majus*, which was manufactured in the fourteenth century, and of which we shall speak later on.

Henry II. was one of the founders of Vienna. He constructed a fortress there, and, in order to civilize the surrounding country, sent for some Scotch monks, of whom there were many at this time in Germany.

Leopold V. (1198–1230)—*Frederick the Fighter* (1230–1246) —*Acquisition of Styria and part of Carniola.*

In 1177, Leopold V., called the Virtuous, succeeded Henry Iasomirgott. In his reign the duchy of Austria gained Styria, an important addition to its territory. This province was inhabited by Slovenes and Germans, and took its name from the castle of Steyer, built in 980 by Otokar III., count of the Traungau. In 1056, it was created a margraviate, and in 1150 it was enlarged by the addition of the counties of Maribor (Marburg) and Cilly. In 1180, Otokar VI. of Styria (1164–1192) obtained the hereditary title of duke from the emperor in return for his help against Henry the Lion. The imperial gift came just at the right moment for Austria, for Otokar dying without children and making Leopold his heir, Styria was annexed to Austria in 1192, and has remained so ever

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since. The emperor Henry VI. ratified its annexation at Worms.

Leopold V. is the first of the Austrian princes whose name is known in Western Europe. He joined the third crusade, and thus came in contact with most of the Catholic kings of the time. He first visited the Holy Land in 1182; on his return thither in 1191 he met Philip Augustus and Richard Cœur de Lion, and at the siege of St. Jean d'Acre quarrelled with the turbulent king of England. In 1192, he returned to his own land. Shortly after, Richard Cœur de Lion was overtaken by a storm between Venice and Aquileia, and determined to cross Europe *incognito* in order to regain England. Leopold heard of his presence in his territories, and was not slow to seize the opportunity to revenge himself on his detested rival. He had him made prisoner and confined in the castle of Dürrenstein, near Krems on the Danube, and afterwards sold his prisoner to the emperor for twenty thousand marks. While Richard was still in his power he had extracted from him the promise of a marriage between the houses of Babenberg and Plantagenet. These incidents would seem to show that he had but little claim to his surname of the Virtuous.

The successor of Leopold V. was Frederick I. Like his father, he was an ardent crusader, and only returned from Palestine to die. During his absence, his brother Leopold, surnamed the Proud, who had been made duke of Styria by his father, was entrusted with the regency in Austria. He succeeded Frederick (1198–1230), and played an important part in the affairs of Germany, attaching himself to the cause of Philip of Hohenstaufen, and helping him to defeat the anti-king Otto IV., who had been recognized by the pope, Innocent III. On the death of Philip, Leopold VI. was politic enough to keep on fair terms with his rival, and kept out of the way when Frederic II. was chosen emperor. A crusade in Spain furnished him with a good excuse for leaving Austria. He reached Spain, however, too late to be of use, for when he met the kings of Castile and Aragon at Calatrava they had

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already defeated the Moors at Tolosa. In 1217, he again took the cross, set out for Palestine accompanied by Andrew II., king of Hungary, and played a distinguished part in the expedition against Damietta.

The emperor Frederick II. took every possible means of assuring the fidelity of so powerful a vassal and so valiant a knight. On the death of the archbishop of Cologne, he appointed him *Reichsverweser*, or vicar of the empire, and he gave his daughter in marriage to Leopold's son Henry. This alliance with the imperial house, and the important position in Christendom which Leopold had acquired, enabled him to play the part of mediator in the quarrels which arose between Frederick and the pope, Honorius III. With this end in view he undertook a journey into Italy in 1229, where, with the help of the patriarch of Aquileia and the archbishop of Salzburg, he was able to bring about an agreement between the emperor and the pontiff, which was concluded at San Germano. He did not survive this peaceful triumph, but died at San Germano, and was buried at Monte Cassino (1230).

At home, Leopold endeavoured to develop the commerce and trade of his country. He made Vienna the staple town, and lent a sum of thirty thousand marks of silver to the city to enable it to increase its trade. He adorned it with many new buildings, among them the Neue Burg. He strengthened the defences of the frontiers, founded new monasteries, and granted municipal institutions to Enns, Krems, and Vienna. But while busy with the interests of the state, Leopold did not forget those of his private domains, which he increased by the acquisition of various allodial estates within his duchy. Besides these, he purchased lands in Carniola from bishop Gerald of Freisingen, and this led the way to the future annexation of Carniola to Austria. The revenue of the state in his time rose to about sixty thousand marks of silver.

Leopold the Proud was succeeded by his son Frederick the Fighter (1230–1246). The short reign of this prince was one continued struggle against his neighbours. With the

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emperor Frederic II. he fought against Hungary and against Bohemia, and then he turned against Frederick to assist the Lombard cities, and to support the emperor's rival, Henry of Thuringia, who had married his sister Margaret. His aim seemed to be complete independence, and it was not long before he was placed under the ban of the empire, and Bohemia, Bavaria, Brandenburg, and Hungary all took up arms against him. The celebrated chancellor, Peter de Vinea, was called upon to write a violent pamphlet against him, in which he was represented as a treacherous member of the empire and a monster of iniquity who had forfeited the imperial clemency. It was impossible to withstand so many enemies. The lands on the Upper Enns as far as Linz fell into the hands of Otto of Bavaria, while Vienna was declared an imperial city, and a lieutenant was sent by the emperor to govern the conquered Austrian territory. But the Fighter defended himself with vigour, and in the end reconquered part of his land, and became reconciled with the emperor (1240). Frederick annulled the privileges recently given to Vienna, and at the diet of Verona (1245) confirmed the powers which had been granted to the dukes of Austria in 1156. Thus the very revolts of Austria against the empire turned to her advantage, while the misfortunes which now burst over her neighbours were of equal benefit to her.

The Mongols had invaded Hungary. King Bela applied for help to Austria, and offered in exchange for her assistance to pledge to Frederick the Fighter three of his *comitats*. Frederick, who was as little generous towards Bela as his predecessor had been towards Richard Cœur de Lion, demanded their entire surrender, and then declared war against Hungary. He died on the 15th of June, 1246, on the banks of the Leitha, slain, according to some, by the Hungarians; according to others, by one of his own followers. He was hated even by many of his own subjects. "A hard man," one of the chroniclers calls him; "cruel in his judgments, brave in fight, greedy, and rapacious. He had filled with terror both his

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friends and his neighbours. No man loved him; all feared him." Ulric of Lichtenstein, the knightly poet of Styria, is more tender of his memory: "He is dead . . . he has left great woe behind him in Styria and in Austria. . . . Many are now poor who were rich. . . . His soul must be in heaven, for he was kind to the brave." With him the dynasty of Babenberg came to an end (1246). Their remains lie in the church of the little town of Mölk, which has long since been eclipsed by the splendour of Vienna.

The Laws of Austria under the Babenbergs—The Landeshoheit—The Towns—Literature.

The immediate authority of the princes of the empire over the lands which had been entrusted to them had been greatly increased by the right of inheritance, conferred in the first instance upon the margraves, and afterwards upon the dukes, while the quarrels with the popes had helped to weaken the authority of the emperors. Gradually corporations, lay and ecclesiastical, monasteries, towns, and citizens were freed from dependence on the emperors, and placed under the authority of the princes. This authority is called by German historians *landeshoheit, i.e.* lordship over a particular district. We find this spirit of "particularism" especially strong in Southern Germany. Thus, as early as 1184, Otokar, duke of Styria, called himself *landesherr*, lord of the land; and the annexation of Styria to Austria must have strengthened in the latter the feeling of local independence.

With the development of the *landeshoheit* the old nobility declined, and its place was filled by an official nobility, composed of the followers of the prince who bore office about his person; and very soon the difference between these two classes of nobles disappeared, as both became equally dependent on the prince. In this matter, again, Styria set the example to Austria, the dukes of Austria having promised the *ministeriales* of Styria that they would observe those privileges which had been granted to them by their earlier princes.

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As regards municipal law also Styria was ahead of Austria. As early as 1212, the towns of Enns obtained from the emperor a muncipal code, or *stadtrecht*, the text of which is preserved to this day among its archives. According to this code, the lord of the land is the archduke, and for him is reserved the punishment of certain crimes; his will is law. Under him judicial authority is exercised by a town judge, assisted by an inferior magistrate (*nachrichter*) and by police (*schergen*), who are paid officials. The *stadtrecht* is mainly a code of criminal law founded on the principle of *wehrgeld;* in all cases of pecuniary compensation, a third of the fine is allotted to the judge. Trials by ordeal are allowed. The law of inheritance permits the wife or child to inherit, or the nearest relations, if they reside on the land of the duchy; if not, they are only to have half. The foreigner who dies in the land is allowed to leave his property to whomsoever he likes; if he dies without a will, for a year and a day it is held in trust for his heirs; if no one then claims it, it is to become the property of the duke. A municipal council is formed by six of the highest burgesses, whose business it is to control the markets and to watch over the interests of the town. The legal maxim of England, "Every man's house is his castle," is well known. The *stadrecht* maintains the inviolability of the household in almost the same words: "We will that for each citizen his house shall be a fortress (*pro munitione*) for himself, his family, and whomsoever may enter his door." Every violation of the hearth is punished by a fine of five marks or the loss of a hand. The citizens are to have the right of keeping horses, both for their business and amusement.

Leopold VI. took this code as his model for the one he granted to Vienna in 1221, wherein, indeed, he carried its principles even further. Thus, to the laws concerning the inviolability of the household, it is added that no one shall enter a house with a bow or a quiver; that no one shall walk about the town with a poignard at his girdle under penalty of the payment of a talent and the forfeiture of the weapon; that

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he who shall conceal a weapon in his boot shall pay ten talents or lose his hand. The chief citizens of each district of the town are ordered to exercise supervision over all business transactions to the amount of two talents. A striking analogy is to be found between the municipal laws of the Babenbergs and those of the Flemish and Picard towns, Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Arras, Furnes, and Laon. This is explained by the large trade which the Flemings carried on in the Danubian countries, especially in Hungary. Flemish merchants resided in Vienna, and as early as 1208 we find them in possession of several privileges. Other towns also received municipal laws, but these we cannot here examine.

The laws concerning the Jews deserve special notice, as they are singularly liberal for the time. They have their synagogues in Vienna from 1200 onward. The coining of money is entrusted to them with the title of "counts of the chamber." Some of the laws show remarkable tolerance, especially if we consider the prejudices of the Middle Ages; for example, if a stolen article is found in the house of a Jew, it is enough for him to swear that he has purchased it, and he has only to restore it in return for what he gave for it. The laws of Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, and Thuringia concerning Jews, were all copied from those of Austria.

Under the protection of peaceful laws, the trade and industry of Austria developed rapidly. The situation of the country was especially fortunate as regards commerce, placed as she was on the frontiers of Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary, and with the Danube as her river. A rhymed chronicler enthusiastically celebrates her splendour and prosperity: "This land has everything in abundance—cattle and wine, corn and other fruits; all that is needed for the food of man—game and fish and excellent bread. The Danube, with her clear waters, adorns the landscape, and brings day and night without pause, all that is needed to the towns and the villages." This joyous and fruitful land may be called the Italy of Germany.

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We very early find commercial relations established between Styria and Italy. To increase them Leopold built a bridge of stone over the Save, at the spot called to this day Steinbruck. But trade in those days was far from being free. For example, the town of Gratz had the rights of a staple-town; all foreign goods had to be brought there to be weighed on the town scales, and could only be carried by the town waggons. The rules of the staple in some other towns contained still more irksome regulations. All goods sent through the town of Bruck, on the river Mur, had to be exposed in the public square and put up to auction, and only that portion which had found no purchaser among the citizens was allowed to leave the place.

Enns was the great commercial city on the way from Ratisbon to Vienna. It was the great warehouse of the Augsburg merchants, who went to buy furs at the fair of Kiev, and carried western wares into Russia. Along the same road were Medlich, St. Pölten, Tulnn, Stein, and Mauthausen. Along it travelled the merchants of Burgundy, Lorraine, Cologne, and Maestricht; the woven stuffs of the East, the furs of Hungary, the silks of Venice, found their way by it to the north and west. Purchase and sale were carried on partly by money, partly by barter. The money of the Babenbergs was coined at Venice and Neustadt; few of these coins remain. For those times the riches of Austria were great, and manners improved in consequence of this prosperity. The monasteries furnished a large number of chroniclers, and schools were opened by the monks. The theatre seems to have been unknown; we meet with but one mention of an Easter mystery (*Österspiel*); this was at the monastery of St. Florian. Poetry, however, was cultivated with ardour in the court of the Babenbergs, and, according to tradition, Leopold VI. was a poet, and Frederick the Fighter wrote love-songs. Three of the most celebrated of the minnesingers, Reinar von Hagenau, Walter von der Vogelweide, and Reinar von Zweter, passed part of their lives

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there. Walter called Austria his second fatherland; "it was there," he said, "that he had learnt to sing and to relate stories." Several times he celebrates the names of Leopold VI. and Frederick the Fighter. Tannhaüser praised Frederick II. during his life, and mourned for him after his death. "With him," he says, "all joy is dead." Another poet, Nidhart of Reuenthal, the Bavarian, also dwelt for some time in Austria, and his poems very pleasantly describe the dances and rustic games of the country.

But the minnesingers did not flourish in Austria only. We find them also in Styria, where lived Rudolf van Stadek, and where may still be seen the castle of Ulric von Lichtenstein, on the banks of the Mur. He was cup-bearer (*truchsess*) to duke Frederick. This singer of the most tender sentiments and most refined gallantry never knew how to read or write. At the famous poetical tournament of Wartburg, at the court of Thuringia, where the seven greatest singers then living rivalled one another in singing the praises of their masters, it was to the sun itself, says the legend, that Henry of Ofterdingen compared the duke of Austria.

Thus we find, under the princes of the house of Babenberg, a German literature forcing its way between a Slavonic Bohemia and a Magyar Hungary.

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CHAPTER X.

THE AUSTRIAN GROUP UNDER THE FIRST HABSBURGS (1273–1493).

Rudolf I. invests his Sons with Austria and Styria (1273–1298) *—Frederick the Handsome* (1330–1358)*—Acquisition of Carinthia.*

HISTORIANS have given the name of "the Austrian Interregnum" to the period which elapsed between the death of the last of the Babenbergs and the accession of the first prince of the house of Habsburg. We have already seen in the history of Bohemia how the inheritance of the former was for a time united to the kingdom of St. Vacslav; thirty years elapsed after the death of Frederick the Fighter before it fell into the hands of the family which now holds possession of it. The origin of this family has been a constant puzzle to the fertile imaginations of genealogists. Some among them trace it back to the Merovingians; others to the Carolingians; others, again, to that duke Ethico of Alamania who is supposed to have been the common stock from which sprang the houses of Habsburg, Lorraine, and Baden. What is quite certain is that the house of Habsburg is of Alamannic origin. The first domains held by it were in the present Alsace and Switzerland, and in Swabia. It took its name from the castle of Habsburg, which was built in the year 1027, by Werner, bishop of Strasburg, on the heights of Windisch, near the river Aar, in what is now the canton of Aargau. The first mention of the castle of Habsburg (*Habichts-*

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burg, the castle of vultures, the ruins of which still remain) occurs in a document of the year 1099.

We have nothing to do here with the deeds of Rudolf[1] as emperor, and we have already narrated in the history of Bohemia the manner in which he conquered the Austrian territories. His exploits and his triumphs spread far and wide the terror of his name. "O Lord God," exclaims a contemporary, "keep a firm seat on Thy throne, else will Rudolf overthrow Thee also." When once he was established on the Danube, he kept Bohemia and Hungary well in check, and was able to maintain a watch upon their actions far more efficient than could have been that of the emperors who were settled on the Rhine. But the empire was elective, and Rudolf could not feel sure that it would remain in his family; he therefore saw the need of doing all he could to secure to his children the lands he had conquered. After obtaining the sanction of the electors, he solemnly invested (1282) his two sons, Albert and Rudolf, with Austria, Styria, and Carniola; and a few years later (1286) he assigned Carinthia to Meinhard of Tyrol, to reward him for the help he had received from him in his war against Premysl Otokar. But the states of Austria and Styria were but little satisfied with their new master; they disliked the Swabian counsellors whom Albert brought with him, and before long a revolution broke out in Austria. The town of Vienna, which, during the struggle with Otokar, Rudolf had made into a fief directly dependent upon himself, revolted, and was only subdued by force of arms. Rudolf died on the 15th of July, 1291, and his son Albert was not chosen emperor till 1298. After the murder of the last of the Premyslides at Olomouc, Albert succeeded in gaining for his son Rudolf the crown of Bohemia, a crown, however, which he was not able long to retain; two centuries had yet to elapse before the house

[1] The Austrian genealogists, who have taken indefatigable but ineffectual pains to trace (Rudolf's) illustrious descent from the Normans, carry it with great probability to Ethico, duke of Alsace in the seventh century, and unquestionably to Gontram the Rich, count of Alsace and Breisgau, who flourished in the tenth.—Coxe, *House of Austria*.

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of Habsburg obtained possession of the kingdom of St. Vacslav.

We shall say nothing of the domains of the Habsburgs in Swabia and in what are now Alsace and Switzerland, as their history forms part of that of Germany. In Austria, Albert's reign was disturbed, as we have seen, by troubles with the town of Vienna and also with the archbishops of Salzburg; he was assassinated in Switzerland by John the Parricide (1308). His son Frederick the Handsome vainly tried to obtain the imperial crown; together with that of Bohemia it passed to the house of Luxemburg, Henry VII. being chosen emperor, and his son John becoming king of Bohemia. On the death of Henry (1313), leaving John still too young for election to the empire, the Luxemburg party proposed Louis, duke of Bavaria, as their candidate, while the Austrian party elected Frederick. This led to a war, which lasted eight years, and was only ended by the battle of Mühldorf and the defeat of Frederick (1322). He was taken prisoner, and only released on the understanding that he should abandon all claim to the empire; but, in spite of this, a treaty was concluded later on between the rivals, which secured to them a *condominium*. Frederick took the title of king of the Romans, but he had hardly any of the power usually attached to the name. He died in 1330. His two brothers, Albert the Wise and Otto the Gay, threatened to renew the war with the emperor, and entered into an alliance with king John of Bohemia, but the ambition of this latter prince made of him rather a rival than a useful ally. He had married his second son, John Henry, at the age of eight, to the celebrated Margaret Maultasche (Pouch-mouth), daughter of the duke of Tyrol and Carinthia, who was then twelve years old, hoping by thus reuniting these two provinces to Bohemia to regain the power which had once belonged to Premysl Otokar, to hold the empire in check, and to destroy the power of Austria.

A common danger once more united the emperor and the Austrian princes. By the treaty of Hagenau (1330), it was

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arranged that on the death of duke Henry, who had no male heirs, Carinthia should become the property of Austria, and Tyrol that of the emperor. Henry died in 1335, whereupon the emperor, Louis of Bavarja, declared that Margaret Maultasche had forfeited all rights of inheritance, and proceeded to assign the two provinces to the Austrian princes, with the exception of some portion of the Tyrol which devolved on the house of Wittelsbach. Carinthia alone, however, obeyed the emperor; the Tyrolese nobles declared for Margaret, and, with the help of John of Bohemia, this princess was able to keep possession of this part of her inheritance. Thus early did Tyrol display that loyalty for which she afterwards became so famous.[1]

Carinthia also did not long remain in the undisputed possession of Austria. Margaret was soon divorced from her very youthful husband (1342), and shortly after married the son of the emperor Louis of Bavaria, who hoped to be able to invest his son, not only with Tyrol, but also with Carinthia, and once more we find the houses of Habsburg and Luxemburg united by a common interest. During the whole of this time Bohemia and Austria were in a perpetual state of oscillation and unstable equilibrium. When, however, Charles IV. of Bohemia was chosen emperor, he consented to leave Carinthia in the possession of Austria. Albert did homage for it, and rejoiced all the more at the restoration of peace with the empire because just then his struggle with Zürich and Glarus claimed all his attention. (Defeat of Nöfels, 1352.)

This prince not only increased the territories of Austria,

[1] Tyrol freed herself from the suzerainty of Bavaria in very early times. She was divided among a number of princes, lay and ecclesiastical. The principal of these were the counts of the Adige or of the Tyrol and the counts of Andechs, who obtained the title of duke from Frederick I., and called themselves dukes of Meran. Their race came to an end in 1248, and their domains were united to those of the counts of Tyrol, who thus became possessed of the larger part of the lands between the Inn and the Adige. Tyrol takes its name from the castle of Tirol, which was built on the site of the Roman station Teriolis, not far from Meran, on the upper waters of the Adige.

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his home policy was also extremely able, and his good government earned for him the surname of the Wise. He gave Vienna a new municipal code, and one also to Klagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia, and he also put an end to trial by combat in the latter country. The chroniclers tell us of his great popularity. According to a story of the fifteenth century, one day, when he was giving audience to his subjects, a poor peasant entered the hall and remained long with his eyes fixed upon the prince. Albert, thinking he was some petitioner, invited him to approach and tell him what was his request. "My lord," answered the peasant, "I ask for nothing but to be allowed to see you, and to know that you are well." A few years before his death, he published certain directions for his family, in which he exhorted his sons to reign together in love and virtue, honouring one another; and the elder to claim no superiority over his younger brothers. He died on the 20th of July, 1358, at the age of sixty-nine. "He was," says a contemporary, "a man beloved of God, honoured in many lands, and a generous father to many kings and princes."

Rudolf IV. (1358–1365)—*The Privilegium Majus*—*Acquisition of Tyrol* (1363)—*Austria divided* (1379).

According to the wish of their father, the four sons of Albert reigned after him; but the eldest, Rudolf IV., exercised executive authority in the name of the others. This prince was called by four several surnames—the Silent, the Magnificent, the Learned, and the Founder. "Each one," says Mr. Krones, "characterized one of his qualities. He always preserved the greatest secrecy about his plans. He surrounded himself by a magnificent court and loved high-sounding titles, not from childish vanity, but because he knew how much importance the world attaches to such things. He was in all things the rival of his father-in-law, Charles IV., but more especially in that which concerned foundations in favour of the Church, and of science and art; he was learned in the knowledge of history,

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a knowledge rare among his contemporaries. We are even told that he had a secret method of writing, which was no doubt the art of writing in cypher." He was only nineteen when he came to the throne, but he had already married one of the daughters of the emperor Charles IV. Notwithstanding this family alliance, Charles had not given Austria such a place in the Golden Bull as seemed likely to secure either her territorial importance or a proper position for her princes. They had not been admitted into the electoral college of the empire, and yet their scattered possessions stretched from the banks of the Leitha to the Rhine; three dukes of Austria had filled the highest place in the empire, and yet they were excluded from its council, and were thrown into the shade by their old rival, the house of Luxemburg. These grievances were enhanced by their feeling of envy towards Bohemia, which had attained great prosperity under Charles IV. It was at this time that, in order to increase the importance of his house, Rudolf or his officers of state had recourse to a measure which was often employed in that age by princes, religious bodies, and even by the Holy See. It was pretended that there were in existence a whole series of charters which had been granted to the house of Austria by various kings and emperors, and which secured to their princes a position entirely independent of both empire and emperor. According to these documents, and more especially the one called the *privilegium majus*, the duke of Austria owed no kind of service to the empire, which was, however, bound to protect him; only in case of an expedition against Hungary was he bound to furnish troops, and then only twelve knights; he was to appear at the diets with the title of archduke, and was to have the first place among the electors; the prince might dispose of the state as he wished without even consulting the emperor; he need not go outside his dominions to seek for investiture, but was to receive it on his own land, and on horseback; no fief in his lands could be held by the emperor. All these privileges were secured not only to the dominions of

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Austria at that time, but to all lands they might become possessed of in the future. Rudolf pretended that these documents had just come to light, and demanded their confirmation from Charles IV., who refused it. Nevertheless, on the strength of these lying charters, he took the title of palatine archduke, without waiting to ask the leave of Charles, and used the royal insignia.

Charles IV. who could not fail to be irritated by these pretensions, in his turn revived the claims which he had inherited from Premysl Otokar II. to the lands of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. These claims, however, were simply theoretical, and no attempt was made to enforce them, and the mediation of Louis the Great, king of Hungary, finally led to a treaty between the two princes, which satisfied the ambition of the Habsburgs (1364). By this treaty, the houses of Habsburg in Austria and of Luxemburg in Bohemia each guaranteed the inheritance of their lands to the other, in case of the extinction of either of the two families, and the estates of Bohemia and Austria ratified this agreement. A similar compact was concluded between Austria and Hungary, and thus the boundaries of the future Austrian state were for the first time marked out.

Rudolf himself gained little by these long and intricate negotiations, Tyrol being all he added to his territory. Margaret Maultasche had married her son Meinhard to the daughter of Albert the Wise, at the same time declaring that, in default of heirs male to her son, Tyrol should once more become the possession of Austria, and it did so in 1363. Rudolf immediately set out for Botzen, and there received the homage of the Tyrolese nobles. He persuaded Margaret Maultasche to take up her residence in Vienna, in order to secure himself against any possible caprice on the part of that princess.

The acquisition of Tyrol was most important to Austria. It united Austria Proper with the old possessions of the Habsburgs in Western Germany, and opened the way to Italy. Margaret Maultasche died at Vienna in 1369. The memory of

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this restless and dissolute princess still survives among the Tyrolese. *Femina inexhausta libidinis et audax*, writes a contemporary. She is one of the strange creatures of the Middle Ages, and plays a part in the national legends, somewhat similar to that of Margaret of Burgundy. The Tyrolese peasant still believes that, on the nights following the fasts of the four seasons, the phantom of the *böse gret*, the wicked and voluptuous princess, may be seen among the ruins of the old castle of Neuhaus.

The reign of Rudolf IV., though so full of events, was but short. He endeavoured to rival his father-in-law Charles IV. in everything, and loved to say that in his own lands he would be pope, emperor, bishop, and dean. His home government was as able as his foreign policy. Though he had falsified charters, he never falsified the coinage, a financial expedient which was but too much in fashion in the Middle Ages. He imposed a tax on wine and beer, and encouraged trade and manufactures. On the 7th of April, 1356, he laid the foundations of the cathedral of St. Stephen at Vienna, one of the noblest monuments of Gothic art in Germany. Charles IV. had founded the university of Prague; Rudolf instituted the university of Vienna on the model of that of Paris, and endowed it with large estates and numerous privileges. This university was divided into four nations, the Austrian, Rhenish, Hungarian, and Saxon, and from the first had teachers of renown, such as the theologians Henry of Langenstein and Henry of Ayota.

Rudolf died, in 1365, at Milan, whither he had gone to marry his young brother Leopold to the sister of Bernabo Visconti. He had reigned but seven years—one of the shortest reigns of his dynasty, but also the one most filled with events of importance. "Of this prince," says Cox, "it was justly observed that, had he enjoyed a longer life, his splendid talents and aspiring mind would have either occasioned the ruin of his family or have raised the house of Austria to a greater height than it had ever before attained." By a deed

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of inheritance between himself and count Albert of Gorica he had prepared the way for the annexation of the possessions of that family in Carniola and the march of the Wends.

Rudolf IV. left no children. His two brothers, Albert with the Plaited Hair (*à la tresse*) and Leopold III., called the Pious, succeeded him. Their tempers were so different that they could not reign together, and, breaking through all the traditions of their family, they divided the hereditary estates (1379). Albert kept Austria, and left Styria, Carinthia, the Tyrol, and the old possessions of the Habsburgs in Swabia and Alsace to Leopold. The emperor Charles IV. was only too glad to ratify a division which could not fail to weaken a formidable power. "We have long laboured," he said, "to humiliate the house of Austria, and, behold now, it humbles itself!"

The reign of the first prince of the Albertine branch presents no feature of importance. In that of his son, Albert IV. (1395–1404), William, the eldest son of Leopold III., laid claim to the administration of all the Habsburg domains, notwithstanding the agreement between their fathers, and after a long struggle a new compact was entered into by the cousins, by which Albert kept Austria and even Carniola, recognizing William as co-regent. Under Albert IV. the sect of the Vaudois made considerable progress in Austria, in spite of the strong measures he took against them. He was a man of great piety, and liked to spend much of his time among the monks of Marbach. Some of his contemporaries give him the name of *The Patient.* In 1400, he undertook a dangerous pilgrimage to Palestine, the fame of which was much noised abroad, and earned for him the fanciful title of *Mirabilia Mundi.* He took the part of Vacslac IV., king of Bohemia, in his struggles against his enemies, and in return for his help received from that prince a ratification of the treaty of succession entered into by Bohemia and Austria in the time of Rudolf. He was equally successful in his dealings with Hungary, from whose king he obtained a similar convention.

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He died when on an expedition against Moravia, to punish certain Moravian lords who had ravaged Austrian territory.

His son, Albert V., was only seven years old at the time of his father's death; during his minority the princes of the Leopoldine branch were his guardians. Their brutal government provoked serious discontent in Austria, and the nobles proclaimed the prince of age when he was only fourteen. Albert V. was a wise administrator. Moreover, his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of the emperor Sigismund, king of Bohemia and Hungary (1422), secured to him the possession of Moravia, which was the dowry of that princess, and the probable succession to the thrones of both those kingdoms. In 1437, after the pacification of Bohemia, Sigismund assembled the estates of Bohemia and Hungary and proposed duke Albert as his successor, and he was accepted by the Hungarians and by the Catholics of Bohemia. On the death of his father-in-law he was chosen emperor under the name of Albert II., and thus united the three crowns which had been so much coveted by his family (1438). Thenceforth the dynasty of the Habsburgs was to keep uninterrupted possession of the imperial throne. The Albertine branch became extinct on the death of Albert's son, Ladislav the Posthumous, duke of Austria, king of Bohemia and of Hungary, in 1457.

Leopold the Pious (1379–1386), as we have seen, had obtained, in the division of the Austrian dominions, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the Tyrol, together with the old family possessions in Swabia and Alsace. He rounded his domains by several acquisitions, only one of which, the town of Trieste, is of any importance to Austrian history. Weary of the double rule of the Venetian republic and the patriarch of Aquileia, this town voluntarily sought the protection of Leopold (1382), only stipulating that he should confirm their privileges and their municipal liberty. This acquisition was of great importance to Austria, as it gave her access to the sea and brought her nearer to North Italy, where she interfered repeatedly in the struggles between the towns and the princes.

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All the lands she was able to gain which were grouped round the Alps and the Danube were destined to add to her greatness; while, on the contrary, those which were far from this double centre she was not long able to retain. Leopold had some experience of this. The Swiss rose against him, and he lost both victory and life at the battle of Sempach, which led to the independence of the Confederation (1386).

After the death of this prince there was a pause in the development of the power of Austria. The reigns of his immediate successors, William (1386–1404) and Leopold IV. (1386–1411), have no interest for us. On the accession of Frederick IV. of the Empty Purse (*mit der leeren Tasche*) the dominions of the Leopoldine branch, after several divisions, were formed into two groups—one including Tyrol and the Vorlände (those, namely, in South-Western Germany); the other, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. Frederick settled himself at Innsbrück, and his brother Ernest, the *Man of Iron*, at Gratz. Ernest married Cymburga, daughter of the Polish duke of Mazovia. It is said to be from her that the Habsburgs have inherited the thick protruding lip, which is as characteristic of them as the Bourbon nose is of another family. She was the mother of the emperor Frederick IV. and grandmother of Maximilian.

Frederick of the Empty Purse (1406–1439)—*Frederick V., Emperor* (1440–1493).

Frederick IV. (1406–1439) had to maintain a struggle against the nobles of the Tyrol, who formed a strong league against him under the leadership of the lord of Wolkenstein. He sought aid against them among the citizens and peasants. He did his best to remain at peace with the Swiss, but they managed to profit by his troubles. On his way to the Council of Constance, pope John XXIII. had met Frederick at Meran, and had then conferred on him the title of gonfalonier of the Church. In return for this honour Frederick helped the pope in his flight from Constance, and even offered him an asylum

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in his dominions. For this he was placed under the ban of the empire and excommunicated, and the Swiss, rising in revolt, destroyed the castle of Habsburg. Frederick was obliged to yield. He gave up John XXIII. to his enemies, and was forced to surrender all his domains and to receive in return from the emperor, as an act of grace, just what he chose to restore to him. "You know the power of the dukes of Austria," Sigismund is said to have exclaimed. "Judge, then, from what you have seen what an emperor can do." This saying may be coupled with that attributed to Ernest, the Man of Iron: "God be with you, Habsburg," said the emperor to him in a contemptuous tone. "Thanks, Luxemburg," replied the Man of Iron. That Frederick was not deprived of the Tyrol was due to his brother Ernest, and yet he had more than once to contend against Ernest, as the latter was both ambitious and turbulent. On his death, in 1424, Frederick became the guardian of his two sons, Frederick and Albert, who were minors and who reigned together. Frederick of the Empty Purse died in 1439. The citizens and peasants of the Tyrol, to whom he had granted many privileges, still reverence his memory. His son Sigismund (1439–1496) succeeded to his Austrian possessions, and his nephew Frederick V. became emperor in 1440, under the name of Frederick IV. (1440–1493).

Frederick V. was the father of Maximilian and the grandfather of Charles V. and of Ferdinand of Austria. It is well known to what a height of glory the house of Austria, ruler of Europe and of the New World, attained under these princes. We shall only notice here those facts in the reign of Frederick which belong to the history of the hereditary states. He created Austria an archduchy; he obtained possession of the county of Cilly on the death of its count, Ulric; and he gained the right of succession to the territories of his house in Alsace and Swabia, as well as the Tyrol, for his son Maximilian, stipulating to pay in return an annual sum to Sigismund, the son of Frederick of the Empty Purse. Sigismund had assigned these lands to the house of Bavaria, but Frederick was able to

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interfere in time. Besides this, he acquired the town of Rieka (Fiume), which was one day to rival Trieste on the Adriatic. "Possessed of no genius whatever, but endowed with extraordinary tenacity of purpose, Frederick knew how to wait, and also how to outlive all his neighbours and all his enemies. It was thus he was able laboriously to unite the whole of the territories of the house of Habsburg and to secure to his own line the almost unbroken succession to the imperial crown" (Himly). In his reign we first meet with the famous monogram A.E.I.O.U. It is to be found on his pottery, on the books of his library, and on his tomb in the church of St. Stephen. It has been explained as standing for the proud phrases, "Aquila Electa Juste Omnia Vincit," and also "Austriae Est Imperare Orbi Universo," "Alles Erdreich Ist Oesterreich Unterthan" (All the earth is subject to Austria), and yet again, "Aller Ehren Ist Oesterreich Voll" (Austria is full of all honour). The enemies of the house of Austria have in later times interpreted it as "Austria Erit In Orbe Ultima."

The reign of Frederick was, however, not free from trouble. Sigismund of Tyrol and Albert VI. of Styria (1435–1463) disputed with him the possession of all or part of the Austrian domains. The citizens of Vienna allied themselves with his enemies and besieged him in his own castle, whence he was only freed by the help of the king of Bohemia, and after he had undertaken to give up Austria to Albert VI. in return for a yearly sum of four thousand ducats. He did not keep his engagements, and the quarrel broke out again, whereupon Frederick, as emperor, placed Vienna under the ban of the empire, and the pope issued an interdict against it. Notwithstanding the efforts of the pontifical legate and of George Podiebrad, this struggle went on till the death of Albert VI. (1463). The insurrection in Vienna was led by a strange personage, the cattle-merchant Holzer, who claimed to treat with the emperor as an equal power. Holzer was in the end betrayed, and died under frightful tortures.

Later on, Frederick saw his dominions ravaged by the

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Turks, who invaded Carinthia and Carniola, and penetrated into Southern Styria (1472, 1473, 1493). These new enemies proved, without knowing it, the best allies possible for the house of Austria, as it was mainly owing to the dread of their invasions that the Slavs and Magyars eventually submitted to the common rule of an hereditary monarchy.

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CHAPTER XI.

BOHEMIA UNDER THE HOUSE OF LUXEMBURG—JOHN HUS (1310–1415).

John of Luxemburg (1310–1346)—*Annexation of Lusatia and Silesia.*

When Vacslav III. was assassinated at Olomouc, the family of the Premyslides became extinct, and Bohemia has never since been ruled by a really national dynasty. It would be rash to affirm that his assassination had been prompted by the house of Austria, but it is certain that its representative neglected nothing which could help it to profit by the crime. The emperor Albert I. took upon himself at once to treat Bohemia as a mere fief of the empire, or rather as a family estate, and called upon the nobles to elect his eldest son Rudolf as king. He supported his claims by force of arms, entering Bohemia by way of Thuringia, while Rudolf attacked it from the side of Moravia, and the nobles found themselves obliged to elect Rudolf, and even to promise (1307) the succession to his brothers in the event of his dying without children. The emperor granted to him and to his brothers an investiture which made all election unnecessary, and which seemed formally to deny the right of the nobles to dispose of the crown. A minority of them, however, refused to recognize the new king, and he was obliged to take up arms against them, and was killed while besieging the town of Horazdovice (1307).

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On this they refused to proclaim his brother as his successor, and chose instead Henry, duke of Carinthia and count of the Tyrol, who had married Anna, daughter of Vaclav III., and so was allied to the dynasty of the Premyslides, whereupon the emperor Albert once more invaded Bohemia, but was obliged to retreat after being forced to raise the siege of Kutna Hora (Kuttenberg), and his brother Frederick finally concluded a peace with the king of Bohemia.

Henry of Carinthia did not long remain in power; he proved himself an incapable ruler, who favoured the Germans to the detriment of the nation and provoked revolts. The house of Luxemburg had lately attained the imperial power in the person of Henry of Luxemburg (1308), and the Bohemian nobles proceeded to offer the crown to his son John on condition that he should marry Elizabeth, the last of king Vacslav's daughters. The marriage was celebrated at Speier in 1310, and the emperor sent the royal standard of Bohemia to John as a token of investiture. Henry of Carinthia, dethroned by his brother-in-law, tried to resist with the help of some of the German towns, but the surrender of Prague was soon followed by the submission of the whole kingdom to John. The house of Luxemburg retained possession of the Bohemian crown for one hundred and twenty-seven years, and did much during this period to bind that country to Germany. It favoured the German element within the land, and gave it a dangerous preponderance in the political life of the state. We shall have occasion to record later on how the Hussites tried to free Bohemia from their hated rule by means of a formidable revolt.

For the whole of his life John was a stranger in the land of his adoption; he learned to speak the Chekh language most unwillingly, and only looked upon Bohemia as a place out of which he could get money. Passionately fond of gallantry and adventures, he was rather a knight-errant than a king, and was attracted alternately by France and Germany, according to the caprice of the moment. His reign may be divided into two parts; the first in which he reigned alone from 1310 to 1333,

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and the second from 1333 to 1346, when he reigned together with his son Charles. During the first period the power of Bohemia made rapid progress abroad, while it declined at home; the second repaired all the mistakes of the first.

John of Luxemburg was only fourteen years old when he began to reign, and he was at first assisted by his father and by Peter d'Aichspalter, archbishop of Maintz. The beginning of his reign was fortunate, for he reunited Moravia to Bohemia, the house of Austria having previously separated it from that country, as well as Lusatia and the country of Goerlitz; and he secured the suzerainty of Bohemia over the greater part of Silesia, including the principalities of Breslau, Kozel, Tesin, etc. Thus the kingdom gained in power abroad, but internally it suffered from the prodigality of the king, and from the constant disputes between the queen, Elizabeth, the last of the Premyslides, and the queen dowager, Eliza, the Polish princess, who was the widow of two kings.

The favour granted to the Germans also led to revolts, especially about the year 1318, when a report was spread abroad that the king intended to drive all the Chekhs out of the kingdom, and to people it only with foreigners. John, discouraged by these various troubles, offered to exchange his crown with Louis of Bavaria for that of the Palatinate, and was only prevented from carrying out this project by the energetic resistance of Queen Eliza. Kept within narrow bounds at home, John liked to interfere with all that was going on in other countries; it was considered a good thing to be one of his friends, since it was a common saying of the time that nothing could succeed without the help of God and of the king of Bohemia. But his great deeds were of little use to the country, and she had to pay dearly for them; the visits of the sovereign to his kingdom being invariably the signal for new taxes, new loans, or for fresh debasement of the coinage. Especially interesting is John's extraordinary fondness for France. He married his sister Maria to Charles IV. of France in 1322; he wished his son Vacslav (known in history by the

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name of Charles) to be educated in Paris; and he married his daughter Guta to John, the dauphin of France (1342). The French chronicler Guillaume de Machaut, who was king John's clerk, celebrates him as the type of a perfect knight:

"Il n'y eut pareil roi, ni duc, ni comte;
Ni depuis le temps de Charlemaine
Ne fut hom,—c'est chose certaine
Qui fut en tout cas plus parfait,
En honneur, en dit, en fait."

The list of his expeditions is a long one. He helped Louis of Bavaria in his struggles against the Habsburgs; took part in the battle of Muhldorf, and captured Frederick, duke of Austria (1322), with whom, later on, he became reconciled; and he tried to secure the inheritance of the Tyrol to his son John Henry by marrying him to Marguerite Maultasche (1330). While he was staying in the Tyrol, the envoys of the Lombard towns implored his protection against Martin della Scala, and John, in consequence, entered Lombardy and subdued the greater part of Northern Italy. This success raised up enemies against him on all sides. Among them were the emperor, who considered the imperial rights over Italy attacked, the pope, and the king of Naples his vicar in Italy; indeed, the whole of Central Europe, the king of the Romans, Louis of Bavaria, the princes of Austria, the king of Hungary, and the king of Poland, all united against the king of Bohemia. But John was able to withstand all his enemies. He disarmed the emperor by undertaking to administer the affairs of Lombardy as the imperial vicar. He invaded Poland, and, with the help of the Teutonic knights, besieged Posnan (Posen). In his struggle in Austria, however, his army was defeated at Mailberg, and he was obliged to purchase an armistice (1332).

He was still less fortunate in Italy. Milan, Mantua, Florence, and Naples entered into a league against him, and, notwithstanding the victory gained by his son Charles at San Felice, he was obliged completely to evacuate the peninsula,

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after ruling over Lombardy for three years (1333). He recalled his son and conferred upon him the margraviate of Moravia.

In 1335, the death of duke Henry of Carinthia gave rise to fresh complications, as the emperor Louis proceeded to divide his domains, the Tyrol, Carinthia, and Carniola, between himself and the duke of Austria. King John thereupon sent his son Charles to the help of Margaret Maultasche, who had married his younger son, John Henry; and the Tyrol was saved from the imperial ambition, though only for a short time, as Marguerite soon after repudiated her marriage with the son of the king of Bohemia.

A few years after this, John was obliged to conclude a treaty with Kazimir, king of Poland, in order to secure the neutrality of that monarch. By it he renounced all claim to the title of king of Poland, while Kazimir gave up his to the suzerainty of Silesia (1335).

John's various expeditions were, however, worse than useless to Bohemia. To carry them on he not only exhausted the revenues of the crown, but was forced to pledge his estates, till at last, of all the royal castles, that of Prague was the only one which he had not mortgaged to his creditors. The royal authority fell into discredit, and the judicial power of his burgraves, or governors of castles, came to an end; they were no longer obeyed, and *faustrecht*, the reign of force, prevailed. But John cared little for this. When he was not fighting he was losing his time over tournaments. He usually lived on his hereditary domain of Luxemburg, or else at the court of Paris, where he wasted the money which he extorted from his subjects. During his absence the country was governed by captains, who farmed the crown revenues. The queen Elizabeth never accompanied her husband, but lived in a solitude that was worse than widowhood.

On the death of Elizabeth (1330) the hereditary prince Charles came to reside in Bohemia. He had been educated at the court of France, and brought from that country ideas

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of economy and good government. He at once set himself to work to restore order in the finances, and succeeded so well that, at the close of 1333, John associated him with himself in the government with the title of co-regent. At this moment, the war for the domains of Henry of Carinthia broke out, and Margaret Maultasche, at the instigation of the emperor, repudiated her husband, John Henry, who was Charles's brother, in order to marry the margrave of Brandenburg. In consequence of this, king John declared war against the emperor. He was at first supported both by the kings of Poland and Hungary, and also by the duke of Austria, but the emperor soon deprived him of his allies. Silesia was next invaded by Kazimir of Poland. It was at about this time that John was attacked by blindness; but, in spite of that, he pursued Kazimir, even to the walls of Cracow, where he forced him to make peace. Pope Clement VI. now interfered, and, as the avenger of the Church, whose laws had been broken by the unlawful divorce of Margaret Maultasche, called upon the electors to choose a new emperor. The three ecclesiastical electors, the duke of Saxony, and the king of Bohemia thereupon chose the young prince Charles, who is known in German history as Charles IV., but in Bohemia bore the title of Charles I. (1346).

John II. survived this unlooked-for triumph of his policy but a short time. In the year 1337, when on an expedition against the pagans of Lithuania, he had lost an eye, and in 1339 he lost the other, through the unskilfulness of the physicians of Montpellier. But his blindness abated nothing of his warlike ardour. Hearing of the invasion of France by the English, he hastened to offer his help to his friend and relative, Philip of Valois, and his death at the battle of Crécy (1346) is known to everybody. French historians put into his mouth the following words, which he is said to have spoken to his companions-in-arms :—"I beg and earnestly entreat that you will lead me so far forward that I may strike one blow with my sword." The Chekh historians quote other words which, how-

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ever, in no wise contradict these. His companions-in-arms, seeing that the day was lost, wished to lead him from the field of battle. "Please God, a king of Bohemia shall never take to flight," the knightly king cried out. His son Charles was also wounded in the fight. John died on the 26th of August, 1346, the same day of the month on which Premysl Otokar II. had perished on the field of Marchfeld. A Chekh poem of the fourteenth century celebrates the battle of Crécy (Krescak), but in vague terms, which add nothing to our previous knowledge. (The story which connects the arms and motto of the princes of Wales with the blind king of Bohemia is altogether without foundation.)

Charles IV. (1346–1378)—*Prosperity of the Kingdom—The Golden Bull.*

On the election of Charles IV. the centre of gravity of the Holy Empire was again to be found in Central Europe, and thenceforth remained there, first in Bohemia and then in Austria, until these two states became united under the common rule of the same sovereign. German historians judge Charles IV. harshly, but those of Bohemia are full of enthusiasm for him, and call him the father of his country. John of Luxemburg had left him plenty to do, and Charles applied himself energetically to do it. It was first needful to put in order the crown revenues and release the domains from mortgage. This done, he reorganized the administration of justice, suppressed brigandage, improved trade and commerce, and divided his kingdom into twelve *circles*. The beginning of his reign was marked by the foundation of the university of Prague (1348), the first in Central Europe, and second only to that of Paris in the whole of Europe. Its first chancellor was Ernest of Pardubitz (Pardubice), the celebrated archbishop. According to the custom of the time, it was divided into four nations—the Chekh, Polish, Bavarian, and Saxon. A large number of Germans were attracted to Prague by it, and they gradually gained more than their due share of influence in it,

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especially after the foundation of the university of Cracow, since from that time onward the Polish *nation* was composed entirely of Germans from Silesia. Thus the Chekhs were outweighed by foreigners from an early date. At the same time, it is a remarkable fact that, though the fourteenth century was a golden age for the Germans in Bohemia, they made little use of it for the improvement of their own literature; they produced no original works, and very little more than translations from the Chekh. Thanks to this foundation of the university, Prague became an intellectual centre, not only for Bohemia, but also for Germany, Hungary, and Poland, the universities of Vienna and Cracow not being yet in existence.

Charles IV. was an enlightened protector of the fine arts, and adorned Prague with buildings which are its pride to this day. He rebuilt the cathedral of St. Vjt after the pattern of the Gothic buildings of France; its first architect was Mathias of Arras, a Frenchman. He also built the celebrated stone bridge of Prague, one of the finest, perhaps the finest, in Europe; the royal castle of Prague, "with the roofs of gold," on the model of the old castle of the Louvre; and the castle of Karlstein, in the environs of Beroun, in which were to be kept the royal insignia and the crown of St. Vacslav. The first school of painting which we hear of in the Middle Ages flourished in the Bohemian capital in this reign; some works of this school still remain. Charles paid equal attention to the police of his kingdom, and drew up, under the title of *Majestas Carolina*, a kind of code, which he submitted to the diet of the nobles (1355). But this diet, little anxious to restrain abuses by which its members profited, refused to adopt the *Majestas*. It consented, however, to some important reforms—among others, to the abolition of trials by ordeal; and it recognized the right of the peasant to summon his lord before a court of justice. In other respects, Charles made important improvements in the administration of justice. He made special laws for the relations between vassals and lords, and increased the privileges of the townsfolk, giving them the right, independent

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prince was endowed with some good qualities, and his accession in 1 filled both the empire and Bohemia with the brightest town dep But he was weak and yet violent, and his lot was towns were admitted by him to the old institutions of hitherto been conferred only on German colonists. the thoughts

The same diet which had rejected the *Majestas Carolina* joined Charles in fixing the order of succession in the dynasty of Luxemburg, and in definitely establishing that principle of primogeniture which had already been the custom in the Premyslide dynasty. Moravia, Silesia, Upper Lusatia, Brandenburg which had been acquired from the margrave Otto,[1] and the county of Glatz (Kladsko), with the consent of the diets of these provinces, were declared integral and inalienable portions of the kingdom of Bohemia. The see of Prague was created an archbishopric, and thus made independent of the foreign diocese of Maintz. At the same time a monastery was established at Prague, at which a Slavonic liturgy was to be regularly used. From this monastery came the celebrated manuscript which was carried to Rheims, and known there as the Consecration Gospel, being the one on which for two centuries the kings of France took the coronation oath.

By the Golden Bull, Charles IV. established the public law of Germany. He did not forget the interests of Bohemia in this celebrated act. In it the king of Bohemia is spoken of as one of the seven electors of the Holy Empire, but it is stated the kingdom is in no wise to be considered as a fief of the empire. It goes on to declare that the king of Bohemia can only be chosen by the nobles of the country, and not by the emperor, and that his subjects are free from all foreign jurisdiction, and even forbids them to appeal to any foreign authority. One passage in the bull, which is but little known, shows how much importance Charles attached to the Slav nationality and language of Bohemia. It is as follows:—"It is right that the majesty of the Holy Roman Empire should

[1] For Brandenburg during this period, see Carlyle, *Frederick*, bk. ii. chs. 12, 13.

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especially after the foundation of the university of Cracow, since from that time onward the Polish *nation* was composed entirely of Germans from Silesia. Thus the Chekhs were obliged by foreigners from an early age to support the emperor in his remarkable projects. Therefore we order that the daughters and the heirs of the king of Bohemia, the count-palatine of the Rhine, the duke of Saxony, and the margrave of Brandenburg, who must know German from having learned it in their infancy, shall, from the age of seven, learn the Latin, Italian, and Slav tongues, in such a manner as that by the age of fourteen they shall have mastered them."

Chekh literature flourished as we might expect under the reign of Charles IV. It produced knightly romances, satirical and elegiac poems, chronicles, and some dramatic attempts.

Charles had concluded in 1366 a treaty of inheritance with Austria, in virtue of which that one of the houses of Luxemburg and Habsburg which survived the other was to take possession of both Austria and Bohemia. In order to secure the inheritance of Bohemia and the empire to his own family, he had had his eldest son Vacslav crowned king of Bohemia in 1363, and obtained his election as king of the Romans in 1376. Before his death he divided his possessions among his four sons. To the eldest, he gave Bohemia, Silesia, and the domains in Bavaria, Saxony, and Germany; to the others, Brandenburg, the country of Görlitz, and part of Moravia. He died in 1378, on the eve of the religious movement of which he must have seen the first symptoms, and which was destined to have so great an effect on Bohemian history.

Vacslav IV. (1378—1419)—*Revolts of the Nobles—Religious Troubles.*

The glory of the reign of Charles was heightened by the fact that those of his predecessor and his successor were both unhappy reigns for Bohemia. His father was a crowned adventurer; his son, Vacslav IV. (1378—1419), has received the names of the Sluggard and the Drunkard. This young

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prince was endowed with some good qualities, and his accession had filled both the empire and Bohemia with the brightest hopes. But he was weak and yet violent, and his lot was cast in critical times; an epoch when the old institutions of Christianity began to crumble to pieces, and when the thoughts of men were in a state of fermentation which threatened the destruction of the old bonds which had hitherto enchained them. This reign coincides with two great events in religious history—the great schism, and the reform of John Hus.

Vacslav was only seventeen when he succeeded his father. At this time he was very far from being such a monster as he is represented in legendary history. His education had been much neglected. He was a drunkard, and he had an extravagant fondness for the chase and for dogs. His first wife, they say, was torn to pieces by one of his dogs, and this terrible accident gave Vacslav a reputation for pitiless ferocity. He was also careless in his behaviour towards the nobles and clergy, and often bestowed the offices of his court on citizens or on simple knights, or even on servants of his household or stables, and this it is which explains the animosity of the clergy and nobles against him, while it also was the cause of a certain amount of popularity which he had among the lower classes. In his time Bohemia, owing to her family alliances, might have played a most important part in Europe. His brother Sigismund was elected king of Hungary (1387); his sister Anne married king Richard of England, and he himself was in friendly alliance with the court of France. His reign, however, began badly. He excited the clergy against him by his violent behaviour towards some of the highest ecclesiastics in his kingdom, the most noteworthy example being his attack in 1393 upon the archbishop of Prague, John of Janstein (from whom he demanded the surrender of one of his castles), and upon the archbishop's vicars-general, Puchnik and John of Pomuk. The latter he caused to be tortured and thrown into the Vltava, though his only crime was that he had resisted the royal will in an ecclesiastical matter. In the seventeenth

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century, when Bohemia had been crushed and the Catholic faith restored, a myth concerning this St. John Nepomucen was concocted, in which he was said to have been martyred rather than betray the secrets of the confessional, and his name and worship were substituted for those of John Hus, in an attempt to drive the latter from the memory of the people. Modern criticism has, however, completely destroyed this legend, and it can no longer hold its ground.

Many of the nobles, irritated by the violence of Vacslav, and by the influence possessed by his unworthy favourites (*gratiarii*), entered into a league against him. They said they united to restore the constitution of the land, which had been violated by the king and his counsellors, but their real aim was the augmentation, or, at any rate, the maintenance, of the privileges of their order. One of their demands was that certain offices should only be confided to persons of the rank of lord, unless a special agreement should be entered into by the king, the lords, and the knights. They secured the assistance of the king of Hungary and the margrave Jost of Moravia, and when Vacslav resisted their demands they made him a prisoner in his royal castle at Prague (1394), and forced him to sign what amounted to an act of abdication, by which his cousin Jost was appointed regent, or *staroste*, of the kingdom. But Vacslav's brother John, duke of Görlitz, soon came to his assistance, and, with the help of the small landowners and the inhabitants of the towns, resisted the rebels with energy, whereupon these latter fled with their prisoner to the south of Bohemia, and even carried him into Austria. He did not obtain his freedom till the following year, and in the interval both the king of Hungary and the margrave of Moravia interfered in the affairs of the kingdom, the latter becoming its real ruler in 1396.

The year following, he was driven away, and Vacslav, who had obtained his freedom, began again to reign with the help of another of his cousins, Procopius of Moravia. In 1398, he went to France, where he had an interview with

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Charles VI., king of France, at Rheims, to consider the great schism which then divided Rome and Avignon. On his return to Germany, he found that, on the instigation of pope Benedict IX., the electors had risen against him. In 1400, Rupert, the elector palatine, was chosen emperor by the three ecclesiastical electors. He proceeded to declare war against Bohemia, and German troops penetrated to the very walls of Prague. The city defended itself bravely, and Vacslav was able at least to keep his kingdom, though, truth to tell, he had nothing but the title of king. Incapable himself of governing, he had been obliged to seek help from his brother Sigismund, king of Hungary, who treated him in no very brotherly fashion, for he kept him a prisoner in his palace at Prague, and with him the margrave Procopius, who sought to defend the rights of Vacslav. Later on, he carried them both to Vienna, where he confided them to the keeping of the Austrian princes. Part of Bohemia, however, refused to obey a foreign king, and Vacslav managed to escape from his Austrian prison, and in 1402 again returned to his capital.

Respect for authority must have been much diminished among the people by the sight of these perpetual struggles between the royal families and the indignities suffered by crowned heads. At the same time their faith in the authority of the church had been seriously shaken by the scandal created in the whole Christian world by the existence of the two popes, one at Rome and one at Avignon. The corruption among the clergy was frightful. "Among the priests," says Andrew de Cesky Brod, a contemporary, "there is no discipline; among the bishops there is open simony; among the monks countless disorders; and among the laymen there is no abuse in practice which has not been the habit of the clergy before them." Besides all this, the Chekhs were indignant at the influence which the Germans continued to gain in the kingdom. The peasants began to find the weight of servitude too heavy to be borne, especially when it was imposed upon them by foreign masters, and the disturbance in

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all men's minds was heightened by the feebleness of the monarch. A revolution was inevitable. In the Middle Ages, religion was the strongest interest. The revolution broke out in the world of religious ideas, and John Hus was its hero.

The great preachers, Conrad Waldhauser and Milic of Moravia, in the reign of Charles IV., had prepared the way for the religious movement to which the name of Hus is attached. Both these men had preached reform of manners and of the church. Conrad had attacked the monks and their superstitious practices. Among other things he had said, "Give to the poor, and not to the monks; they are well off, big and fat, and have more than they need for their wants." Milic had dared even to attack the pope and the cardinals. The priests, whose scandalous lives they reproved, replied with accusations of heresy. Milic was obliged to go to Avignon to clear himself, and died there in 1374. One of his most remarkable pupils was the theologian Mathias of Janov, who also endeavoured to bring the clergy back to a sense of their duty, and attacked as Antichrist those who brought lying fables into the church—"Antichristus est omnis qui mentitur et fabulas in sanctam ecclesiam introducit." He accused the pope and the bishops of having broken through the traditions of the primitive church, and of thinking only of temporal advantages. The austere morality of these preachers is also to be found in the writings of some of the laymen; as, for example, in those of the knight Thomas of Stitny, especially in his book called "The Christian Republic;" and even in the didactic poems of Flaska of Pardubice. Numerous passages from the Bible had also by this time been translated into the Chekh language, and had helped the people to begin to reason for themselves in religious matters.

The development of the national literature had roused in men's minds a wish to throw off the supremacy which the Germans had acquired throughout the country. The towns were full of these foreigners. In the churches and schools their language took the place of the national tongue; and there were

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even cases where ecclesiastical functions were entrusted to Germans, who did not understand the language of their flocks. John Hus gave utterance to all the moral needs of his time: as priest, he brought the Divine words home to the people in their own language, and preached the reform of the church; as patriot, he aimed at freeing the Bohemian nation from the intellectual oppression of a German minority. Till the time of Luther no reformer ever again exercised so great an influence over a nation.

John Hus (1369–1415)—*The Council of Constance* (1415).

John Hus was born in 1369, at Husinec, in the south of Bohemia. He was a Master of Arts and Bachelor of Theology. He had deeply studied the writings of John Wycliffe, the Englishman who had been condemned by the court of Rome, and who aimed at restoring to the church the purity of her early days. He was one of the professors in the university of Prague, where in 1402 he became dean, and preacher in the chapel of Bethlehem, where the sermons were always preached in Chekh. An upright man, and zealous in the performance of his duties, he stood so high in public estimation, and even in that of the court, that queen Sophia, the second wife of king Vacslav, appointed him her confessor. His sermons on the abuses of the church found an echo in the hearts of the numerous listeners who thronged to them. His adversaries were unable to refute his charges, but accused him of the Wycliffite heresies. By attacking them they hoped to attack him, and in 1403, at the request of the chapter of Prague, forty-five propositions, taken from the works of Wycliffe, were condemned by the university of Prague.

John Hus and his followers would not agree to this decision. They maintained that the errors attributed to Wycliffe either did not exist in his writings, or else had received a wrong interpretation. In 1408, at their suggestion, a meeting was held of the Bohemian *nation* of the university

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of Prague, at which the forty-five articles were discussed, and, notwithstanding the previous decision in the assembly of the four nations, the Chekh nation then declared that the statements in question were to be found in Wycliffe's writings, but that they need not be interpreted in any heretical sense. This declaration was considered by archbishop Zbynek as an act of formal disobedience; he ordered that all the known copies of Wycliffe's works should be submitted to a fresh examination, and, soon after, had a large number of them burnt. About the same time Hus was denounced before the archbishop on account of the vehemence of his preaching.

In the year 1409, a general council was held at Pisa in order to put an end to the schism of Avignon. Those cardinals who had been most active in obtaining this council hoped not only to restore unity in the church, but also to bring about reforms "in head and in members." In obedience to the decision of the council, king Vacslav called upon the clergy of his kingdom to acknowledge the Roman pontiff, Gregory XII., and when archbishop Zbynek, together with the higher clergy, refused to obey, Vacslav consulted the university on this grave question. The university was divided, the Chekh nation alone deciding in favour of the king and the cardinals, John Hus and his friends having a majority among them. Thus we see the arch-heretic Hus on the side of the Roman church, while her own representative, the archbishop, declared against her. It was not only with the people that John Hus had acquired influence, but also with the king and court. Vacslav had never been on very good terms with the higher clergy of his kingdom, and the greater number of his favourites from interested motives looked upon the proposed reforms with favour. The reformers declared that it would be necessary to deprive the church of the greater part of her possessions in order to restore to the clergy the purity of primitive times, and it was supposed that when once these possessions were secularized the king would be able to divide them among his followers. In this way, passions which were most foreign to the religious ideal

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he aimed at secured for Hus and his party the support of the court and sovereign.

He seized this favourable opportunity to restore to the Chekh nation the position which was due to it in the university. He represented to the king the injustice of giving to foreigners influence which entirely crushed that of the natives — influence which made itself felt not only on doctrinal questions, but also in all university appointments and offices. "The Chekhs," he said, "ought to be first in the kingdom of Bohemia, as the French are in France and the Germans in Germany. The laws of the land, the will of God, and natural instinct demand that they should receive all the highest offices." Vacslav listened to his advice, and decreed that in future the Chekh nation should have three votes and the foreigners only one in all councils and elections. The German masters and students in consequence quitted the town of Prague in a body (1409), and proceeded to found the university of Leipsic. They considered themselves injured in their lawful rights directly they were no longer permitted to be masters in a country which belonged to others. They have since had their revenge on the university of Prague, for at the present time they have again taken almost complete possession of it, notwithstanding the protests of the Chekhs.

This energetic measure on the part of king Vacslav rendered obedience to the decrees of the council of Pisa much more easy throughout the kingdom, and the council in return recognized Vacslav as king of the Romans. This proved, however, but an idle compliment, as the electors, taking no heed of the action of the council, proceeded to choose Sigismund king of Hungary (1410). Meantime archbishop Zbynek, in no wise discouraged by the triumph of John Hus, who had been appointed rector of the reformed university, placed him under an interdict, and the city of Prague with him. Hus thereupon appealed to the Holy See, and the pope suspended the interdict until Hus should have had time to defend himself against the charges brought against him. Zbynek, dreading the anger

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of Vacslav, fled to his rival, Sigismund of Hungary, and, falling ill on the way, died at Poszony (Presburg) in 1411.

The council of Pisa, in order to put an end to the schism, had set aside both the pope at Rome and the one at Avignon, and had chosen a new pontiff, Alexander V. Thus, for a short time, there were three popes all reigning at once. Alexander V. might have been the restorer of the church, but he lived but a very short time, and his successor, John XXIII., had neither the qualities nor the virtues necessary for a reforming pope. Hus continued to preach with all his accustomed ardour, and, hopeless of accomplishing the reform of the whole church, he turned all his efforts towards the church of Bohemia. Although he had been forbidden to preach in the Bethlehem chapel, he held his ground against not only the bishop, but the pope himself, and, developing the theories of Wycliffe, he denied the right attributed to the pope as the visible head of the church. Just at this time the papacy supplied him with arms against itself. In 1412, pope John XXIII., attacked by the king of Naples, who had embraced the cause of his dethroned predecessor, Gregory XII., caused a crusade to be preached for the defence of the Holy See, and promised plenary indulgence to all those believers who should come to his aid either with arms or money. Hus and his adherents loudly denounced this trade in indulgences both in public discussions and from the pulpit, and the excited people violently attacked even priests of the highest rank. The preachers of indulgences were interrupted in the church itself by the questions of their hearers. Three of the rioters were seized by the consuls of the old town and beheaded, but far from being terrified by this severe measure, the populace got possession of their bodies, and placed them, as the relics of martyrs, in the chapel of Bethlehem. John XXIII. now pronounced an anathema against Hus, and placed any town in which he might reside under an interdict, and the king, alarmed, himself besought Hus to leave Prague. But, welcomed in the castles of the national nobility, the Master found among the country folk

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a docile and enthusiastic audience; and from the depths of his seclusion he published controversial works which were all the more eagerly read because he was a master of the Slav tongue, as well as a thorough reformer. It was not without terror that king Vacslav saw his doctrines spreading throughout Bohemia, which was at this time described by the pope and the Holy See as the hot-bed of heresy. He made great but unavailing efforts to restrain the ardour of John Hus, and to bring about a reconciliation between him and Albic, the new archbishop of Prague.

Meantime the sale of indulgences had not procured for the pope the wished-for assistance. Driven from Rome by the king of Naples, he had been obliged to take refuge at Bologna, and in this critical situation of affairs he comforted himself with the idea of a general council, which should come to the help of the ills of the church and the needs of the Holy See. In an interview which he had with the emperor Sigismund at Lodi, it was decided such a council should be summoned, and that the place of meeting should be the town of Constance. King Vacslav thought he saw in this council the only means of putting an end to the religious troubles of Bohemia, which were causing the greatest embarrassment to his vacillating mind. The emperor invited John Hus to come to Constance, under the protection of an imperial safe-conduct, to defend his doctrines. The Master, as he was called by his countrymen, was not the man to draw back from such an invitation; he believed himself so surely in the possession of the truth that he must be able to convert his adversaries, and in his enthusiasm he was ready to defend it to the death. He arrived, accompanied by an escort of Bohemian knights granted to him by king Vacslav, expecting to find in the council a fair field, where he would be allowed to fight his opponents with equal weapons. He believed in the imperial safe-conduct. The council cared nothing for it, looking upon it as an illegal encroachment by the temporal on the spiritual power, and the emperor Sigismund protested but feebly against its violation.

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It was not long after his arrival at Constance that Hus was thrown into prison, in order that he might be tried as a heretic and a disturber of the discipline of the church. The first steps of the trial were taken secretly, but Hus was afterwards allowed to defend himself before the council. Many of the charges brought against him were false. In his defence he did not break openly with Catholicism, though he defended principles which led him to deny the authority of the pope, and placed that of the Scriptures above that of the church. On hearing this, the council refused to listen further, and called upon him for a complete retractation. This he refused, whereupon at a sitting, held on July 6, 1415, it declared him a heretic, and delivered him over to the secular arm, by which he was condemned to be burnt alive. He walked to the stake with heroic courage. A year later, the council caused Jerome of Prague also to be burnt; he was one of the most faithful adherents of Hus, and his stormy eloquence had spread the doctrines of the Master even as far as Poland and Lithuania.

John Hus is only known to foreigners as a celebrated heretic, and is admired by some and hated by others, according to the religious opinions that they hold. The Slav race, especially in Bohemia, honours him as a writer of genius, the intrepid defender of the Chekhs, and the purifier of their language. There is more than one analogy to be found between Hus and Luther. What Luther did for German prose, Hus had done a century earlier for the Bohemian language. Not content with making his works models of excellent style, he set himself also to fix the national orthography. He was at great pains to adapt the Latin alphabet to the soft and sibilant sounds of the Slav tongue, and he banished Germanisms from the language as he had banished Germans from the university. He wrote: "As Nehemiah chastised the Jewish children when they knew not Hebrew and he heard them speak the jargon of Ashdod, so must the men of Prague be chastised, and all those Chekhs whose language is half Chekh, half German. We hear them, and verily we know not what they say." His

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controversial and religious writings, as well as his letters written from Constance, are to this day considered as models of style. As a poet, he composed some hymns, for which he also wrote the harmonies, and critics declare that he introduced some improvements in religious music.

But what most struck his contemporaries was, not the genius of the Master, but the purity of his life, the gentleness of his character, the heroism of his martyrdom. The council desired that there should remain on earth nothing that had belonged to him; they had burnt his clothing, and thrown his ashes into the Rhine. They believed that they had got rid of the spirit of reform and subdued Bohemia. Miserable delusion! From the flames of the stake of John Hus a great fire was set alight, which desolated Bohemia and Germany, and was only extinguished in the blood of countless victims.

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CHAPTER XII.

BOHEMIA AND THE HUSSITE WARS.

Formation of the Sects of the Utraquists and Taborites (1415–1419).

THE death of Hus in no wise lessened the religious excitement in Bohemia, but, deprived of the guidance of the Master, his followers proceeded to push his doctrines to consequences which had never been foreseen by him. He had never refused obedience to the visible church, but had only proclaimed the right of appealing to Holy Scripture in cases where the church seemed to contradict the Divine law. He was not one of those who aimed at the alteration of dogmas and rites to suit their own fancy, but when the religious imagination of the Middle Ages was once roused, it could not stop half-way. A dogma without either practical consequence or moral application was enough to excite the enthusiasm of the masses, who at that time found the strongest interests of their lives in religious dreams and fancies. Not long after Hus had left Bohemia, one of his disciples, Jakoubek Stribrsky or de Stribro, began to teach that the communion ought to be administered under both forms, both bread and wine, to people and priests alike. Perhaps the doctrine had an especial attraction for the people from its treating all men as equals. Besides being in conformity with the traditions of the primitive church, and the practice until late in the Middle Ages, it made no difference between the pastor and his flock, and

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diminished the prestige of the priests. However that may be, it was adopted with enthusiasm and introduced into every parish where John Hus had adherents. The Cup became the symbol of his disciples, and was to be found on the bells of the churches and on all public buildings. An epigram of the time says—

> "Tot pingit calices Boemorum turba per urbes,
> Ut credas Bacchi numina sola coli."

The council of Constance lost no time in condemning this innovation of the Utraquists,[1] or Calixtins, as they were afterwards called, as opposed to the unvarying authority of the church. But the sentence which this stormy assembly had just pronounced against Hus was not likely to increase the obedience or the sympathy of Bohemia. When the news of his death reached Prague, and the excited people listened to the account given of him by his faithful friend Peter of Mladenovic, who represented him as a second Christ, their wrath broke out in violent disturbances. The mob attacked the orthodox priests, whom they accused of complicity in the judicial murder of the Master; some of them were mobbed, others driven from their homes, some few were murdered. An earthquake and an eclipse of the sun which occurred in 1415 were looked upon as direct evidence of the wrath of Heaven against the deed. In the rural districts the lords and knights who were patrons of livings took advantage of the prevalent disorder and drove away the priests they disliked, and replaced them with others, paying no regard to the authority of bishops or archbishops. But it was not religious zeal alone which prompted these acts of violence, since some of the lords stripped the clergy of their benefices only in order to keep them for themselves.

Four hundred and fifty-two lords and knights of Bohemia and Moravia met in council in Prague and drew up a letter addressed to the council of Constance, in which they repre-

[1] Utraquist, *i.e.* those who communicate *sub utraque specie.*

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sented the murder of Hus as an affront to the whole Bohemian nobility. They proceeded to form themselves into a kind of league, refusing obedience to foreign priests, and recognizing only the bishops of the national Church, and them only so long as their doctrines were in conformity with those of the Bible. They made the same conditions as to their obedience to the pope whom the council were about to elect; while they declared also that they would only recognize in matters of faith the authority of the council of professors in the university of Prague. Thus the Hussites, or, to use the right term, the Utraquists, formed themselves into a large party within the bosom of the Catholic Church, while they formed also a party within Bohemia itself; for there was still a conservative minority there, who, either from conviction or interest, remained faithfully attached to the Roman Catholic faith. This minority was mainly composed of Germans, and thus the rivalry between the two nations was continued in religious matters. The important part in all the events of this time played by the patriotism of the Chekhs in its struggle against *Germanism* must never be forgotten.

The council of Constance took energetic measures against the Utraquists. Jacob de Stribro and those who had signed the Declaration were summoned to appear before it, and the university of Prague, as the seat of heresy, was declared suppressed and deprived of all the privileges conferred upon it by the pope. King Vaclav, queen Sophia, and Conrad, the new archbishop of Prague, were threatened with ecclesiastical penalties if they did not openly renounce the new heresies. But little heed was paid to these threats. The news of the execution of Jerome of Prague heightened the exasperation of the nation, and the university, far from submitting to the council, constituted itself a court of appeal in matters of doctrine, and declared in a solemn manifesto that communion under both forms was indispensable to the salvation of souls. They also proclaimed John Hus a saint and martyr, and fixed his festival on the 6th of July, the day of his execution. The

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day was observed in Bohemia down to the beginning of the seventeenth century.

But it was not long before anarchy, the plague of all independent sects, appeared among the Hussites. The masters of the university of Prague had declared that nothing was to be believed which was not to be found in Holy Scripture; but the Scriptures are not always clear, and when once texts are submitted to individual criticism, or to men's fancy, they may be made to mean almost anything. And so it was that new sects made their appearance who rejected all sacraments except Baptism and the Supper of our Lord, who would have neither the Mass, the worship of saints, the doctrine of purgatory, fasts, nor an ecclesiastical hierarchy. It was in the rural districts that these doctrines spread most widely.

The principal centre of the new teachers was the little town of Ousti, not far from the spot where later on stood the town of Tabor. When the university of Prague refused obedience to the council of Constance it had no intention of separating itself from the main body of the Church for ever. When therefore the innovators of Ousti drew up a new form of creed, it played the part of an orthodox body, and declared them heretics. The new sect refused obedience to their decisions, and then the Hussites proved faithless to their principles. Instead of spending all their strength on the reform of the Church, they lost themselves in the boundless field of dogmatic theories. In this first period of excitement a constant struggle went on between the most peaceful and the most revolutionary ideas, between the aristocracy and the democracy, socialism and communism, between obedience to tradition and rationalism, between the doctrines of the Picards and those of the Adamites. Unbridled fancy gave birth sometimes to the most absurd excesses, sometimes to the most generous impulses.

The council of Constance broke up in 1418, without having succeeded in the re-establishment of ecclesiastical authority in Bohemia, and the pope, Martin V., on whom this

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difficult task next devolved, was hardly more fortunate. King Vacslav, at his request, tried to reinstate the priests who had been driven from their parishes, but the people rose up against the pastors thus thrust upon them. Rather than enter the churches of the intruders, the peasants, under the guidance of their priests, assembled in the open country, usually near mountains to which they gave Biblical names, such as Tabor, near Ousti on the Elbe, and Oreb near the town of Trebechovice. Mount Tabor became the home of the most ardent preachers of the new sect of Ousti. There they formed themselves into a new body which aimed at the restoration of primitive Christianity and maintained the principle of community of goods. Its members called themselves brothers and sisters, rejected the priestly dress and all ritual in worship, and conducted their services in the national tongue. These communities who thus separated themselves both from the general faith and ordinary life, needed only some brave leaders to enable them to withstand, not only the Church, but the secular power also, if it interfered with them; and these were not long wanting. We find them in Nicholas of Hus at Tabor, and at Prague in the priest Procopius called the Shaven, and the old knight John Zizka of Trocnov, who had learned the military art, together with hatred of the Germans, while fighting against the Teutonic knights in the ranks of the Poles. An enthusiastic faith made of these improvised soldiers the most terrible warriors known to the Middle Ages.

Beginning of the Struggle—Sigismund (1419–1437)—*John Zizka* (1420).

The struggle first began at Prague. On the renewal of the city council in July, 1419, king Vacslav appointed some sheriffs who were hostile to the Hussites. Upon this, the populace, led on by Zizka and fired by the preaching of the priest John of Zéliv, attacked the town hall, took possession of the building, seized the sheriffs, and threw them out of the windows on to the pikes and lances of the crowd below. They

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then obliged the king to choose magistrates who were favourable to their party. This ferocious deed was the precedent for that *defenestration* (pitching out of window) which was the signal for the beginning of the Thirty Years' War two centuries later. Vacslav was obliged to submit to this humiliation; he died a few days afterwards, of rage and vexation according to some, of poison if we are to believe others. Crowned king of Bohemia when only three years of age, chosen king of the Romans when he was but fifteen, and succeeding to his father's throne at seventeen, Vacslav had exhausted all worldly greatness could give him before he was a man. He was ignorant how to support so great a burden. First a prisoner in the hands of his nobles, and next in those of his own brother Sigismund, perpetually wavering between the Holy See and the Hussites, he was alternately the tool of men, of circumstance, and of his own passions, and never learned how to govern any of them. His reign marks the beginning of the decay of Bohemia's political power, but the Chekhs had reached that period in the history of a nation when the people are of more importance than the sovereign, and, notwithstanding those excesses which were inseparable from a still half-barbarous age, we shall see them accomplish great things, and leave for future ages a still more glorious and enduring story than that of Charles IV. or Premysl Otokar.

The death of Vacslav set free all those passions which respect for the majesty of the king had hitherto held in check. The churches and monasteries were attacked and pillaged, and the Catholic priests driven from the town and replaced by Hussites. The archbishop and chapter took to flight, and their example was followed by many of the rich burghers, especially among the Germans. According to the arrangements made by Charles IV., the successor of Vacslav was Sigismund, emperor and king of Hungary, and the very man who had allowed John Hus to be burned at Constance. Notwithstanding this, the estates of Bohemia, the lords and knights, at once sent ambassadors to him, begging him to come to Prague;

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but at the same time they insisted on their right to communicate in both kinds. To allow this would have been to place himself at once in opposition to the council and the pope; Sigismund, therefore, returned an evasive answer, and meantime entrusted the government of Bohemia to the queen dowager, Sophia, until he should be able to come. The regent found herself supported by the nobles, who began to be alarmed at the popular gatherings which were held under pretence of religion. She attempted to disperse some of these by force, but Zizka and Nicholas of Hus roused the people of Prague, attempted to take the royal castle by assault, burned part of the city, and obliged Sophia to permit communion in both kinds, and also popular assemblies.

King Sigismund, on the receipt of this news, hastened towards his new kingdom. He first received the homage of the states of Moravia and Silesia, and then began to make such preparations within these two provinces as should enable him to enter Bohemia without difficulty, and restore temporal and spiritual order within her borders. Distrusting, however, his own power to raise sufficient forces, his next step was to beg the pope to allow a crusade against the Hussites to be preached, and Martin V. sent a special legate to Vratislav (Breslau) to consult with Sigismund about this matter. At the same time he summoned the princes of the empire also to give their aid.

These circumstances restored courage to the Catholics and Germans of Bohemia, and the Germans of Kutna Hora (Kuttenberg) began to persecute the heterodox in their neighbourhood. They seized four hundred persons, either in the open country or in their own houses, and threw them into the mines. A cry of horror arose from the entire country, and Zizka hastened to Mount Tabor, where he organized the brotherhood living on the mountain into a military force, and transformed the settlement into a fortified town in such fashion that it became the strongest military position of the Hussites. From this time the word *tabor* (under the form of *töbor*), became, even in the neighbouring countries, the synonym for

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a warlike place or fortified camp. A number of other Chekh words also made their way, during the Hussite wars, into the military language of the Germans.

Zizka's extemporized army required new tactics and new arms; it could not drag about with it all the knightly armour of the Middle Ages. Flails weighted with iron and the heavy hammer of the blacksmith were its weapons, and clumsy waggons served as shelter to the combatants and a refuge for the wounded. The strictest discipline secured unity of action. Even the more moderate reformers, the Utraquists of Prague, when they learned that the emperor was taking the cross against them, prepared to defend their faith, and Cenek of Wartenburg, the grand-burgrave of Prague, addressed a proclamation to the whole people of Bohemia, calling upon them to arm themselves against the common enemy.

In the spring of 1420, the emperor Sigismund, at the head of his army, invaded Bohemia, entering it by Kralove-Hradec and by Kutna Hora, and penetrated as far as Hradcany, one of the districts of Prague itself, where he had himself crowned in the cathedral of St. Vit on the 28th of July. He then besieged the rest of Prague. John Zizka, at the head of the Taborites, marched to the relief of the city just at the moment when the army of the crusaders entered Bohemia. It was commanded by the most powerful princes of Germany, and numbered about one hundred thousand men. The fall of Prague would have brought with it the immediate ruin of Bohemia and the annihilation of the Chekh nation. But the genius of Zizka rose to the occasion; he took possession of Mount Vitkov, near Prague, repulsed the assaults of the German army, and obliged them to raise the siege of the city. The mount has ever since borne his name, Zizkov (Zizkaberg).

The presence of Sigismund in Bohemia was still, however, fraught with danger to the Hussites. He had in his power almost all the royal towns and villages, and even the royal castle and the Vysehrad which commands Prague from the right bank of the river Ultava. His army was composed of

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Bohemian Catholics, and also of some of the Utraquist nobles. But his treasure was exhausted, and in order to meet the expenses of the war he was obliged to pledge some of the estates of the clergy. Prague gave no sign of yielding; instead, the besieged became in their turn besiegers, and blockaded the castle of Vysehrad, and it was in vain that Sigismund tried to relieve it; he was forced to abandon this strong position. It was just at this moment that he was recalled to Hungary by the affairs of that nation, and had to quit Bohemia, though not until he had organized a provisional government, by which the lords, knights, and citizens of each circle were entrusted with the task of restoring order, with the help of the burgraves and the garrisons of the royal castles.

The departure of the king increased the courage of the insurgents, who felt also that they were secretly supported by the sympathies of the larger part of the nation. The city of Prague issued a decree of banishment and confiscation against all those who had joined king Sigismund, or who had refused to acknowledge the necessity for communion in both kinds. Part of the property of the Catholic clergy was also confiscated. Thus was destroyed that preponderance of the German element which had so long prevailed in the town of Prague. Those Germans who remained became converts to the Hussite doctrines. The men of Prague next undertook, with the help of Zizka and the Taborites, to reconquer the whole country, and before long they were able to occupy all the towns, with the exception of Plzen (Pilsen) and Budejovice, though some of them not until after energetic resistance. The castle of Prague was the last to yield. When the towns fell into the hands of the Chekhs, their German inhabitants for the most part quitted them, and they have never since recovered their position. "Thus," according to Pelzel, "the Hussites overthrew that monument which it had taken the Germans five centuries to raise to themselves and their language." Many churches, monasteries, and religious buildings were destroyed during the struggle. The Taborites showed no mercy; but violence had become necessary to save

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the Bohemia of the Slavs from being completely Germanized. Terrified by this success, the Utraquist nobles who had joined the party of the king soon abandoned his cause and embraced that of the people; and even the archbishop of Prague made terms with them, consecrated their priests, and placed some of the ecclesiastical benefices at their disposal.

Negociations with Poland—Sigismund Korybutowicz (1420)—*The Four Articles—Death of Zizka* (1424).

The Hussites were triumphant. Their next step was to meet in a diet at Caslav, to decide on a form of creed and to settle the constitution of the kingdom. This creed was drawn up by the masters of the university of Prague; it was to be found at the head of all Zizka's proclamations, and contained four articles: communion under both kinds; freedom of preaching; secularisation of Church property; while the fourth article ordained that mortal sins and offences against ecclesiastical law, whether committed by priests or laymen, should be punishable by temporal penalties. The diet next proceeded to declare Sigismund the enemy of the Bohemian people, and to deprive him of his title of king. A solemn embassy was sent into Poland to offer the crown of Vacslav to Wladislaw, and it was decided that in the meantime the country should be governed by a committee of twenty persons, half of them chosen from the representatives of the lords and knights, and half from those of the towns and the Taborites. The effort at reform was completed by the decisions of a synod which met at Prague, and which occupied itself principally in the amendment of church discipline, under the guidance of the university. It obliged the archbishop Conrad to associate with himself four councillors, whose business it was to help him to maintain this discipline.

But the nation was as far as ever from real unity. The Taborites, who meant to have a Church of their own, had already (1420) chosen a bishop to consecrate their priests, thus separating themselves from the rest of the Bohemian

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Church, while the national Church itself no longer formed part of the Catholic Church, since the pope had forbidden the archbishop to exercise his functions and had declared his diocese vacant.

The Chekhs believed themselves able to count on the help of Wladislaw, because some of the Polish nobility had embraced the Hussite doctrines, and also because an increase of territory at this moment would have been of great use to the Polish king, who was engaged in a dispute with Sigismund for the possession of Galicia. But the Polish clergy feared that a close union between Poland and Bohemia would hasten the spread of the Hussite doctrine, and the representative of pope Martin V. induced Wladislaw to decline the crown that was offered him. The Chekhs then offered it to Prince Vitold, grand-duke of Lithuania. Knowing how disastrous to their interests had been their connection with German dynasties, they were anxious to bring about a closer union with their Slav relations.

The moment was one of great danger, for Sigismund had arranged with the German princes to prepare a new crusade against Bohemia. Happily for the Chekhs, the German army entered Bohemia before Sigismund was ready to come to its assistance. It numbered about two hundred thousand men, and had five electors among its leaders. Zatec (Saatz), now a German, but then a Chekh town, was first of all besieged, but it defended itself bravely, and meantime the crusaders proceeded to ravage the country round and to massacre the peasants, every one who could not speak German being put to death. Zizka hurried forward with the Taborites and the men of Prague. He had lost one eye early in life, and the other at the siege of the castle of Rabi; but his blindness never lessened his military skill, and his very name was a terror to his enemies. The Germans immediately raised the siege of Zatec, and retired. Sigismund had been detained on the Danube by the incursions of the Turks, but at this moment he arrived with an army of eighty thousand men, commanded

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by the celebrated condottiere, Pipa the Florentine. Moravia yielded at once; she had none of the natural defences of Bohemia, and was occupied by a less vigorous and less obstinate race. Her nobles swore obedience to Sigismund, and renounced communion under both kinds, and their example was followed by some of the Utraquist nobles of Bohemia, who laid down their arms. Sigismund next pushed forward to Kutna Hora, and seized it; but Zizka suddenly attacked and repulsed him, drove him back to Nemecky Brod (the Ford of the Germans), and then inflicted on him a terrible defeat on the banks of the river Sazava (January 8, 1422).

This victory freed Bohemia from German invasions, and for several years the Chekhs were masters of their own land, only disturbed by some slight attacks on the frontiers on the side of Moravia and Silesia. Unfortunately, peace was very far from reigning within their borders. Questions of dogma divided the Taborites and the men of Prague, and the Taborites themselves split into several sects. The strangest theories arose. Some amongst them preached the community of goods and even of marriage; others (the Adamites) returned to a state of nature, to primitive nudity and uncontrolled bestiality. John Zizka was obliged to fight these insubordinate disciples, and burned alive some of those who fell into his hands. In Prague, where the party of the Taborites had been strengthened by a large number of recruits, it threatened to take possession of the city. It was led by John de Zeliv, the monk, whose burning eloquence exercised so great an influence over the populace, that for nearly two years he was the real sovereign of Prague, but after that time the rich citizens succeeded in getting him into their power by stratagem, and cut off his head. His death was followed by a riot, in which the conservative Utraquists who were on the town council were expelled and their places filled by the followers of the new martyr.

Notwithstanding all these disorders, the grand-duke of Lithuania decided to accept the crown of Bohemia. He chose

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for his provisional lieutenant Prince Sigismund Korybutowicz, who was the nephew of the king of Poland. The new regent assembled an army at Cracow, at the head of which he entered the kingdom by way of Silesia and Moravia. But this precaution was needless, as he met with no resistance; the Bohemians, who were so divided among themselves, and so jealous of their complete freedom, even in matters of slight importance, were ready enough to obey a king of their own choosing. The regent succeeded in putting an end to the disorders in Prague and the other royal cities, and gave the administration of those towns back into the hands of the lords and knights. Unfortunately for Bohemia, prince Sigismund Korybutowicz did not long remain to act as peacemaker. In consequence of a treaty entered into by the kings of Hungary and Poland, prince Vitold renounced the crown of Bohemia in 1422, and recalled his wise lieutenant.

The Utraquist nobles, with the help of the Catholics, now attempted to place Bohemia once more in the hands of king Sigismund, but Zizka undertook a vigorous campaign against them, and, as usual, the Taborites were triumphant. Sigismund Korybutowicz once more returned (1424) to mediate between the two parties. He appears to have come on his own account, and in opposition to the will of his uncle, who does not seem ever to have regretted his refusal of the crown, and his popularity was so great that the two parties agreed to recognize him once more as regent of the country.

Zizka died shortly after these events. The few documents written by him which remain prove his sincere faith and deep religious feeeling, which were united with the most ardent patriotism. He declares in one of his manifestoes that he takes up arms for the defence of the Chekh and Slav races. Elsewhere he says, "We must live good lives, live as Christians, in love and in the fear of God. We must place in His hands our wishes, our needs, and our hopes, and wait always upon Him." In a hymn, which is both religious and warlike, he says to his soldiers, "You are the champions of God and of His law—

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Ask God for His aid—And hope in Him.—In the end by His help—You must always conquer.—The Lord commands you to have no fear—Of what man can do.—He commands us to lay down our lives for the love of our neighbours.—Wherefore be of good courage!—Happy is he who can die for the truth!—Let comrade help comrade—Watch and be still—Each man at his post—And utter joyfully the war-cry, 'Forward!'" Æneas Sylvius, the elegant but somewhat untrustworthy historian of this period of Bohemian history, has helped to spread two mistakes about Zizka, which it may not be useless to correct here. He wrongly states that the word Zizka means *blind;* and he has invented the childish story that after his death the skin of the warrior was used by his followers as a covering for their drum.

Procopius the Great—Victory of Ousti (1427)—*Hussite Invasion of Hungary and Germany* (1424–1431).

The death of Zizka was a serious loss to his party. His courage had enabled the Taborites to resist their enemies within the kingdom; his authority had kept them as far as possible in the paths of reason and moderation. On his death, his party broke up, the extreme body keeping the name of Taborites, the more moderate taking that of Orphans (Sirotci). But both, notwithstanding their intestine struggles, were always ready to unite against the Catholics, and by the treaty of Voszice they were able to obtain the separation of most of the royal towns from Prague (1425), and their formation into an independent confederacy, under the management of the Taborites and the Calixtins. After a time, the Catholics themselves agreed to a truce, and the lords undertook to tolerate the communion *sub utrâque* on their estates. The town of Pilsen alone refused to enter into this agreement.

Moravia had remained more faithful to the Catholic Church. Orthodox opinions reigned almost undisturbed throughout the vast domains of the bishop of Olomouc and in the royal towns which were mainly peopled by Germans, and which had for the

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most part been pledged by king Sigismund to his son-in-law, the duke of Austria. It was only by the help and through the close neighbourhood of Bohemia that the Moravian Hussites could hold their own. In the other provinces of the kingdom of St. Vacslav, in Silesia and Lusatia, the German majority, who later on were so ready to embrace the doctrines of Luther, from national rather than religious motives were hostile to the Hussite movement. Brandenburg had long ceased to belong to Bohemia, king Sigismund, who was always in want of money, having sold it in 1416 to Frederick of Hohenzollern.

Sigismund still hoped to be able to recover his kingdom. After having in vain begged for help from the empire, he entered into an alliance with his son-in-law, Albert V., duke of Austria, and the margrave of Misnia; to the latter he promised some towns to the north of Bohemia, amongst them Brux and Ousti (Aussig), on the Elbe, as the price of his assistance, and these places were at once occupied by that prince. This time the Chekhs did not wait till their country was invaded; they at once took the offensive, both on the north and south, entered Austria, and sent an army to besiege Ousti. They were led by Sigismund Korybutowicz, who was always true to the cause of Bohemia, and Prokop Holy (Procopius the Shaven, also called Procopius the Great). This man was a married priest, who had been made a soldier by circumstances, and who believed himself to be the heir of Zizka's genius. A bloody battle took place under the walls of Ousti, in which the Saxons and Misnians were completely defeated, and forced to retreat beyond the frontiers (1426), Albert of Austria flying first into Moravia and then into his own duchy. The Hussites in their turn became invaders, and the emperor Sigismund, whose efforts were paralysed by the attacks of the Turks in other parts of his dominions, was unable to withstand them.

But while victorious over their adversaries in the field, the Hussites continued to break up into numerous sects. We have already mentioned the divisions among the Taborites;

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these were now followed by a great split in the sect of the Utraquists. Two parties were formed among them, one of which, under the leadership of Master John of Pribram, endeavoured to become reconciled to the Catholic Church. They stipulated that they should keep the right to communicate under both kinds, and demanded the restitution of Church property, but were ready to renounce the doctrines of Wycliffe. The other party adhered to the doctrines of Wycliffe, and demanded the abolition of certain Catholic rites and the use of the national language during Mass for the reading of the Epistle and Gospel. Their leaders were Jacob of Stribro, John of Rokycana, an able preacher, and Procopius the Less (Prokopek).

Prince Sigismund inclined towards the party of John of Pribram, which seemed to him likely to reconcile Bohemia with the Catholic Church. He entered into secret negociations with pope Martin V., but on this the adherents of Rokycana rose against him, took him prisoner, and drove him out of Bohemia (1427). The democratic party triumphed; the men of Prague entered into closer alliance than ever with the Taborites, and Procopius the Great became sole leader of the Hussites, with powers even more considerable than those once possessed by Zizka.

The Holy See, however, continued to preach the crusade against Bohemia; and the German princes once more entered the country, this time by way of Plzen (Pilsen), the town which had remained faithful to the Catholic Church. On the arrival of Procopius the Great, however, their army was seized by a panic and withdrew to Tachov, where the Chekhs overtook them and defeated them completely. Procopius then took the offensive both in those Bohemian provinces where the Hussite doctrines did not prevail and in the neighbouring countries. He invaded and ravaged Hungary as far as Poszony (Presburg); entered Moravia, where the Hussites had been lately regaining lost ground, and in the beginning of 1428 reached Silesia. Here the Chekhs captured a large

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number of fortresses and garrisoned them, defeated and broke up the army of the bishop of Breslau, and brought part of Silesia into submission. They also entered Bavaria and Austria, everywhere driving before them the troops sent against them, and ravaging the country. There was no doubt they were invincible, and the emperor Sigismund felt that there was nothing left to be done but to treat with them. Negociations to this end were begun, and Procopius the Great, accompanied by the leaders of the Utraquist and Catholic parties, went to Poszony, where it was proposed by Sigismund that a council should meet in Basle in two years' time to decide all religious questions, and that meantime there should be a truce. But Bohemia had not forgotten the fate of John Hus, and had but small confidence in the result of any council, while a truce would only give their enemies time to grow stronger. They refused to accept these proposals, the meeting at Poszony came to nothing, and hostilities began again.

Procopius next invaded and conquered Lusatia. He then undertook a great expedition against Germany, attacking it on the side of Misnia and Saxony (1430). The army of the elector of Saxony fled before the Hussites; Misnia, Saxony, Thuringia, and Franconia were each in turn invaded, and some historians say that seventy towns and some thousands of villages were burned or laid waste. The Hussites became the terror of Germany; Rome and Italy had never trembled before the *tumultus gallicus* of earlier times as Germany did now before them. The duke of Bavaria, the margrave of Nuremburg, and many of the towns purchased peace from the invaders, and the town of Homburg-on-the-Saale sent a deputation of children to Procopius to beg for pity from the fierce conqueror. An apocryphal letter from Joan of Arc was circulated throughout the empire, in which she threatened to march against the Hussites as soon as she had driven away the English.

The exploits of the Chekhs filled all Europe with admiration as well as with terror. The Church and Holy See felt the alarm all the more because the Hussite doctrines began to

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spread outside Bohemia, not only in Poland and Hungary, but in Germany, and even in France. The inhabitants of Dauphiny sent voluntary contributions to the Chekhs; the Bishop of Arras wrote that he dare not leave his diocese, because "he was obliged to watch over his flock to preserve them from the contagion of the Bohemian heresy." Christendom believed that the only remedy for so many evils lay in the convocation of a council, and the clergy of Germany and France threatened to meet without the consent of the pope, if they could not do so with it. The pope, however, had more faith in the force of arms than in the decisions of an assembly of theologians. He believed that if Bohemia could only be subdued, everything would be easy, and the most rebellious spirits would then have to submit to the authority of the dogmas of the Church. At the diet of Nuremburg (1431), therefore, the papal legate Cesarini and the emperor decided that there must be a new crusade, and, shortly after, an army entered Bohemia on the west, near the town of Domazlice (Taus). Here Procopius awaited them with forty thousand foot soldiers, three thousand five hundred horsemen, and two thousand five hundred war-chariots, and once more the Germans took to flight, were pursued, and suffered terrible loss, and again the Hussites invaded Austria and Hungary.

Meantime a council met at Basle. It had a glorious task before it, that of restoring peace to Europe. The whole world longed for peace; it was sorely needed by Germany, but still more by Bohemia, for she was becoming exhausted in the endless struggle. War outside the frontiers did not cost the country much, because the Hussite army lived at the expense of the foreigner; but the soldiers were learning habits of rapine, which they brought back home with them; they were joined by needy adventurers of all kinds, Poles, Ruthenians, even Germans, and had lost the old characteristics of religious gravity and incorruptible morality which had distinguished the comrades of Zizka. Besides all this, since the departure of Sigismund Korybutowicz, there had been no real government

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in the country: a committee of twelve, composed of lords, knights, and citizens, had indeed been formed in 1431, but its authority was little respected.

The Council of Basle (1431)—*Anarchy in Bohemia—Battle of Lipany* (1434).

The council was opened at Basle in 1431, and in the beginning of October a conciliatory letter was sent to the Hussites. Conrad, the Utraquist bishop, had died in the month of December of the previous year, and, if Bohemia was to continue to have a clergy, it had become necessary for her either to break finally with apostolic tradition, or else to become reconciled with the Church Catholic. This letter from the council, therefore, proposing, as it did, that the Hussites should send an embassy to Basle, was received with joy by the Estates and the more peaceable inhabitants of the country. In a diet held at Prague in the month of January, 1432, it was decided by the Utraquists and Orphans that negociations should be entered into with the council, in order to find out in what manner their envoys would be received. They had not forgotten John Hus and the safe-conduct which saved him neither from a prison nor the stake, and the Taborites only agreed to negociate on condition that the war should be continued till all was settled. Procopius continued to push on his invasion of Germany, and ravaged Brandenburg as far as Berlin and Frankfort-on-the-Oder. He then turned towards Hungary, where he took the town of Nagy Szombat (Tyrnau), and forced Silesia to buy peace from him on exceedingly hard terms.

In the year 1432, the Hussites had sent an embassy to the court of king Wladislaw, which succeeded in concluding a treaty between Poland and the Chekhs, by which it was arranged that the young Polish prince Wladislaw Jagellon should receive the crown of Bohemia in exchange for the help of Poland. But in spite of this, and notwithstanding the opposition of pope Eugenius IV., who deemed all negociations with heretics hurtful to the authority of the Church, the council

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of Basle sent a deputation to the Bohemians to arrange the manner in which their envoys should be received. It was agreed that they should appear before the council, not as accused persons before a judge, but as free men, with leave to defend their doctrines on the authority of Holy Scripture and the Fathers. On this, the Hussites sent a large embassy to Basle, among whom were many eminent persons, both laymen and priests. Distinguished among them all were Procopius the Bald, Master John of Rokycana, and Peter Payne, the Englishman.

Procopius made his entry into Basle on the 6th of January, 1433, accompanied by a hundred members of his party. Æneas Sylvius, afterwards pope Pius II., who was an eye-witness, has told us of the impression produced on the people by the sight of these Hussites, each one of whom, according to their enemies, was possessed by a hundred devils, and of the terror inspired by their chief. "There he is!" said they, "the man who has so often put to flight the armies of the faithful, who has destroyed so many cities, who has massacred so many thousand people, who is also as much dreaded by his own people as by his enemies; the invincible, the indefatigable general!" The discussions which now took place, sometimes before the council, sometimes in private conference, and which lasted for three whole months, related more especially to the four articles which we have already quoted. The majority of the council was favourable to reform, and an agreement seemed possible, even concerning the dogma of the Cup, if only the Chekhs would renounce their teaching that communion under both forms was indispensable to salvation. But the difficulty was to get the Taborites to accept the principle of ecclesiastical authority and to acknowledge the value of a hierarchy, and, in a spirit of conciliation, the council offered to send a deputation to Prague to treat of these and other matters with an assembly of the Hussites of Bohemia and Moravia. To this end, a special diet was summoned to meet at Prague in June, 1433. But it was evident that

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the Church could not treat with each sect separately: the first thing necessary was that the body of Hussites should agree on a form of doctrine which should be accepted as a compromise by all the various parties; and this it was found could not be done, as the men of Prague and the Taborites would come to no agreement together. The delegates of the council offered to the men of Prague provisional tolerance of the communion under both kinds, leaving all other questions to be settled by the council, in which Bohemia would be represented, but they urged that a truce should be concluded at once. The men of Prague, on their side, insisted that communion under both kinds must be made obligatory on the whole of Bohemia and Moravia, as the only means of putting an end to the various religious sects in the country. The powers of the delegates were not ample enough to allow of such a concession, and a new Chekh embassy set out for Basle, to treat directly with the council. Meantime no truce was proclaimed, and the Hussites continued to ravage Hungary, while they boldly laid siege to the town of Plzen, which had remained the stronghold of Catholicism in the kingdom of Bohemia. In the midst of these perpetual civil wars, the Chekhs were strong enough to lend an army of eight thousand men to the king of Poland to help him in his struggle against the Teutonic knights, and the terror of the name of Hussite thus spread to the shores of the Baltic and the very walls of Dantzig.

The siege of Plzen proved a slow matter, and the besieging army, accustomed to live in plenty on the lands of foreigners, dwindled away on the exhausted soil of their native country. An insurrection broke out among the soldiers of Procopius, in which he was wounded and taken prisoner by the men he had so often led to victory. He gave up the command to his lieutenant, Czapek de San. Meantime the council of Basle had sent a new deputation into Bohemia, bringing with it fresh proposals to the diet of Moravia and Bohemia, which are known by the name of the Compactata. In these, the council

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offered to grant the Cup to those adults who should ask for it, to consecrate the Utraquist priests, and to admit in principle the three other articles of Prague, and only reserved for itself the right of regulating all matters of detail with the assistance of the representatives of the Chekh Church. The Chekh clergy divided into two parties, that of John de Pribram, who were inclined to accept these proposals, and that of John de Rokycana, who maintained that communion under both forms must be obligatory. This party prevailed. The Compactata were rejected; the delegates of the council left Prague in the beginning of the year 1434, and the war was begun again with as much fury as ever.

The whole of Christendom was now called upon to take part in the struggle against Bohemia, a tax being laid by the council on all the Catholic clergy in aid of the Chekh Catholics, more especially those of the town of Plzen. The money produced by this tax was used to buy over some of the besiegers, by whose treachery the town was revictualled just in time to save it, and it seemed as if the struggle was to go on for ever. In the month of April, 1434, the permanent committee of the Estates summoned a diet, in order by its help to make one more effort to restore peace. It decreed that from that time forward only one army should be maintained at the expense of the nation, and called upon the Taborites and Orphans to disband their troops or allow them to join the new army. But this measure, far from attaining its aim, was only the signal for a new phase in the civil war. In Prague, the New Town (Nove-Mesto), which had been long occupied by the Taborites, refused to agree to the general peace which was accepted by the Old Town.[1] The army raised by the Estates thereupon entered Prague, on the side of Kourim, and forced the rebels to obey. At this news the Taborites raised the siege of Plzen,

[1] Prague was really composed of three towns; the Old Town (Stare-Mesto, Altstadt), the New Town (Nove-Mesto, Neustadt), and, on the left bank of the Vltava, the Mala-Strana (Kleinseite), above which was the district of Hradcany (Hradschin). The old town was especially inhabited by the Germans, the new by the Slavs.

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and marched on Prague, once more with their old leader, Procopius, at their head. But the army of the Utraquists had meanwhile been strengthened by the addition of all the Catholic troops. The two armies met at Lipany, near the town of Cesky Brod (Böhmisch Brod, the Ford of the Chekhs), on the 30th of May, 1434. The struggle was terrible; until at last, by a pretended flight of their enemies, the Taborites were induced to leave their war-chariots and fight in the open field, when, after performing prodigies of valour, Procopius was beaten. According to Æneas Sylvius, he was tired of conquering rather than conquered. He was slain, and with him sixteen thousand Taborites, the flower of his army. Chekhs could only be conquered by Chekhs. The remnant of these troops, once so formidable, took shelter behind the walls of Tabor and some other of the confederated towns; but many of them soon after left the confederation, and submitted to the authority of the Estates.

The Compactata (1436)—*The Result of the Hussite Wars*—*Death of Sigismund* (1437).

After the victory of Lipany the Estates met again in a new diet, and entered into negociations with Sigismund. They could no longer count on help from Poland. King Wladislaw Jagellon was dead; his son, Wladislaw III., was only ten years of age, and his inheritance was disputed by some of the Polish nobles. Sigismund went to Ratisbon to meet the envoys of Bohemia. An embassy from the council of Basle was also in Ratisbon at the time, but the Bohemian envoys had no power to treat with them; their mission was to announce to Sigismund that the estates were ready to make peace with him on condition that he would recognize the liberties of their country, and promise to obtain from the council the right to communion under both kinds for Bohemia and Moravia. The king quickly agreed to the first point, and invited the envoys to treat directly with the council as to the second. Subsequently at a diet held in Prague, the Utraquists moderated their demands, and agreed

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to insist only on the use of the Cup for those churches where it was already in use. They also asked that Bohemia and Moravia should have power to elect an archbishop and bishops.

In 1435, another meeting took place at Brno (Brünn) between Sigismund and the delegates of Bohemia and those of the council. The council was still unwilling to recognize the existence of the Utraquist Church; they were only ready to allow that in each parish the sacrament of the altar should be administered to each member of the church with or without the Cup as each one pleased, and that the archbishop and bishops should undertake to administer under one or both kinds, and to consecrate both Catholic and Utraquist priests. The Bohemian delegates refused this proposal, and threatened to quit Brno. Whether they were supported in this refusal by Sigismund is doubtful, as the part he played is ambiguous; but it was owing to his persuasion that a new meeting was agreed on, which was to take place at Szekes Fejervar (Stuhlweissenburg), in Hungary. Meanwhile, the Estates of Bohemia drew up a list of all the parishes in the kingdom, both Catholic and Utraquist, and, with the help of the Utraquist clergy, proceeded to choose an archbishop and two bishops. Their first choice fell on John of Rokycana; but the council refused to ratify this election, and appointed Philibert of Coutances, one of their delegates, as provisional administrator of the see. At the conference held at Szekes Fejervar, peace was at last concluded; Sigismund had made the delegates of the council understand that the first thing necessary was that he should be restored to his inheritance, and that once in the kingdom he would be able to bring it back to the true religion. He did not venture, however, to proclaim in Prague itself a treaty which he well knew he could never fulfil. The Compactata were solemnly proclaimed at Jihlava (Iglau), in Moravia, in 1436. By it the council for a time tolerated the use of the Cup, and the existence of an Utraquist clergy, and the four articles of Prague were also accepted. The emperor-king promised by a royal letter to observe the articles of Prague;

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to allow Hussite preachers at his court; to grant a general amnesty for all acts committed during the wars; to appoint no foreigner to a public office; to govern henceforward with the help of a council nominated by the diet; and to take measures for assuring the prosperity of the university of Prague. Thus was peace concluded between Bohemia and Christendom, and Sigismund at last was able to enter the town of Prague, which for so many years had known no king.

And thus ended that great conflagration which had been set alight by the flames round the stake of John Hus. Bohemia had shown Europe the astounding sight of a people placing its religion and patriotism before all its interests, and doubling its strength by enthusiasm. Were the results of the enormous efforts she had made in any way equal to the sacrifices? What had become of the reforms for which Zizka and his followers had so bravely fought? It is true the Catholic Church in Bohemia had lost some of her possessions, but they had fallen into the hands of avaricious nobles on whom the clergy would have to depend in the future. The intellect of the country had abandoned the practical ground of morality and discipline to occupy itself with nice questions of dogma. Religious controversy had inflamed men's minds in Bohemia as long before it had done in Byzantium. The reconciliation of Bohemia with the Catholic Church was still incomplete, for the council had by no means granted all the Utraquists demanded, and these latter, misled by the promises of Sigismund, vainly expected further concessions. The pope, too, had not yet ratified the Compactata.

Politically also the Hussite movement had not been so productive of good as might have been expected. It had secured one important advantage for the Chekh nation by delaying for a long time the *Germanizing* of the country; but in spite of its popular and democratic beginnings, it had ended in the triumph of the nobles, who were now more powerful than ever. The king had been obliged to pledge or sell to them, or else to allow them to seize almost all the crown

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lands, and it was impossible to get these back. Many of the estates of the Church had also passed into their hands, and the crown, which had been accustomed to receive from the Church taxes or contributions in time of war which could be obtained without the consent of the diets, now saw this source of revenue at an end. The equilibrium between the power of the king and that of the nobles was destroyed. Among foreign nations, the name of the Bohemians had become to the Catholics a name of hatred and contempt, as we see from the name Bohemians being applied to the gypsies and to the *Praguerie*[1] in Paris. What did remain to Bohemia was a vigorous national vitality, a religious enthusiasm, and an austere morality which we find reflected in some of her writers, teachers, and politicians, such as Peter of Chelcic, Komensky and Charles of Zerotin, and, above all, in the lofty ideal of the sect of Bohemian Brothers, among whom we find perhaps the best result of the Hussite movement.

Sigismund lived but a short time after his restoration. He died at the end of the year 1437. The few months he spent on the throne of Bohemia were full of bitterness. He found it impossible to fulfil the engagements he had entered into with the Utraquists and the council; he would have nothing to do with the election of John of Rokycana as bishop, and sought the support of the party of John of Pribram, in order to keep the balance even between them. The archbishopric of Prague remained vacant. The Utraquist Church was governed by an administrator and a consistory of the parish priests of Prague, all chosen from the party of John of Pribram; the Catholic Church by the metropolitan chapter and the French bishop Philibert, by whom the priests of both churches were consecrated. When Philibert died, the chapter chose an administrator. But the bishop of Olomouc (Olmutz), nothwithstanding the Compactata, refused to consecrate those who would not

[1] The league of the French nobles against Charles VII. in 1439. "Their league was called the Pragueric, in allusion to the war which the Hussites of Prague were then waging against the Catholics."—Lavallée.

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renounce the Cup. This led to great irritation among the partisans of John of Rokycana; the latter, no longer believing himself safe in Prague, quitted the city, and his flight increased the discontent among his followers. The state of the country was as little peaceful as men's minds. The Taborites had never been completely disarmed. On his arrival in Bohemia, the king had agreed to terms with their leader, the priest Bedrich of Straznice, by which he granted to the town of Tabor the privileges of a royal city, and to the Taborites the temporary exercise of their religion. Some of their bands had, however, refused to accept the peace, and had taken possession of the castle of Sion, in the neighbourhood of Kutna Hora. The king captured this castle, and had the chief, Rohac, and fifty-six of his followers hanged. This roused the indignation of the Taborites, and Bedrich of Straznice had just renewed the war at the time of Sigismund's death.

With Sigismund ended the male line of the house of Luxemburg, which had given three emperors to the Holy Roman empire and two kings of the Romans; which had supplied four kings to Bohemia, dukes to Luxemburg, electors to Brandenburg, a dynasty of margraves to Moravia, and one king to Hungary. Had Sigismund lived in quieter and happier times, he might have brought about that close union between Hungary and Bohemia which is the foundation of the Austrian State. "These princes of the House of Luxemburg," says Höfler, "cannot be called great kings; but they possessed buoyant and elastic characters which never allowed them to be beaten by any stroke of fortune. If one enterprise failed, they were ready with another. They were fitted to exert a most varied influence over their time, with an activity which made itself felt throughout the whole of Europe; without, perhaps, knowing how to bring together or to maintain and concentrate the various elements of the peoples under their rule . . . . They were a race not without ideas; above all, they were a race full of activity."

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CHAPTER XIII.

BOHEMIA UNDER GEORGE OF PODIEBRAD (1437–1471)—THE JAGELLON DYNASTY (1471–1526).

Albert of Austria (1438–1439)—*Vladislav the Posthumous* (1439–1457)—*George of Podiebrad* (1444).

SIGISMUND left no male heir, and the direct line of the house of Luxemburg ended with him. On his death, Bohemia and Hungary reverted to Albert V. of Austria, his son-in-law, in virtue of the treaties of inheritance entered into by the houses of Luxemburg and Habsburg. But these treaties had been entered into in the reign of Charles IV., when the royal authority was at its height; since then, Bohemia had learned how to do without a king, or, when it had one, to oblige him to carry out the will of the people. Albert V. had no possessions beyond Upper and Lower Austria, and was still not strong enough to seize Bohemia by force, while Bedrich of Straznice and the Taborites were anxious to have the young prince Kazimir, brother of Wladislaw III. of Poland, as their king. As it was the interest of Poland to unite with Bohemia, and so to balance the union of Austria and Hungary, Kazimir was sent into Bohemia with an army, while at the same time the king of Poland invaded Silesia and Moravia. Notwithstanding this opposition, Albert, however, forced his way into the kingdom, had himself crowned at Prague, and then marched on to the town of Tabor, which was the centre of resistance.

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The dangers which threatened him were soon put an end to by the intervention of pope Eugenius IV. Albert died shortly afterwards (1439), and four months after his death his widow gave birth to a son, named Vladislav the Posthumous. As might have been foreseen, the new-born prince was not recognized as king without resistance. The opposing parties agreed that a sovereign should be chosen by the diet. Prince Kazimir of Poland, who had by this time become the grand-duke of Lithuania, renounced all claim to the crown, and the duke of Bavaria, to whom the assembly proceeded to offer it, had the wisdom to refuse. Bohemia, weary of the long-continued state of anarchy, next sought for a king among the princes of Germany, but in vain, and at last the diet entered into negociations with the queen dowager Elizabeth. It seemed as if the mere presence of a king, however young, might be of some use in restoring order in a country so divided. But his mother refused to send the child to Prague, and the land was left to govern itself. The captains of the circles ruled their provinces as best they could; not always successfully, for the religious excitement was by no means at an end. The Utraquists complained that the promises of king Sigismund had never been fulfilled; that the communion was only administered under one kind; and that the bishop of Olomouc still refused to consecrate Utraquist priests. At the same time the Utraquists were divided among themselves. The four circles of Kourim, Caslav, Chrudim, and Kralovec Hradec had formed themselves into a confederation which recognized the baron, Ptacek of Perkstein, as its leader, and John of Rokycana as archbishop, and refused all obedience to the consistory of Prague, which had John of Pribram at that time as its administrator. Both these parties, however, ended by uniting against the Catholics, and even proposed to join the Taborites in forming a church which should embrace all parties. After endless disputes, however, the Taborite doctrines were finally declared to be false by the Utraquist majority, and this proved the death-blow of the sect; large numbers of parishes deserted

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it, and before long the town of Tabor was left its last and only refuge.

Ptacek of Perkstein died without having succeeded in bringing about the desired union among the non-Catholics. His successor as leader of the four circles was George of Kunstadt, or of Podiebrad (more correctly written Podiebrady). George was only twenty-four years of age, but in him were combined the finest qualities. According to tradition, John Zizka had been his godfather; like Zizka, he was a valiant soldier and an ardent patriot, and longed to restore union and order to his country. "He was," says Æneas Sylvius, "a short, strongly-built man, with eyes full of fire, of quiet manners, infected, it is true, with the errors of the Hussites, but a lover of law and of justice." He persuaded the leaders of the Catholic party to send an embassy to Rome (1447), in consequence of which the Holy See sent Cardinal Carvajal on a mission to Bohemia. He arrived in Prague in 1448. The Bohemians begged him to induce the pope to accept the Compactata and to confirm John of Rokycana as archbishop of Prague. But the cardinal had not come with conciliatory intentions. He gave them to understand that the court of Rome was resolved to reject the communion under both kinds, and to appoint a man of its own choice as archbishop. Upon this, the irritation of the people became so great that the cardinal judged it best to withdraw from the city. According to the account of a contemporary, he carried off with him the text of the Compactata, but was forced to restore it. His flight was the signal for fresh disturbances, in which the partisans of Pribram and Rokycana made common cause against the Catholics; while some of the lords of the party of Pribram, who cared less for the Cup than for their own position, went over openly to the Catholic party. George took advantage of the general confusion to march on Prague, and to take it by surprise. He was received in triumph; John of Rokycana and John of Pribram took the spiritual direction of the Utraquists, and George of Podiebrad became *de facto* ruler of Bohemia.

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Once more the country became the scene of bloody wars. Ulric of Rosemberk, the chief of the Catholic party, took up arms against Podiebrad, and received most unexpected help from the Taborites, who had been expelled from the Utraquist community. He sought allies also abroad in Frederick, duke of Saxony, and the margrave of Misnia. But George of Podiebrad, whose political ability equalled his military skill, induced Bavaria and Brandenburg to attack the Saxons; while he himself invaded Misnia, and established his authority on all sides. His adversaries tried to get possession of the young king Vladislav, but Frederick of Austria, his guardian, refused to give him up, and they were at last obliged to consent that the diet should nominate a regent of the kingdom. The exploits of George of Podiebrad and the power he had gained naturally pointed him out for the choice of his countrymen, and they bestowed on him the title and office of high captain of the kingdom (nejvyssi hejtman zemsky), and his election was confirmed by the emperor in 1451. Podiebrad knew how to make the authority which had been conferred upon him respected. He subdued the town of Tabor and obliged it to accept Utraquist priests (August, 1451), besieged Ulric of Rosemberk in the town of Budejovice, reduced him to submission, and threw the principal Taborite priests into prison. From this time the sect almost entirely disappears.

The countries, however, which had formed outlying possessions of Bohemia, such as Lusatia, Silesia, and Moravia, had become to a great degree detached from her, and could only be brought once more into union by the coronation of the young king. George succeeded in bringing Vladislav to Prague, and there had him crowned. At his coronation, Vladislav, who was now fourteen years of age, recognized Podiebrad as his lieutenant, which office he was to hold for six years, agreed to the Compactata, and promised to keep the engagements entered into by Sigismund. From this time, the regent, supported by the authority of a crowned king—an authority which had been so long wanting in Bohemia—was

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able to reorganize the government of the country. He re-established the courts of justice, began a rigorous inquiry into all misappropriations of land during the last thirty years, and recovered the greater part of the crown estates. The connection of Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia with Bohemia had always been based on a personal relation to the king, and these countries now took the oath to Vladislav; the town of Vratislav (Breslau) alone refused to send a representative to Prague, its inhabitants declining altogether to enter an heretical city. They had been excited against Bohemia by the preaching of the Italian monk, John Capristan, who had been sent by the pope to preach a crusade against the Turks and to watch events in Bohemia. But king Vladislav, at the advice of George, punished this attempted opposition severely, imposing upon them a very heavy fine. This young prince had the greatest confidence in George, and liked to call him his father. When the Turks, by the capture of Constantinople, terrified the whole of Christendom, Vladislav was able to offer forty thousand men to the emperor for the crusade against them, which, after all, never took place. He died at Prague (1457) when on the point of celebrating his marriage with Madeleine of France, daughter of Charles VII., who afterwards married Gaston de Foix. A magnificent embassy had been sent to Tours to demand the hand of the princess, and the historians of Charles VII. have related its splendour at great length, and describe the interest felt in it by the Parisians during its stay in their capital.

The Reign of George of Podiebrad (1457–1471)—*Bohemia at Peace.*

According to agreement, Bohemia ought now to have returned to the house of Habsburg. But the nation which had freed herself did not consider herself bound by the contracts entered into by her former sovereigns. What need was there for Bohemia to seek a foreign ruler, when she already had the best possible one at home? Everything

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seemed to point out George as the natural leader of his countrymen. A large number, however, of competitors for the crown presented themselves, and among them Charles VII., king of France, who put in a claim for his second son, no doubt to make up for not seeing his daughter Queen of Bohemia. Nevertheless, George was almost unanimously elected, and Bohemia once more became her own mistress, freed from the control of Austria and Hungary; for the first time since the days of the Premyslides she had a really national sovereign. Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia took the oath of fealty to the new king, two towns only, Vratislav (Breslau) and Jihlava (Iglau), resisting him on the ground of religion. He reduced them by force of arms, in spite of the help granted to Jihlava by the emperor Frederick. Soon even the emperor became reconciled to George of Podiebrad, and granted him the investiture of the kingdom, at the same time reducing the number of the escort which Bohemia was bound to furnish for the imperial expeditions into Italy, from three hundred to one hundred and fifty knights. He also undertook never to interfere in the internal affairs of Bohemia. As king, George continued the task he had begun as regent, the restoration of that peace and prosperity in which the kingdom had been left by Charles IV. The partition and diminution of the royal estates had led to the diminution of the army; he did not hesitate to impose heavy contributions on the estates in order to be able to pay a well-organized force. Throughout Europe he acquired the reputation of a wise and powerful monarch. One of his daughters married Mathias Corvinus, king of Hungary, and another Albert, duke of Saxony; the latter is the ancestress of the present royal family of Dresden.

But religious troubles were far from being at an end. George had reduced the Taborites to silence, and those who still adhered to their doctrines practised them in secret. Among this small remnant had arisen a new sect, the brotherhood of Kunwald, so called from Kunwald, in the circle of Hradec, the place where it began. Later on, this sect took

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the name of the Union, or rather the Unity of Bohemian Brothers (Jednota bratri Ceskych). It was organized by brother Gregory, who was a member of a noble family but a poor man. The Union of Bohemian Brothers broke off all connection with the Roman Church, and chose their bishops and elders from among the community, the first bishop being consecrated by a Vaudois bishop. Their dogmas were much the same as those of the Taborites; but they had one decided advantage over their fierce predecessors—they refused to defend their faith by force of arms. They taught a strict morality, and awarded temporal punishments to all transgressions of duty. This last article of their doctrines prevented them from developing so rapidly as they would otherwise have done; but, in spite of it, by the end of the fifteenth century, there were no less than two hundred congregations in Bohemia and Moravia who were subject to their bishops and elders. Considered as a whole, the sect of Bohemian Brothers, better known among foreigners by the wrong name of Moravian Brothers, may be looked upon as one of the expressions of religious opinion which does most honour to humanity.

But notwithstanding the inoffensive character of the new sect, king George treated them with severity. He wished to respect the very letter of the Compactata, and hoped, by stifling all religious innovation in the germ, to become the more easily reconciled with the Holy See, but it was a most difficult thing to establish a *modus vivendi* with the court of Rome. Notwithstanding the Compactata of Basle, nothing had yet been settled as to the position of the Utraquist Church. In 1462, George, who himself belonged to it, sent an embassy to Rome to beg the Pope to ratify the Compactata. The sovereign pontiff was at this time Pius II., who, under the name of Æneas Sylvius, had played an important part at the council of Basle and in the subsequent negociations between the Church and Bohemia. Pius II. was determined to bring Bohemia into complete union with the Western Church, and,

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far from agreeing to the request of the king, he declared the Compactata abolished, forbade the administration of the communion under both kinds, and sent a legate, Fantin de Valle, to invite George to abandon the Utraquist faith. Neither the personal convictions nor the political interests of George would allow him to obey this injunction. If he had abjured the Utraquist faith, he would have roused at once against himself the greater part of the nation he had with so much difficulty restored to tranquillity. He had Fantin de Valle thrown into prison. On this Pius II. declared war against him, called upon the citizens of Vratislav to refuse obedience to him, and threatened him with excommunication (1468). The death of this violent pontiff for some time suspended the effect of the menace, and his successor, Paul II., wishing to gain time and to be able to add material force to the arms of spiritual warfare, entered into negociations on the one side with the emperor, on the other with the Catholic nobles of Bohemia. No emperor had ever yet neglected an opportunity of humiliating a king of Bohemia, and though the Bohemian Catholics had no cause of complaint against their king, who had granted them complete liberty of conscience, yet they began to find him too powerful, and were not likely to let slip an opportunity of lessening his authority. One of their leaders, Zdenek of Sternberg, who was grand-burgrave of the kingdom, was found ready to place himself at the head of a confederation—the confederation of Zelena Hora (Grünberg)—and to combine with the emperor to second the efforts of the pope. Then pope Paul issued his anathema against George (1465), declaring him a relapsed heretic and a spoiler of the Church, forbidding his subjects to obey him, and calling upon all good Christians to join once more in a crusade against the Hussites. The German princes, however, with the exception of the emperor, were not disposed to come to Paul's assistance, and the sale of indulgences and the hope of booty only attracted a few armed bands, who brought but feeble assistance to the confederates. Only a few of the royal

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towns of Silesia and Moravia, and a few in Bohemia, together with the Catholic town of Plzen, joined the rebels.

Having tried in vain to come to terms with the Holy See, George now bravely determined to meet force with force. He appealed to a future general council, to a future pope, and, what was much more to the purpose, organized a powerful army. He then threw himself upon his enemies and captured their principal fortresses, while his son Victorin invaded Austria (1468), to punish the emperor Frederick on his own land. But at this moment the pope roused a new enemy against George Podiebrad in Mathias Corvinus, who was tempted less, perhaps, by the honour of defending the Catholic faith, than by his wish to avenge his personal injuries and the hope of uniting the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia on his own head. The pope supplied him with all that was needed for the war, and he soon obliged Victorin to quit Austria. He then suddenly attacked Moravia. The Catholic towns of Moravia and Silesia opened their gates to him, and in the following year he entered Bohemia, and penetrated as far as the circle of Caslav. But the Chekhs had been trained in the school of war for the last half-century; George was able to surround his enemies, and to oblige Mathias to sign a truce at Vilemov. Mathias, freed by the Holy See from the obligation to observe the armistice, again took up arms, and invading Moravia, pushed on the war with the most savage cruelty, cutting off the heads of his Chekh prisoners and throwing them into the enemy's camp by means of catapults. He even summoned a meeting of his partisans at Olomouc, and had himself proclaimed king of Bohemia; but the Chekh army coming up with him, pursued him across Lusatia, Silesia, and Moravia, and finally drove him back into Hungary. The towns, however, which he had garrisoned remained true to him, and George, ill and without allies, began to fear the dismemberment of his kingdom.

It seemed to him that he might best secure the liberty of Bohemia by offering the crown to a foreign prince, and, though he had two sons, he did not hesitate to sacrifice the interests

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of his family to the higher interests of his country. He might have secured the throne for one of these sons; he preferred to offer it to Kasimir, king of Poland, and persuaded Bohemia to accept Kasimir as his successor. This act of disinterested patriotism was the last of his life. He died in the year 1471, in his fifty-second year, a few weeks after the death of John of Rokycana.

His early death prevented George from carrying out his great projects. He had dreamed of nothing less than the establishment of a kind of tribunal formed of the principal sovereigns of Europe, before which each one amongst them might appeal for justice either against the aggressions of other sovereigns, those of their subjects, or those of the Church. In the hope of realizing this dream, which was so far in advance of his age, he had sent an embassy to Louis XI. (1464), a curious account of which in the Chekh language has come down to us. He begged the French monarch, as Most Christian King[1] and as a prince devoted to the general welfare, to convoke an assembly of kings and princes, which was to work together for the glory of God, the good of the universal Church, and the independence of nations. A chimerical project, which Henry IV. was to entertain later on, and with no better success than befel George! At the very moment that the pope was exciting Christendom against him, George was meditating a crusade of the whole of Europe against the Turks. By his patriotism and his virtues, this king, a son of the Chekh nation, far surpassed the most illustrious of the foreign princes who had reigned over his country. He had the help of able ministers, among whom we ought especially to mention the Frenchman, Antoine Marini of Grenoble, and the two Chekhs, Kostka and Albert of Postupice. The German, Gregory of Heimburg, also gave him the help of his rare dialectic talent and a genius for diplomacy in advance of the times in his struggle against the Church of Rome.

[1] Referring to the official title of the king of France.

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Wladyslaw Jagiello (1471–1516)—*Increased Power of the Nobles.*

According to the engagements entered into in the reign of George of Podiebrad, the Utraquists of Bohemia proceeded to elect as their king Wladyslaw[1] of Poland, then sixteen years of age. He took possession of the throne after promising to secure the observance of the Compactata, and brought some thousands of soldiers to the help of Bohemia. Mathias continued the war, and in the years 1471 and 1472 invaded Bohemia, but could not get beyond Kutna Hora. It would have been far wiser for him to have turned his Hungarian forces against the Turks, who had now conquered the Balkan peninsula, and threatened to invade the valley of the Upper Danube. The successor of Paul II., pope Sixtus IV., who knew what were the true interests of Christendom, obliged the two kings to sign a truce, which was to last two years and a half; but Mathias was as little loyal to Wladyslaw as he had been to his predecessor, and did not long observe it, again invading Moravia and Silesia. The war did not come to an end till the peace of Olomouc (1478), by which Mathias at last received the fruit of his perseverance. By the help of the emperor he then obtained the title of king of Bohemia; this was a completely illusory title, only securing to him the crown in case Wladyslaw should chance to die; but he also secured Lusatia, Moravia, and Silesia for his lifetime; Wladyslaw, if he survived Mathias, having the right of re-claiming these provinces on the payment of a fine of 400,000 ducats. Thus these wars, which had been undertaken in the name of religion, ended in a mere bargain for the possession of land.

On his accession, the young king of Bohemia found himself confronted by a proud and selfish nobility, with an exhausted territory and an empty treasury. After the battle of Lipany, the nobles had never been able to secure for themselves all

[1] The Polish spelling of this name is Wladyslaw Jagiello; the Bohemians spell the former Vladislav, and the Magyars Laszlo.

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the advantages they had hoped, as George of Podiebrad had always looked for support to the lower classes, the zemane or squires, and had held the aristocracy in check. Now the nobles got the upper hand, and from the reign of Wladyslaw dates the legalized oppression of the people. Taking advantage of the weakness of the king, the nobles secured the recognition in the law-courts of the principle that a peasant had no right to sue his lord, and to the burdens which already weighed down the agricultural class they added that of making them serfs of the soil, by taking from the peasant the right of leaving the place where he was born. They also appropriated to themselves the most monstrous monopolies, as for instance that of making and selling all the beer used by the peasants, and even endeavoured to restrict the privileges of the towns, thus giving rise to internal struggles in which the young king was more than once obliged to take part, and in which the crown lost prestige and the peace of the kingdom was disturbed.

Wladyslaw was more fortunate in putting an end to religious difficulties. In his reign, the Catholics and Utraquists agreed to a solemn reconciliation, which took place at a diet held at Kutna Hora (1485). The two parties undertook to observe the Compactata of Prague and the engagements entered into by King Sigismund. From this time these two covenants became part of the laws of the state, and the kings had to swear to obey them as part of the coronation oath. Wladyslaw tried in vain to obtain a confirmation of the Compactata from Alexander VI. Under these circumstances the Utraquist party lost ground rapidly, and its clergy became few in number, as the bishops of Olomouc had refused, since the quarrel of George with pope Pius II., to consecrate any priest who would not promise to give up the administration of the wine. Candidates were obliged to seek consecration in foreign lands, or else to receive it by tortuous means, and most frequently at the price of perjury. Now and then a foreign bishop was with great difficulty persuaded to come to Bohemia to officiate.

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Thus, while it became exceedingly difficult for the Utraquists to obtain a high-minded clergy, men with no real vocation and mere adventurers obtained admission without difficulty into the Church. This state of things was naturally followed by the most serious falling-off in morality. John of Rokycana was no longer there to support his disciples by the authority of his teaching and his example; and, added to all this, the Utraquist Estates claimed the right of nominating the members of the consistories, and so reduced their priests to a kind of servitude.

In the midst of this decay, the sect of Bohemian Brothers had decided the difficulty about the hierarchy by suppressing it altogether, and by their lives of strict morality were a constant reproach to the established Churches, They daily increased in number, especially in the *circles* of Hradec, Boleslav, and Chrudim. The place of assembly for their elders was the town of Mlada Boleslav (Jung Bünzlaw). They could not escape persecution; Catholics and Utraquists joined in denouncing the Picards, as they were called, to the king, and Wladyslaw forbade their worship; but they continued to meet in secret.

In the year 1490, Wladyslaw was elected king of Hungary, and, tired of Bohemia, he went to live at Pesth, where he always afterwards remained. The crowns of Bohemia and Hungary were once more united on one head, but the union produced no great advantage for either country. Wladyslaw was the first Chekh king who did not reside in Prague, and from this date the ancient capital began to lose some of its importance. In order to secure the throne for his family, Wladyslaw had his son Louis crowned in 1509, though he was then only three years of age. Wladyslaw died in 1516. He had married Anne de Foix, who was related to Louis XII. of France.

Louis (1516-1526)—*The Reformation of Luther in Bohemia.*

Louis was ten years old when he came to the throne. There is no doubt that the fact that the Bohemian throne was

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so often ascended by princes under age greatly facilitated the encroachments of the nobility upon the royal power. On the death of Wladyslaw, Zdenek Leo, of Rozmital, who was grand-burgrave of Prague, undertook to govern, with the help of some of the highest officers of the late king; the Estates were still quarrelling among themselves, but in the year 1517 they came to terms, and it was agreed that the towns—that is to say, the citizens who dwelt in them—should be allowed to vote at the diets. The representative system which was established at this period continued almost down to the present time. It was at this date that the two towns of Prague, the old and the new, united, in order to be the better able to resist the claims of the nobles. This agreement, which was named the Convention of St. Vacslav, from the day on which it was proclaimed, did not however, succeed in putting an end to the feelings of hatred between the classes, nor to the conflicts between them. More than once the towns and the nobles came to blows; castles were captured by the citizens, and nobles were beheaded in Prague. The king paid a visit to this city in the year 1522, when he tried to restore peace by appointing new officers to the crown; he afterwards proceeded to levy taxes for a war against the Turks.

Meantime the religious difficulties, which had been thought to be at an end, began again worse than ever. In 1521, Luther began to preach the Reformation in Germany, and, strangely enough, the new doctrines were received with enthusiasm by those very German towns in Bohemia which had so lately been the strongholds of Catholicism. The Chekhs, who had for so long a time been irritated by the Holy See, could not fail to greet the new doctrines with sympathy. For a long time they had hoped to be able to preserve the use of the Cup and yet to remain in union with the Church, but the papacy had remained deaf to their prayers. The new Protestantism recalled the old traditions of the Hussites, and Luther seemed to be carrying on the work of the Martyr of Constance; he did not insist on the rigorous morality of the Bohemian

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Brothers; he was at open quarrel with the pope. All this could not fail to make his teaching very welcome. The Utraquist priests at once began to preach his doctrines, and, from the year 1523, their synod added to their confession of faith several articles borrowed from the Lutheran formularies. A friend of Luther's, the priest Cahera, was appointed administrator of the church of Tyn, at Prague, and the separation from the Roman Church became wider than ever.

It would take too much time to relate the tumults of which the city of Prague now became the scene. At this period the religious history of Bohemia enters into a new phase, during which the nation was guilty of such excesses as merited punishment at the hands of a tyrant; the lawless character of the Chekh nobles found ample scope in these perpetual troubles, which have but small interest for us, though their heroes have remained popular in Bohemia down to the present time. There is no doubt that the death of Louis at the battle of Mohacs (1526) was partly due to the obstinate and factious spirit of the nobles, who would not grant their sovereign that help against the Turks of which he stood in need; but their narrow egotism and want of patriotic feeling were destined to be cruelly punished.

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CHAPTER XIV.

HUNGARY UNDER THE HOUSE OF ANJOU (1310–1388)—THE ELECTIVE MONARCHY (1388–1444).

Charles Robert of Anjou (1310–1342).

ONE of the most beautiful provinces of France gave its name to the dynasty which replaced the Arpads on the throne of Hungary. Charles, Count of Provence, of Anjou, and of Maine, and brother of St. Louis, when on his return from the crusades, had been invited by pope Urban IV. to conquer the Two Sicilies; and after defeating the German princes, Conradin and Manfred, in 1268, he had succeeded in establishing himself at Naples. But he dreamed of vaster destinies for his family. He saw that, by obtaining possession of Hungary, with its Adriatic coast-line, it would be possible to create one of the greatest powers on the Mediterranean. With this end in view he concluded a double alliance with the royal house of Arpad, Laszlo the Cuman marrying Isabella of Naples, and Charles the Lame, the future king of the Two Sicilies, Mary, the daughter of Stephen V. Thus the nephew of St. Louis became very closely related to the race of Arpad. But it was also closely connected by family alliance with Bohemia and Bavaria, whose rulers equally laid claim to the throne of Hungary when it was left vacant by the death of Andrew III. in 1301. The pope, Boniface VIII., preferred the French candidate. Boniface proudly recalled the fact that St. Stephen had done homage for his kingdom to the See of

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Rome, and through his legate, the Bishop of Olomouc, he now called upon the Hungarian prelates to recognize Charles Robert of Anjou as their king, and Charles was crowned at Esztergom (Gran). Notwithstanding the papal commands, some of the nobles sided with Vacslav of Bohemia, and the latter entering Hungary, and pushing forward as far as Esztergom, had himself also crowned by the archbishop of Kalocsa. He was however almost immediately afterwards recalled to Bohemia by the death of his father (1305), and found himself obliged to give up all claim to Hungary. Then Otto of Bavaria presented himself, and found some partisans among the Saxons of Transylvania, led by their voïévode, Ladislas Apor. It was not before the year 1310, that Charles Robert really became king, and even then he had to take up arms against the dynast, or petty king, Mathew Csak of Trencin, one of the most powerful of his vassals in the country of the Slovaks, who laid claim to complete independence.

Charles Robert retook Belgrade from the Servian princes; entered into an alliance with Frederick of Austria against the emperor Louis of Bavaria (1322); restored order among the Cumans; and pacified the Saxons who had revolted. His foreign policy was more ambitious than had been that of the Arpads. He could not forget Italy, and hoped one day to unite the two crowns of Naples and of St. Stephen, if not on his own head, yet on that of one of his children. He believed this hope sure of realization when he was able to conclude the marriage of his son Andrew with Joan, daughter of the duke of Calabria, who became afterwards the notorious Joan of Naples.

Charles kept up the most cordial relations with Venice. His first object was to secure friends in Italy, and with this end in view he concluded a treaty of commerce with the Most Serene Republic, securing to them their towns on the Adriatic. Towards the north, Poland was the special object of his ambition, and here he was able to enter into close alliance

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with Wladislaw Lokietek, whose daughter he married in 1320. He was not without hope that Poland might some day be united to Hungary, and persuaded king Kasimir III. to recognize Louis of Anjou, his son, as his heir (1338). Hungary, united on one side to Poland, and on the other to Italy, might have become one of the most powerful states of Europe.

Louis the Great (1342–1382)—*The Hungarians in Italy—Wars with Venice and Naples.*

It seemed as if Louis the Great, the son of Charles Robert, was to realize the ambitious dreams of his father. Shortly after his accession, he received the news of the murder of his brother, who had been assassinated at the instigation of his wife, Joan of Naples. This seemed to furnish a good excuse for interfering in the affairs of Italy, especially as the Hungarian nation shared in the indignation of the sovereign. The diet levied a large army, and the republic of Venice consented to the free passage of the Magyar troops through its territory. Louis entered Italy, and Florence complimented the first king of Hungary who had set foot on the soil of the peninsula. He reached without difficulty the town of Aversa, where his brother had been assassinated, and there he seized and put to death Charles of Durazzo, who was accused of having been an accomplice in the murder of prince Andrew, and then pushing on to Naples he took possession of the reins of government. But it was only for a brief period. He was forced to return to Hungary after Joan had been declared innocent by the cardinals as having acted under the influence of sorcery.

Louis's expedition was quite useless as regarded his ambitious projects, but it had one result of importance. It taught the Hungarians to know the west; it revealed to them a world of refinement and elegance hitherto quite unknown on the vast Hungarian plain, and the effects of this temporary contact with the country on which the Renaissance was then

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dawning, can in future be seen in the manners, literature, and arts of the Magyars.

Though Louis had been obliged to abandon Italy, he had at least been able to establish the sovereignty of Hungary firmly on the Adriatic. He had married a Slav princess, Elizabeth Kotzmanovic, sister of the ban of Bosnia, the province over which the kings of Hungary claimed a sovereignty which they could not exercise. In consequence of this connection with Bosnia, the pope called Louis's attention to the spread of the Patarine[1] heresy in eastern Europe, more especially among the southern Slavs. This led him to undertake an expedition against the Slavs of Dalmatia, and in 1345 he attempted to get possession of Jadera (Zara). The Venetians, however, interfered, and he was unsuccessful. Some years afterwards, when he had raised a considerable army, under pretence of fighting the heretical Servians, he suddenly invaded the north of Italy, and penetrated as far as Padua. The republic had no means of maintaining a struggle on land, and was forced to conclude a peace by which Louis gained possession of the whole of Dalmatia (1358). This gave Hungary access to the Adriatic, and an opportunity of developing into a maritime power. When he had conquered Dalmatia, Louis turned his arms against the heretics, attacking Urosh, emperor of Servia, and obliging him to restore certain lands which his father had conquered in Hungary. In the banat of Bosnia, the terrified Paterines fled from him into the mountains, while in the *comitat* of Marmaros the dread of this champion of the Romish Church drove the Wallachian adherents of the Eastern Church to take refuge in Moldavia. Louis had become a favourite with the papacy, and furnished it with help against its enemies.

Meanwhile the Turks had settled in the Balkan peninsula,

[1] Patarini, a name which, from having belonged to the opponents of clerical marriage in Milan in the preceding centuries, was now transferred to parties which disparaged all marriage; or perhaps had come to be used in forgetfulness of its origin, as a convenient designation for sectaries.—T. C. Robertson, *History of the Christian Church*.

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and were advancing towards Hungary. The sultan Murad had already taken Adrianople (1375), and was watching Byzantium. According to documents, which are, however, somewhat obscure, the first battle between the Magyars and the Osmanlis took place in the year 1366, on the Danube, close to the Iron Gates. The Greek emperor, John Palæologus, came to the court of Louis to implore his help, promising, if it were granted, to become a convert to the Romish faith. But the then Pope cared too much for questions of dogma, and too little for the dangers which threatened Christendom, and he persuaded the king of Hungary to put no faith in the emperor's promises; Louis therefore turned his attention from the affairs of the Greek empire towards Poland, whose crown had so long been the object of his ambition.

As we have already seen, he was the chosen heir of king Kasimir. He had lost no opportunity of ingratiating himself with the Poles, lending them his aid against the Lithuanians, who were still pagans, and against the Tartars. He had crossed the Carpathians in 1354, with a considerable army, to help the Poles to drive back both these enemies, who had invaded Volhynia and Podolia. By these services he had earned their gratitude, and in 1370 he was able to get himself proclaimed king both in Cracow and in the sacred city of Gniezno, near the relics of St. Adalbert. But his reign in Poland was not fortunate. His mother, to whom he had entrusted the government, was unable to manage this restless and lawless nation, and revolts soon broke out. In such a state of things, Louis of Anjou could hardly hope to secure both the crown of Poland and that of Hungary for his successor. He had no son. After hesitating for a long time, he decided to make Sigismund, the young prince of Luxemburg, son of Charles IV. (the future king of Bohemia and emperor of Germany), a member of his family, and married him to Mary, his eldest daughter. Sigismund was sent while he was still very young to the court of Hungary, there to study the language and laws of the country. Louis had two other

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daughters, Hedwig, who afterwards became queen of Poland, and Catherine, whom he hoped to marry to a French prince. Embassies had already been exchanged with this end in view between Charles V. of France and Louis of Hungary, when the death of the young princess put an end to the project. The last years of the reign of Louis were devoted to a war against Venice, which ended in the defeat of Venice, and secured for Hungary the peaceable possession of the Adriatic shore in the future.

With the death of Louis the Great (1382) the house of Anjou, which had only given two kings to the Magyars, became extinct.

State of Hungary under the House of Anjou.

It was to be expected that the kings of the house of Anjou would bring into Hungary the influence of western habits. Even before their time the institutions of the country had already made some approach to the feudal type, but Hungary never adopted feudalism as a whole. "Two things prevented this," says M. Sayous, "first, the complete power of the kings over the whole land, a fundamental law which made the formation of large fiefs quite impossible; and next, the interest taken in politics by the numerous *petite noblesse*, a class which was much more numerous in Hungary than in any other country. In a word, the king was too powerful and the people who had political influence too careful of their rights, for Hungary, notwithstanding its knightly and aristocratic tendencies, ever to become a completely feudal state."

The Angevin princes increased the luxury of the court. They gathered around them a hierarchy of great lords, and richly endowed some noble families, who became absolutely devoted to them. The court was sometimes held at Buda and sometimes at the castle of Visegrad, whose Slav name had survived the occupation of the Magyars, and whose splendour inspired the following lines of the poet—

"Inspice natales Visegradi et funera: dices
Destruxisse homines, sed potuisse Deos."

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Tournaments were held there and the science of heraldry was encouraged. The army gathered in *banderia* round the lords, lay and ecclesiastical, and those who brought a certain number of soldiers had the right of leading them to battle under their own standards. An hereditary nobility was formed by the law of "atavicity;" a law which deprived noble families of the right to sell their estates; they were to descend to the natural heirs as long as there were any, and in default to lapse to the king. Charles Robert and Louis convoked the general diets but seldom; but to make up for this they interfered very little with the assemblies of the *comitats*.

The burgher class in the chief towns was recruited principally from foreigners. A large number of Italians had been attracted to Hungary as the result of the connection with Naples, and Germans always abounded in Transylvania. Trade with Germany, Italy, and even the east, increased the intercourse with these countries. Some towns, called free cities, enjoyed considerable privileges in return for yearly payments made to the king. Louis the Great, who had taken upon himself the part of champion of Christianity, persecuted the Jews, many of whom emigrated to Austria and Poland; those who remained formed a separate people in the country (Universitas Judæorum), dependent solely on the king and wearing a peculiar dress. The Church was richly endowed, a circumstance which did not increase the morality of the clergy. Learning increased; Louis the Great, with the consent of pope Urban V., had founded a university in the town of Pecs (Fünfkirchen), in which all the sciences except theology were taught; the literary productions of the time are, however, of little value. The works of the Dalmatian historians owed their existence to the special culture which their country enjoyed from its intercourse with the west, and the literary life of Slavo-Italian Dalmatia was very different from that of Hungary properly so called, whose literature contains little of interest. But very little remains of it; we know that at one time there existed a whole cycle of poems celebrating the

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national heroes and among them Louis the Great, but not a single line has come down to us.

Sigismund of Luxemburg (1382–1437).

The destined heir to the crown of Hungary was, as we have already seen, Prince Sigismund of Luxemburg, but the diet was not willing to accept a foreigner as king, and, as Hungary had no Salic law, the Princess Mary was crowned in Szekes Fejervar. *Coronata fuit in regem*, says the chronicler Lucius, and this expression of the fourteenth century explains to us the famous *moriamur pro rege nostro* of the eighteenth. With the help of the queen-dowager Elizabeth, the young princess ruled the kingdom.

The Poles on their side refused to accept Sigismund as their king unless he would undertake to reside in Poland, and they chose the princess Hedwig to reign over them. She soon afterwards married Jagiello, duke of Lithuania, and converted him to Christianity. This alliance of a princess of the royal family of France with a pagan of the north prepared the way for the union of Lithuania and Poland.

It was some time before the claims of Sigismund to Hungary were recognized. The queen-dowager wished Charles of Orleans, one of the French princes, to dispute the throne with him; the king of Naples, Charles of Durazzo, also forced his way into the kingdom and had himself crowned, but he perished soon afterwards in a popular rising. Tired at last of the state of uncertainty, the diet had Sigismund proclaimed king, and he, happy in the possession of Hungary, abandoned all claim to the crown of Poland. He gave up also those shadowy claims of Hungary to Galicia and Lodomeria, which were revived years afterwards by Maria Theresa.

The beginning of Sigismund's reign was troubled by rebellions in Hungary and Croatia, which were put down with severity. More serious dangers threatened the kingdom from the Turks. The Servians had succumbed to them; the princes of Wallachia had recognized their suzerainty; Bosnia

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was invaded; Bulgaria had fallen into their hands. Sigismund and the diet determined at once to put a stop to their further progress. But Hungary could do little alone; so Sigismund sought the alliance of the Greek emperor Manuel II., and sent to ask for help from Germany, France, and Burgundy. The war thus begun was ended by the defeat of Nikopolis (1396), in which both French and Hungarians were vanquished. Sigismund escaped with great difficulty to his territory on the Adriatic with the help of the Venetian fleet, and the small republic of Dubrovnik (Ragusa), which was then free and prosperous, lent the fugitive king money to enable him to return to his kingdom. The Turks remained masters of the Lower Danube.

The name of Sigismund is celebrated rather as emperor and king of Bohemia than as king of Hungary; but one or two events occurred in his reign which were of importance to the Magyars. The two diets of Temesvar and Buda, held in 1397 and 1405, laid the foundations on which the representative government of Hungary has ever since been based. From this time each *comitat* sent four representatives to the lower chamber, or Chamber of Orders (*ordinum*), and the royal cities were also represented; while the upper chamber was composed of the hereditary legislators and prelates. The assemblies of the *comitats* thus gained real political influence and early became accustomed to entrust to their delegates what might be called "un mandat imperatif;" the kind of commission which is the ideal of some modern democracies, seemed quite natural to the small land-owners of Hungary. It was at this time also that the light troops of hussars, which were especially destined for war against the Turks, were first formed.

Sigismund cannot be looked upon as a wise ruler. He was melancholy, capricious, cruel, and a religious persecutor; he was never popular among his Hungarian subjects. Always needy, he was constantly mortgaging the crown lands. He had the same faults as his brother Vacslav IV. of Bohemia, and was destined to have the same misfortunes. In 1401, a

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plot was formed with the help of the primate of the kingdom and the palatine, and Sigismund was suddenly taken prisoner in his palace and shut up in the castle of Vysegrad; he was soon, however, restored to liberty because no one could be found to take his place on the throne. We have already seen how he treated Vacslav, whom he helped the Austrian princes to keep as a prisoner in Vienna (1404). He concluded a treaty of succession with his brother-in-law Albert of Austria, which prepared the way for the future rule of that house over Hungary. The diet accepted this treaty, but Sigismund became every day more unpopular, and we find Ladislas of Naples landing at Jadara (Zara), getting himself crowned by the archbishop of Esztergom (Gran), and then pushing his way on to Raab (Györ). He was, however, driven back by Sigismund. A short time after, Sigismund and pope Gregory XII. planned a new crusade against the Turks, and founded the order of the Dragon, whose members were to fight against infidels and heretics.

In 1411, Sigismund was chosen emperor. It was the first time this dangerous honour had been conferred on a king of Hungary, and it proved a great misfortune to the country, as from this time forward it was looked upon as an appendage of Germany. Sigismund was none the better king for being emperor. The year following his election he mortgaged to Poland a portion of the district of Szepes (Zips) on the Carpathian frontier; and when, a little later, owing to his position as emperor, he was dragged into a war with Venice, Hungary paid the penalty of his defeat by the loss of the Dalmatian coast (1419). In the following year, Kotor (Cattaro) gave itself up to Venice, and remained in her possession down to 1797. Thus the whole of the Dalmatian coast, except the free republic of Ragusa, fell into the power of Venice; the interior of the country, however, remained dependent on Croatia, and was governed by the ban of that country. To add to his misfortunes, Sigismund became king of Bohemia. The union of the three crowns proved as fatal to Hungary as

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to Bohemia, because the Magyars now found themselves obliged to employ their energies in a useless struggle against the Hussites, whose teaching, indeed, was making considerable progress amongst themselves, instead of turning all their strength against the common enemy, the Turks. The princes of the two houses of Arpad and Anjou had never, like Sigismund, worn the imperial crown, but at least they had known how to preserve the integrity of their kingdom.

Had Sigismund cared less for these religious wars, and more for the real interests of Christianity, he might have found southwards of his dominions some compensation for his losses elsewhere. Servia had been half conquered by the Turks, but had been able to keep its native princes, who, under the name of despots, had managed to maintain a doubtful kind of independence, by oscillating between their neighbours, Turkey and Hungary. About this time, Stephen Lazarevic, one of the Servian despots, acknowledged himself the vassal of the king of Hungary, and did homage to the crown of St. Stephen, not only for the future, but even for the past, by this act acknowledging that Servia had always been subject to Hungary. This act falsified history—Servia had long been an independent kingdom—but otherwise it is of little practical interest, as Servia so soon afterwards fell entirely into the hands of the Mussulmans. Stephen Lazarevic, however, died childless, and, according to the terms of the act of homage, Belgrade, Macva, Golubac, and some other towns, became the property of Hungary. In consequence of a contract entered into by Sigismund with George Brankovic, the new despot, these towns were only given up in exchange for others, Servia obtaining Slankamen, Munkacs, Tokaj, Debreczen, Vilagos, afterwards so celebrated, and some others. At the time of this exchange, a large number of Servian families migrated into Hungary, and brought into the country a military element, which proved of considerable value in the wars against the Turks. Brankovic turned out a dangerous vassal; he was always ready to come to terms with the sultan, to whom he married his sister,

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and his policy towards both his neighbours was more worthy of a doge of Venice than of a Servian hero.

Hungary, threatened on one side by the Turks, on the other was ravaged by the Hussites. In 1435, the diet of Poszony (Presburg) took measures for the national defence, and completed the organization of the army. Everyone who did not already serve in the *banderia* of the prelates and great lords was in future to serve in the *banderia* of the *comitats*, and the country was divided into seven camps, a measure which very much facilitated the management of military affairs. But, notwithstanding these efforts, Hungary was the scene of the greatest disorders. Peasant revolts broke out in Transylvania; and the Hussite doctrines spread among this people, who had been so often led by their sovereigns to fight against them. In 1437, Sigismund ended his long reign without having remedied one of the many evils of which he had been either the author or the impotent spectator.

Albert of Austria—Wladyslaw Jagiello (1438–1444).

Taught by experience, the diet imposed much more severe restrictions on the new king than those to which Sigismund had submitted. Elizabeth, daughter of the late king, was declared his heir, and her husband, Albert of Austria, was associated with her on the throne. At last the house of Austria had obtained the prize which had so long been the object of its desires; but Hungary insisted on the following conditions:—The new king was always to reside in the country; he was to consult the diet as to the marriage of his daughters; he was neither to give nor to sell the crown lands, nor to nominate the palatine, without the consent of the assembly. Neither the monarch nor his subjects, however, had time to put these wise agreements into practice, as Albert died in 1439. He left his wife pregnant. The Turks, who had captured Smederevo (Semendria), were now on the very threshold of the kingdom, and a king was imperatively needed. The child, Vladislav the Posthumous, who was born shortly after Albert's

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death, was not the king needed by a nation in such straits, and the majority of the people decided to elect Wladyslaw Jagiello, king of Poland, as their ruler. Among the partisans of the new monarch, John Corvinus Hunyady stood in the foremost rank. He belonged to a noble family in Transylvania, and had already distinguished himself by his bravery against the Turks. He now took up arms against the Austrian party in support of the king whom his patriotism had chosen, and endeavoured to unite the whole nation against the infidels.

The Sultan Murad had laid siege to Belgrade, which at this time belonged to Hungary; but Hunyady forced him to retire. The Turks next marched into Transylvania; Hunyady got before them, and gave them a crushing defeat near Hermannstadt at St. Emmerich (Szent-Imre), leaving twenty thousand dead on the field of battle, Brankovic, the Servian despot, rendered Hunyady assistance in this expedition, which the conqueror repaid by sending to him, as a bloody trophy, the head of Mesid Bey, the Turkish general. Exasperated by this defeat, Murad next sent general Schehabeddin against Hungary. Hunyady attacked him near the Iron Gates of the Danube with a far inferior force, and the Hungarian cavalry put the janissaries to flight and nobly avenged Nikopolis. Murad, terrified, begged for peace. Hungary refused to grant it, for it seemed as if the moment had come when the Turks could be driven once for all from her frontiers. In the month of July, 1443, king Wladyslaw and John Hunyady crossed the Danube close to Smederevo (Semendria), and marched up the valley of the Morava. Again defeated at Nish, the Turks were obliged to fall back and leave Sophia in the hands of the Magyars. The latter then crossed a defile of the Balkans in spite of the formidable defences of the Turks, and penetrated into the valley of the Maritsa, where again the Mussulmans were severely beaten. The road to Constantinople lay open to the Magyars; but winter came upon them in these barren regions, and in the midst of the delirium of triumph the king was obliged to order a retreat.

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Once more Murad begged for peace, and the diet of Szeged offered the following conditions to him :—A truce to be concluded for ten years; Wallachia to pass again under the suzerainty of Hungary; Servia and Herzegovina to be restored to the despot Brankovic; the Turkish prisoners to purchase their freedom by heavy ransoms. This treaty was solemnly sworn to on the Gospel and on the Koran.

But many Christians thought that it was a great mistake thus to lose the easy advantages of the success gained by the Hungarians, and cardinal Julius Cesarini proved to the diet that an oath taken to infidels was not binding, and that he, as the representative of the Holy See, had the power to annul it. Notwithstanding the treaty, the king and Hunyady thereupon decided to renew the war, and marched towards Bulgaria and the Black Sea. Murad was at this time in Asia Minor; but the Genoese, worthy rivals of the Venetians, carried his troops to Europe in their fleet for the sum of 70,000 ducats, and on the 10th of November, 1444, the Christian and Mussulman armies found themselves face to face at Varna, near the Balkan Mountains. In order to recall to the Christians their broken faith and to disturb their consciences, Murad had a copy of the treaty and of the Gospel they had dishonoured carried on a lance in front of his troops.

The beginning of this memorable battle was favourable to the Hungarians. Their cavalry charged with unheard-of courage; but soon king Wladyslaw, carried away by his ardour, rushed into the midst of the fray, and his head, placed at the end of a lance, announced their defeat to the Magyars. The action ended in a hopeless flight, and of his glorious army Hunyady only brought back to Hungary some miserable remains.

A wit of the time made the often-quoted epitaph on Wladyslaw—

> "Romani Cannas, ego Varnam clade notavi;
> Discite mortales non temerare fidem."

The defeat at Varna opened the gates of Constantinople to the Turks.

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CHAPTER XV.

JOHN HUNYADY—MATHIAS CORVINUS—THE JAGELLONS (1444—1526).

Ladislas the Posthumous—John Hunyady Governor of the Kingdom.

LADISLAS the Posthumous had been sent to the court of his uncle, Frederick of Austria, to be educated. He was at this time only five years old, and the diet, which now met at Buda, while proclaiming him king, decided that during his minority the government should be carried on by representatives of the aristocracy, both lay and ecclesiastical. In consequence of this decision, there was for a time something like a republic, and happy would it have been for Hungary if the experience of this period had led her always to do without a king. It was also decided that Ladislas should be given up to the nobles, in order that he should be brought up in Hungary; but Frederick refused to give up his ward, whereupon the diet met again on the plain of Rakos,[1] and proclaimed John Hunyady governor during his absence. Hunyady was to be a kind of lieutenant-general, with much the same authority as George of Podiebrad was about to exercise as grand hetman of Bohemia. Hunyady's first intention was to defend his country against the house of Austria; but the pope, who understood the importance of Hungary in the struggle against the Ottoman power, brought

[1] The diets were often held on this plain. The Poles used to call a riotous meeting of their nobles a *Rokosz*.

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about a reconciliation between the two countries, and after this the Magyar hero was able to assemble an army of twenty-four thousand men against the common enemy of Christendom, and to cross the Danube, while Scanderbeg made a useful diversion in Albania. Unfortunately, George Brankovic had already begun to play that double game which has disgraced his memory, and consequently refused his aid to the Hungarians. He had hoped to have himself been chosen *Gubernator regni*, but Hunyady had been preferred before him, and jealousy of his rival and fear of the Turks, who seemed to him likely to prove the stronger, led him once more to desert the Magyars. Hunyady, however, crossed the Servian territory and reached the fatal plain of Kosovo (1448). There Murad awaited him behind formidable intrenchments, and the disaster of Varna was repeated. To crown his treachery, Brankovic offered after the battle to take Hunyady prisoner and deliver him up to the sultan, but the knightly Mussulman refused to have anything to do with so infamous an action. This second defeat in no wise diminished the popularity of Hunyady or the confidence felt in him, but the house of Austria dreaded so watchful a guardian of the freedom of Hungary, and excited opposition in various quarters against him. They supported the claims of the Chekh noble, Jiskra of Brandyse, grand hetman of the king of Bohemia, who settled to the north of Hungary on the slopes of the Carpathians, occupied the land in the name of his king, and refused to recognize the authority of John Hunyady. The latter attacked him, but without success. This Jiskra is hated by the Magyar race as the enemy of their country, and celebrated by the Chekhs as a zealous servant of his king and a fervent upholder of the doctrines of the Hussites.

Meanwhile the emperor continued to refuse to give up the young king, and the Magyars to demand his return, sending their envoys even as far as Italy, when he visited that country, and endeavouring to carry him off by surprise. They have always had a superstitious respect for the royal crown and the

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person of their king, and both were now in the possession of Austria, Frederick having carried away the sacred crown, the crown of St. Stephen, when he bore off his young ward to the Austrian court. At last, however, the emperor yielded to the entreaties of the nation, and Ladislas was allowed to return to his native country (1453). But it was only for a time. He received the reins of government from the hands of Hunyady, rewarding the patriot with his thanks and the title of count of Bistrice, assisted at the deliberations of the diet at Poszony, and then once more returned to Vienna.

At this time the position of affairs in Turkey demanded the full attention of John Hunyady. Constantinople had fallen; Brankovic was imploring the help of Hungary. A meeting of the diet was summoned to Buda. It voted large subsidies and decided on a *general insurrection*[1] in case the country should be invaded; and then Hunyady marched into Servia, up the valley of the Morava, and coming up with the Turks near Krushevats, close to the spot by which they had formerly invaded Servia, defeated them, and drove them back, pushing his way as far as Sophia. Had he had the whole of Europe as his allies he might then have driven the Osmanlis from Constantinople; but, instead, Hungary was entirely without allies, and John Hunyady himself had two jealous rivals, the palatine Gara and the count of Cilly, who were always trying to prejudice the mind of the young king against him. He was obliged to retrace his steps; but at least he determined to save Belgrade. This fortified town, from its wonderful position, is the key both to the Danube and the Save, and is called by the Turks, with some show of reason, the Town of the Holy War. The brother-in-law of Hunyady commanded it, and the sultan Mahomet II. had brought against it the most formidable artillery that had ever been seen. In the unequal struggle, Hunyady had no ally except the monk Capistrano,

[1] Insurrection, the name applied by the Magyars to a general levy of the troops of Hungary, when all men were bound to fight either in the *banderia* of the prelates or lords, or in those of the *comitats*, see page 229.

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whose fervid eloquence had gathered from the whole of Europe an army of sixty thousand volunteers. This was but a small force with which to face the dangers which threatened Christendom; but the age of crusades had gone by.

The first collision between the opposing forces took place on the waters of the Danube, when the Magyar fleet overthrew the galleys of the Turks. Hunyady and Capistrano entered Belgrade. On the 21st of July, 1456, after having destroyed the walls with his formidable artillery, Mahomet endeavoured to take the town by assault. But when his janissaries had crossed the first outworks, they found themselves before a second line of fortifications, and their courage failed. Completely repulsed by the Hungarians, the sultan fled to Sophia, leaving all his artillery and twenty-four thousand corpses under the walls of the citadel. Hunyady did not long survive this triumph. He died either of fatigue, or a wound, or else of an epidemic which broke out on the field of battle. His contemporaries pay the most splendid homage to his memory. "With him" says the pope Æneas Sylvius, "have died our hopes." "He was in all things an excellent man!" exclaims Chalcondylas. And the Polish annalist Dlugosz, who shows but little favour to the Hungarians, is obliged to write, "He was a man celebrated in fight, and of great worth as a leader of armies. His death was a calamity, not only for Hungary, but for the whole Catholic world."

King Ladislas was little worthy of such a subject. He had already shown his ingratitude, and the count of Cilly continued to prejudice his sovereign against the brave warrior even after his death. Ladislav, the son, and Szilagy, the brother of the hero, became possessed of a letter which the favourite had written to the despot of Servia, in which he proposed to him to exterminate "these dogs of Wallachians," as he called the family of Hunyady. They resolved to be beforehand with him, and when Cilly came to Belgrade with the king they had him assassinated. This was but an act of justice according to the manners of the times; but the king would not pardon it, and at

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the instigation of the palatine Gara, he had Ladislav arrested, thrown into prison at Buda (1457), and then condemned to death. The headsman in his agitation thrice missed his aim. "It is not permitted to strike more than thrice," said the son of the man who had saved Belgrade; but the king, inflexible in his vengeance, ordered the execution to go on. To complete his own dishonour, Ladislas then issued an edict which declared John Hunyady a traitor and a scoundrel. The Magyar poetry often recalls the memory of these tragic scenes. Ladislas the Posthumous did not long survive his shame, dying a few days after his victim (1458).

Mathias Corvinus (1458–1490)—*War with Bohemia and Turkey.*

The memory of John Hunyady was to be gloriously avenged. Ladislav Hunyady had perished under the sword of the executioner; but he had left behind him a brother named Mathias. This brother had been sent into Bohemia by Ladislas the Posthumous, and now, on the death of this king, while Bohemia was choosing George of Podiebrad to reign over her, the Hungarian diet assembled at Pesth, and paid the debt that Hungary owed to the Hunyady family by their almost unanimous choice of Mathias as their king. He was at this time, according to some writers, fifteen years of age; twenty, according to others. Szilagy supported the cause of his nephew at the head of forty thousand men, and, on account of the king's youth, he was chosen *Gubernator* for five years, and undertook to protect the liberties of the nation. Podiebrad did not allow the newly elected king to leave Bohemia until he had paid a heavy ransom, and also stipulated that Mathias should be betrothed to his daughter Catherine. He paid dearly afterwards for his illiberal conduct. For the first time for many years Bohemia and Hungary had now each a national king, a true son of the soil; and the Holy See and the house of Habsburg were both equally astonished and annoyed at a state

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of things, which paid so little regard to their rights and still less to their claims.

The young king was worthy of his high destiny. He had received an excellent education, could speak equally well the Magyar, German, and Slavonic languages; while he had inherited from his father warlike instincts and the power of ruling. He first began by placing the military forces of Hungary on a good footing, and then proceeded to reduce those of the great landed nobility who contested the royal authority. Among them were his uncle Szilagy who had hoped to keep the power in his own hands for a long time to come, Gara, Jiskra of Brandyse, and Ujlaky. These men entered into an alliance with Frederick III., who still had possession of the sacred crown, and who now took the title of King of Hungary. But Mathias was able to overcome all his enemies, and the emperor was soon forced to have recourse to diplomacy. He undertook to recognize Mathias as his adopted son, and to restore the holy crown, and in return obtained his own recognition as heir to the throne, in case Mathias should die leaving no children.

Mathias now found himself free to pursue the traditional policy of the Magyars against the Turks. In 1463, the kingdom of Bosnia had been completely conquered by them; its king, Stephen Tomasevic, with the greater number of his nobles, had been beheaded; thirty thousand young Bosnians had been enrolled among the janissaries and two hundred thousand carried into captivity. Wallachia also was entirely under Turkish rule. The first step of Mathias was to send ambassadors to the republic of Venice and to the pope, Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius); and, with the help they granted him, he was able to recover part of Bosnia, and to drive the Mussulmans back from Belgrade. The frontier of Hungary on the Save was now safe; but more remained to be done before the Turks could be driven completely out of the Slavo-Hellenic peninsula, and in such an enterprise Hungary was naturally expected to be the sword of Europe. An embassy, at whose head was Anthony

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Marini, a Frenchman, one of the ministers of George of Podiebrad, was sent to Mathias by the French king to propose a Christian league against the infidels, and to ask him to convoke a General Council. Mathias received this double proposal with distrust, and, while acknowledging the friendly relations which existed between France and Hungary, he declined the offered alliance. The proposal in question had unfortunately been first planned by George of Podiebrad, against whom Mathias felt a certain amount of animosity, and moreover Mathias was annoyed that the king of France should have acted as intermediary in the matter. As to the council, he had no faith in it whatsoever, believing it could only result in schisms and disturbances. Perhaps too he remembered the sad consequences of the council of Constance.

Unfortunately for Europe, it was not against the Turks that Mathias next proceeded to turn his soldiers, but against that same George of Podiebrad who was then dreaming of universal peace. A strong Catholic, and devoted to the Holy See, Mathias looked upon the Hussites as enemies to be detested as much as the Turks. Pope Pius II. had urged him to restore the Catholic faith in the kingdom of Bohemia, and in this enterprise he felt he could gratify his greed and spite, as well as fulfil his duty to the Church. But this crusade against Christians was delayed by various complications; first, by quarrels with the emperor, who was always ready to interfere in the internal affairs of Hungary, and then by a rising in Transylvania, where the people had been annoyed by an increase of taxation. Mathias put down this revolt; but, anxious to punish Stephen of Moldavia, the voïévode who had supported the rebels, he undertook an unlucky expedition against him, in which he was wounded. This delayed matters; but in 1468 Mathias summoned the estates of Hungary to Cheb (Eger) to prepare for the war—a fratricidal war as it was sure to prove—against Bohemia. "It was" says the Hungarian historian Boldenyi, "the most unjust and fruitless war that Mathias could possibly undertake, so far as regarded the

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interests of Hungary. What glory and what triumphs would not an intimate alliance between Bohemia and Hungary against the Mussulmans have secured for the whole Christian world! The face of eastern Europe might have been changed!" Nothing could have suited either Turkey or Austria better than a war between the two kingdoms of St. Vacslav and St. Stephen. The Hungarian diet hesitated before agreeing to it; but the bishop of Vratislav[1] (Breslau), the pope's legate, and the ambassador of the emperor all insisted upon it, and it was finally decided upon, whereupon the legate wrote, "The Church owes eternal praise to the king of Hungary."

The details of this campaign belong to the history of Bohemia. After various vicissitudes and an attempt at reconciliation with George of Podiebrad, we have seen how Mathias had himself crowned king of Bohemia at Olomouc on the 3rd of May, 1469, and how, on the death of George, the Chekhs chose a Polish king, Wladyslaw Jagiello. Mathias had but little chance of keeping the crown he had usurped in defiance of an adversary who could bring against him the forces of two kingdoms, and this chance was lessened by the fact that at this moment the Turks invaded the south of Hungary, while a conspiracy was formed against Mathias, at the head of which was the bishop Vitez, who had been his old tutor. The conspirators offered the crown to Kazimir, a Polish prince, who was nephew to the king who had been slain at Varna. Mathias, however, defeated the plot, and persisted in the war with Bohemia. His campaign in Silesia ended in a victory, and the treaty which he signed in February, 1475, secured to him Moravia and part of Silesia. But this dismemberment of Bohemia was of little use to Hungary, and the whole of this first part of the reign of Mathias is wretched enough. The second part, from 1475–1490, is, however, more noble. In it Mathias adopted wiser political views, and directly attacked the two real enemies of his kingdom, the Turk and the emperor.

[1] Polish form, Wróclaw.

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It was high time that he should turn his attention to the progress of the Turks. While Mathias was fighting against Podiebrad, Mahomet II. had built on the Save the fortress of Shabats, now belonging to Servia and commanding the Save above Belgrade. The king began to understand the danger which threatened him. He made Emerich Szapolyai, who had been one of his most distinguished officers in the Bohemian war, regent, and then besieged and took the Mussulman fortress. At the same time he offered to help prince Stephen of Moldavia, and his lieutenant, Batory, drove the Turks out of that province.

By his marriage with Beatrix, daughter of King Ferdinand of Naples, Mathias had hoped to be able to revive the old claims of the house of Anjou on southern Italy; but the emperor, with his usual jealousy of Hungary, had no intention of allowing Mathias to enjoy in peace even the spoils he had taken from Bohemia. War between these two powers was inevitable, though when it came it proved of short duration. The Hungarian cavalry invaded Austria. "I have never seen such a war," says an eye-witness; "the king followed the campaign with his wife and his mother in a gilt carriage; he looked as if he were going to a wedding; each day he captured towns or castles; no one could stand against him." Frederick was forced to take refuge in Linz, and the result of the war was that the emperor recognized the complete right of Mathias to Moravia and Silesia (1485).

Mathias now began to reap the fruits of his former unwise policy, as he found himself entirely without allies at a time when he sorely needed them. In the month of October, 1479, a formidable army of Turks invaded Transylvania. The king sent Stephen Batory against them. The general came up with them on the plain of Kenyer-mesö (the field of corn), and there obtained a decided victory over them, though the Hungarians were far fewer in number than their opponents. Batory received six wounds, and owed his life to the heroism of Kiniszy, the brave leader of the hussars. The baggage and

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tents of the enemy fell into the hands of the Magyars, who celebrated their triumph with extravagant rejoicings; and the historians tell us that in the midst of their rejoicings Kiniszy might be seen "throwing aside his usual gravity, and executing an Hungarian dance, while he held the body of one dead Turk between his teeth, and another in each of his arms." Kiniszy was afterwards equally successful on to the other side of the Danube.

In 1481, the death of Mahomet II. increased the hopes of the Christians. Bajazet II. succeeded the conqueror of Constantinople; his struggles against his brother and rival, Djem, or Zizim, are well known. When Zizim became the prisoner of the knights of Rhodes, he offered to give Mathias Bosnia, Servia, and Bulgaria, if he would deliver him from slavery; but Hungary had not at the time a single ally, and Bajazet was ready to sign a truce for five years, an offer which Mathias was obliged to accept, in order to be able to continue his war against the emperor Frederick. Frederick fled before him to Nuremburg; but the Germans of Vienna were not disposed to submit to the Hungarians, and had to be reduced by a long siege (1485), after which Mathias placed Stephen Szapolyai as royal lieutenant of that city.

When once the archduchy of Austria was conquered, Mathias, who was already master of Moravia and Silesia, had in his power a state almost as large as the Austria of the present time, if we except from it Galicia and Bohemia. But his power had no solid foundation. While the influence of the house of Austria had been increased by marriage, Mathias Corvinus had no legitimate heir. He made several attempts to have his natural son, John Corvinus, born in Silesia, recognized as his successor; but he died suddenly (1490) at the age of fifty, without having arranged anything definitely for the future of his kingdom. He himself wrote his own proud epitaph: "A conquered Austria bears witness to my power. I was the terror of the world. The emperor of the Germans and the emperor of the Turks trembled before me. Death alone could conquer me."

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Hungary under Mathias Corvinus.

The whole nation mourned for Mathias, and he is one of the kings whose memory has remained dearest to the people. He belonged to no foreign dynasty, but was the first sovereign of purely national descent since the house of Arpad; and he had done great things. But he was not a great man, and the meanness of his political aims did more harm to Hungary than the courage and variety of his enterprises brought her real profit. As a lawgiver and as the protector of literature and art, his claim to greatness is less questionable. Few sovereigns have been more careful to observe the constitution of their country. He convoked the diet every year, and not only the representatives of the bishops and barons, but also the representatives of the *comitats*—what a contemporary calls the "commonalty of the kingdom." The public life of the *comitats* was most active during his reign, their assemblies met frequently, and Mathias looked to them to help him in overcoming the efforts of the nobles to make themselves independent of the crown. The king had the right of appointing whom he pleased to be the chief count of the *comitat* (*fo ispan*); but his deputy had always to be chosen from among the nobles of the *comitat* itself. The authority of the palatine[1] was lessened, and he was deprived of those judicial powers which had made him the chief justice of the kingdom. Although very religious and devoted to the Holy See, though in a somewhat intermittent and capricious fashion, Mathias restrained the clergy, and would allow of no appeals to the court of Rome. But, above all things, he endeavoured to lessen the privileges of the great barons. "Now Mathias is dead, justice has fled," is a Magyar proverb which has come down to the present time. He took great pains to protect commerce, and invited foreigners to his kingdom, especially the Servians, who came in great numbers after the death of Brankovic and the final ruin of the old Servian empire.

[1] For the previous history of the office of Palatine, see *supra*, p. 69.

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Mathias had a highly cultivated mind, and possessed that spirit of repartee which makes a king so popular. "He is a wise and learned king, of most dignified speech," writes the pope's legate of him; "he only says what is fitting, and his wisdom and eloquence surpass those of all the princes that I know."

His second wife, Beatrix, had brought from Italy the love of elegance which was the result of the Renaissance, and many Italians lived in the court at Buda, some of whom adorned the country with fine buildings. The king's palace was magnificent and full of precious things. The pontifical legate says that fifty waggons would have been needed to transport only the plates and dishes of the royal household.

Mathias founded the famous Corvina Library at Buda, the first library in the kingdom. It is said to have contained fifty thousand manuscripts—an enormous number for the time. The king sent his agents all over the world to buy and to copy, and thirty copyists were constantly employed at Buda. He gathered round him national poets, who sang his exploits in the Magyar tongue; but unhappily all their works have perished, and the only Hungarian manuscripts which have come down to us from this time relate to theological matters. The Reformation was needed to give the national language her true place in literature.

The treasures of the Corvina Library were unfortunately wasted or lost in the succeeding centuries, some of them being sold by the kings of the Jagellon dynasty, and the Turks carrying off the rest to Constantinople. A few of the manuscripts are still to be seen in Paris, among them a Ptolemy and a St. Jerome; a few are in Vienna and Pesth; and recently some volumes which had remained in Constantinople were restored to Hungary by the Turks, as an expression of the sympathy of the two nations during the campaign of Russia in Bulgaria in 1877. But the age of manuscripts was almost at an end, for the art of printing had reached Buda from Germany in 1473, and the trade in books had begun. By the

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end of the fifteenth century Buda possessed as many as thirteen booksellers.

At this time we meet with the first beginnings of a learned society, called "Sodalitas litteraria Hungarorum." Among the writers of the time the majority are Italians or Greeks (Calimachus, Bonfinius); but some of them are natives, as, for example, John Pannonius, bishop of Pecs (Fünfkirchen), a Latin poet of some value, and John Thuroczy, author of the "Chronicles of Hungary." Mathias Corvinus intended to found a gigantic university at Buda, but his death prevented the realization of this project, though an Academia Corviniana, which included the two faculties of theology and philosophy, existed down to the time of the battle of Mohacs.

Wladyslaw II. (1490–1516)—*Verböczy*—*Revolt of the Kurucs* (1514).

Hungary reached her highest point in the reign of Mathias Corvinus, and from this time we shall have to watch her hopeless decay. The diet, divided by the ambition of rival barons, could decide on no national king, and so turned to a foreigner. Wladyslaw II., of the house of Jagellon, was elected, and thus a king of Bohemia, and an old rival of Mathias, united the two crowns of St. Vacslav and St. Stephen—a union which had been so ardently hoped for by Mathias, and for which he had waged the miserable war against Bohemia.

The choice of the diet was not prompted by the true interests of the two kingdoms, for Wladyslaw was feeble and insignificant. The people called him "King Dobre." This Chekh adverb, which means "good," or "well," was always in his mouth, and was a sign of that inertia which was one of his strongest recommendations to the turbulent aristocracy, who were glad to take breath under a feeble sovereign, after the harsh rule of Corvinus. Petöfi, the national poet of the nineteenth century, has devoted one of his best satires to King Dobre. "He cared not to command—He knew not how to do it;—And even if he had known—The land would

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not have obeyed.—His head was very empty,—Emptier still were his pockets.—He must fumble to the bottom—To find one single coin. Insects and the weather—Had eaten away the fur from his garments,—And his clothes were so worn that they had lost all their colour," etc.

The beginning of the new reign was not fortunate. Maximilian recovered the Austrian provinces, and John of Poland declared war against his brother, Wladyslaw, and obliged him to cede part of Silesia to him. Maximilian invaded the west of Hungary, and got as far as Szekes Fejervar (Stuhl Weissenberg), whence he only consented to retire after Wladislaw had agreed to a treaty, which secured Hungary to the house of Austria, in case of Wladyslaw dying without children. This treaty, in which the king disposed of the country without consulting the diet, roused universal indignation, and made a sovereign who had been received at first with the greatest enthusiasm universally unpopular.

Meanwhile, the Turks thronged round the southern frontier of the kingdom. Bajazet II. had failed to capture Belgrade in 1492, but he could not be prevented from forcing his way into the valley of the Save, and beating the Hungarian army, which was badly paid and badly disciplined. The diet of the following year was full of bitter complaints of the cowardice and laziness of the king, who preferred "the rest and amusement of the chase to the duties of war." The finances were in the greatest disorder, and the great barons were still quarrelling over the possession of power. In the year 1505, the diet came to a most important decision. "This kingdom," says its manifesto, "has often been ruled by foreigners. Never has it suffered so cruelly as under their reigns. Busied only with the interests of their own families, instead of studying the manners and customs of the Scythian people, who have made themselves, at the price of their blood, masters of the soil they occupy, these foreigners have given themselves up to idleness rather than to the toils of war. Thus have we lost Servia, Galicia, Lodomeria, Bulgaria, and Dalmatia. . . .

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This loss of our frontiers may well make us fear that our enemies may invade our land itself, if the nation, out of its love for its native soil, does not chose from among its own sons an able king." It then went on to declare any one who should in future support the claims of a foreigner to the throne a traitor to his country. This expression of patriotism came somewhat late, and the nobles had no one to thank but themselves if their country had so often been ruled by foreigners. The manifesto, which was the work of the protho-notary, Stephen Verböczy, was sent round to all the *comitats*. Verböczy was a man of legislative genius, and a true patriot, who in his youth had devoted himself to the study of the laws of Hungary in the academy at Buda. But, unhappily, legal maxims, with whatsoever eloquence they might be drawn up, were of small avail against brute force.

Wladyslaw had one son, Louis. Surrounded by the net of Austrian diplomacy, he had affianced this son in his cradle to Mary of Austria, the sister of Charles V., and later on he undertook, in defiance of public opinion, to leave the crown to his daughter Anne, who was betrothed to Ferdinand of Austria, if Louis should die without heirs. He was so completely careless of the interests of Hungary, that he never took advantage of the league of Cambray to recover Dalmatia from the Venetians. To add to the miseries of his reign, a peasant rising, a terrible Jacquerie, took place. Hungary was an essentially aristocratic country, in which the great barons had endeavoured by every means in their power to crush the small landholders; they in their turn harassed the peasants. As a natural consequence of this state of things, bitter animosities had arisen among the rural class against those above them, and only waited for a favourable opportunity to break out. In 1513, Cardinal Bakracz came from Rome, bringing with him the papal bull for a crusade against the infidels; whereupon the peasants armed themselves, as if they were about to march against the Turks, and then turned their arms against the nobles. This terrible insurrection is called in Hungarian

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history the insurrection of the Kurucs (Kouroutses, *cruciati*) crusaders. Was the name really invented at this time? Perhaps it had been used at the time of the first crusade, when the defenders of Palestine crossed Hungary, ravaging it as they went. The chief leader of the insurrection, the peasant Dosza, was one of the Szeklers of Transylvania. From his camp at Cseged he issued a proclamation in which he styles himself "the Mighty Knight, the General of the Crusaders, subject to the king but not to the nobles," and in which he calls the peasants to arms against the infidel barons. Armed with scythes, the peasants marched against them. Defeated in the first encounter, the nobles chose John Szapolyai, voïévode of Transylvania, as their leader, and Dosza was beaten in a battle near Temesvar, and fell into the hands of his enemies. Their vengeance was terrible. The king of the peasants was seated on a throne of fire, and crowned by the executioner with a red-hot crown.[1] He bore his frightful sufferings with a courage that astonished his adversaries. The people believe that Szapolyai became blind for two years, as a punishment for the cruelty he showed on this occasion, and that he only recovered his sight in answer to the fervent prayers of his family. The name of Dosza is still popular among the Hungarians, and that of *Kurucs* appears more than once in the national history. Kurucs is the Hodge of Hungary.

It was hoped that order would be restored when this insurrection came to an end. In the year 1514, Verböczy presented to the diet his celebrated work "Decretum bipartitum juris consuetudinarii," in which he had compiled the law of the land, and which may be looked upon as the last will and testament of independent Hungary. It proves a condition of things which justifies the insurrection of the Kurucs, and amply explains the numerous revolts of which the kingdom had been the

[1] Goldsmith, mistaking, however, his name, refers to him in "The Traveller," line 435—

> "The lifted axe, the agonizing wheel,
> *Luke's iron crown* and Damiens' bed of steel."

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theatre. Verböczy recognizes but one legal class—the nobles descended from the conquerors of the soil. As for the rest, they are Jobbagyones, serfs of the soil, "whom the revolt of Dosza has proved for ever to be infidels, and fit only for perpetual servitude." The privileged class never fails to make use of the mistakes and the crimes of its inferiors as arguments for the maintenance and even the increase of its own privileges.

Louis II. (1516–1526)—*Loss of Belgrade* (1521)—*Battle of Mohacs* (1526).

The feeble Wladyslaw died in 1515, and the reign of the child-king, Louis II., may be summed up in two catastrophes, the loss of Belgrade and the defeat at Mohacs. The young king, married in his cradle, was corrupt and dissolute, and quite incapable of governing, and his guardians could not rise to the height of the occasion. The finances of the kingdom were in great disorder, and the leading barons quarrelled continually over the shreds of sovereignty still left, exercising in turns and occasionally by main force, powers which belonged to the sovereign alone. This state of things was of the greatest use to the Turks, for while Hungary was sinking ever deeper into anarchy, Turkey was ruled by the great sovereign who was called Soliman the Magnificent. It was not long before he found a pretext for war in the arrest of one of his subjects as a spy, and assembled his troops at Sophia, captured Shabats, laid siege to Belgrade and took it, making it thenceforward a Mussulman fortress (1521). The key of the Danube was now in the hands of the Turks. In the face of this extreme danger, Hungary continued at strife, divided between two parties, that of the palatine Batory and that of Verböczy, who disputed for power; and the violence of these internal struggles prevented the public attention from being directed towards the common enemy.

Meanwhile, King Louis begged for help on every side. He wrote to the king of England, "If help from your majesty does not reach us quickly, our kingdom is lost;" and he even

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applied for aid from a Persian prince, hoping thereby to divert the attention of the Mussulmans to the East. The Austrian princes were ready to help him from interested motives; but even when joined with Hungary they were too feeble to conquer the armies of "the Magnificent." On the 25th of April, 1526, Soliman quitted Constantinople, bringing with him one hundred thousand men and three hundred cannon, taking up arms not only against Hungary, but against the empire. One of the pretexts for his expedition was the captivity of Francis I.; he wished he said, to save "the bey of France" from the hands of the Germans and their allies the Hungarians. He crossed the Save near Osiek (Essek), captured Petervardin, and came up with the Hungarians at Mohacs, on the right bank of the Danube (August 26, 1526). The Magyar army was commanded by the king in person, assisted by Paul Tomory, archbishop of Kalocsa, one of the warlike bishops of whom Hungary gives us so many examples; by George Szapolyai, and by Peter Perenyi, bishop of Nagy-Varad (Great Varadin). Perenyi wished to treat with the Turks, in order to gain time for help to reach them from Croatia and Transylvania, but the impetuosity of Tomory decided on immediate battle. "Tomory, proud captain, why didst thou quit thy bishop's throne? Then the glory, the flower of the fatherland, would not have died with thee!" cries the poet Kisfaludy. At first, it seemed as if the battle was in favour of the Magyars; but Soliman had commanded that the front ranks of his army should give way before the Hungarian cavalry, and that then the main body of his troops should close around them. When the Magyars were thus easily within reach, they were overwhelmed by the Turkish artillery and forced to retreat. They took refuge in some marshy land, in which many of them lost their lives. The king had disappeared; Tomory was slain; seven bishops, twenty-two barons, and twenty-two thousand men were left upon the field.

The road to Buda lay open before the invaders, and after having laid waste the whole country on their way, they reached the capital, where the treasures which Mathias Corvinus had

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collected in his palace and his library were either carried off or committed to the flames, while the statues were sent down the Danube to adorn the public squares of Constantinople. Then the tide of invasion gradually retired, leaving behind it a land covered with ruins. The independent existence of Hungary ended with Louis II. Up to the time of the accession of the house of Austria, this kingdom had had twenty-three princes of the house of Arpad, and fourteen who had belonged to various other families. Henceforward it was to oscillate between Austria and Turkey, and must continue to do so down to the time when the feeling of nationality should become sufficiently strong to enable it to become once more a nation governing itself.

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CHAPTER XVI.

THE AUSTRIAN EMPERORS.

Maximilian I. (1493–1519)—*The Austrian Marriages.*

THE real importance of the house of Austria dates from the reign of Maximilian. In his hands all the domains of the family were united—Austria properly so called, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the Tyrol; and its territories reached to the sea at Trieste and Fiume. On the death of Leonard, the last descendant of the junior branch of the counts of Gorica, in 1500, Maximilian succeeded to Gorica, Gradiska, Mitterburg, and the Pusterthal. It is true that during his war with Venice (1507) he lost for a time his possessions on the Adriatic, but it was not long before he recovered them, and even invaded part of the Venetian territory. The principal event of his reign as emperor is his struggle with France for the inheritance of the dukes of Burgundy; but that belongs to European history, and does not here concern us. He took an active part in the affairs of Europe. A temperament at once chivalrous and dreamy led him to conceive all kinds of strange projects, among which was that of one day obtaining for himself the pontifical tiara; but he never lost sight of the interests of his hereditary states. He tried hard to have Austria made an electorate, but failed, owing to the obstinacy of the German princes. The electors met at Frankfort and mutually engaged never to admit a new member into their college, and the emperor was obliged to abandon this project. Thus the

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family with whom the imperial crown remained during so many centuries was always excluded from the body which conferred it. When, later on, the Habsburgs formed part of the electoral college, they entered it as kings of Bohemia.

It was under Maximilian that the Swiss were finally released from all obligations towards the house of Austria and the emperor. After a war in which the confederates had invaded Suabia and the Tyrol, had destroyed two hundred villages and castles, and had slain more than twenty thousand men, the peace of Basel was concluded in 1499. Austria did not suffer by surrendering her claims in this quarter, for her power was only increased by concentration.

In 1505, Maximilian interfered in the war of the Bavarian succession, which broke out on the extinction of the male line of Wittelsbach, and obtained a certain number of towns, among them Kufstein, already celebrated for its fortress, and the lordships of Rottenburg and Kitzbühl, as the price of his interference. Thus Austria obtained a footing on the sources of the Isonzo and the Drave. At this time the Austrian states, without Bohemia and Hungary, formed a semicircle which shut in Southern Germany from the frontiers of Bohemia and Silesia down to Switzerland, while their possessions scattered in Suabia, Alsace, and the Black Forest gave them considerable influence in the valleys of the Upper Rhine and Upper Danube. Considered apart from its German territories, the little Austrian state, this miniature of the future Austria, included within its borders Germans, Slavs (Slovenes), and Italians; but then, as now, the Germans were the dominant race, owing to the close neighbourhood of Germany, to the vigour of the race, and to the prestige of the imperial crown.

When Germany was divided into ten *circles* at the diet of Cologne (1512), the Austrian possessions formed one of them. Of course neither Bohemia nor Hungary were included in the *circles* of the empire, because they were independent kingdoms; but Maximilian neglected no opportunity of identifying the interests of his family with those of Germany, and in a diet

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held in 1506 he had declared "that he hoped some day to be able to add the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary to the empire, if he should receive aid, and if the Hungarians should be reduced to obedience." The internal organization of the Austrian *circle* was settled at a diet which met at Innsbruck in 1518. As early as 1501, Maximilian had founded a College of Government (*Hofraths Collegium*) at Vienna, which superintended the *circle* and helped him in the management of the affairs of the empire; this college ended by confining its attention to exclusively German matters, and, under the name of the Reichshofrath, came in the time of Ferdinand II. to be only second in importance in the constitution of the empire to the diet itself.

It is well known how Maximilian raised the power of the house of Austria enormously by the marriages which he brought about.[1] By his own marriage with Mary of Burgundy (1477), he prepared the way for Charles V.'s rule over Spain, the Indies, and Southern Italy; but this union had no direct influence on Austria properly so called. It was the marriages entered into with the family then reigning in Bohemia and Hungary which made the Austrian empire of our times. And he was only carrying out the ancient policy of his family when, in 1515, Maximilian arranged the marriages of his grandchildren, Ferdinand and Mary of Austria, with Louis and Anna, the children of Wladyslaw, king of Bohemia and Hungary. On this occasion, Wladyslaw and his brother, Sigismund of Poland, made a splendid visit to Vienna, when they renewed the old treaties of inheritance between Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary. The greed of Austria was helped more by fortune even than by policy; every event seemed to turn to its advantage, and among them the terrible defeat of Mohacs, which might have

[1] These celebrated lines have been often quoted:

"Bella gerant fortes: tu, felix Austria, nube:
Nam quae Mars aliis, dat tibi regna Venus."

They have been attributed to Mathias Corvinus, but we know not on what authority. We have been unable to discover who was the author.—Léger.

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proved so fatal to Christendom. Owing to its treaties and their results, Austria was to become one of the most important constituents in the balance of power in Europe, but unfortunately the part she played in European history from the sixteenth century onwards has made us too much forget the internal history of the nations involved in her destiny.

The most important event which occurred in the hereditary provinces in the reign of Maximilian, besides the invasions of the Venetians, Swiss, and Turks, was the peasant war which broke out in Carniola (1515), and soon spread to the neighbouring provinces. It took place at the same time as the insurrection of Dosza in Hungary, and like it was caused by famine and the exactions of a selfish nobility. The Slovene peasants of Carniola adopted as their motto, *Stara pravda* ("Our old rights"), and declared, like the Magyar Kurucs, that they took up arms against the nobles and not against the sovereign. The insurrection spread from Slovenic Carniola into the German portions of Styria and Carniola; and if we are to believe contemporary writers, the peasants set on foot an army of eighty thousand men, and spread terror all around, capturing castles and hanging some of the nobles. As in Hungary, the revolt was put down with the utmost cruelty.

Maximilian was always in want of money, and frequently summoned the diets of the hereditary provinces to beg for subsidies, which were more than once refused him. The provinces were poor, but he was still poorer. "The most wretched thing of all is our poverty!" he exclaimed, after his unsuccessful war against Venice. He was obliged at last to promise that he would undertake no war without the consent of the Estates. In his reign the several provinces began to discuss their common interests in general diets to which they sent delegates. Thus we find, at a diet held at Wiener-Neustadt in 1502, Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola all represented.

Maximilian died in 1519, and was buried in the town of Innsbruck, which had been his favourite place of residence.

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He was a great hunter, and liked the Tyrol because of its mountains and its chamois. Incidents which happened on some of the imperial hunts have become the subject of popular legends, and no Austrian sovereign since the time of Rudolf has been so much beloved by posterity. He himself helped this popularity by the two poems, "Theuerdank" and "Weiss König," which were inspired and perhaps partly written by him. He loved artists and learned men, and protected the *Sodalitas Danubiana*, a sort of academy which had been founded at Vienna by the humanist Conrad Celtes.

Though he had had two wives, Mary of Burgundy and Blanche of Milan, Maximilian had only one legitimate son, Philip the Handsome, who died in 1500; but his various concubines had presented him with fourteen natural children. Charles V. and Ferdinand I. were the two sons of Philip the Handsome. Between them they were to divide the empire of Europe and carry the name of Austria to the savannahs of the New World.

Ferdinand I. (1519–1564)—*The Reformation in Austria.*

Ferdinand I. (1519) was educated in Spain; his brother, Charles V., in the Low Countries. Both brothers were at a great distance from the hereditary provinces at the time of their grandfather Maximilian's death, and these provinces were governed for some time by lieutenants. Charles was elected emperor on the 1st of June, 1519, but it was not until 1521 that the division of the domains between the brothers was concluded, and it was agreed that Ferdinand should have Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, and the emperor Outer Austria, the Tyrol, Gorica, Friuli, and Trieste. But the states of Carinthia and Carniola objected to a division which altered their frontiers, and Charles eventually gave up the contested country to his brother, and ended by yielding to him all his German possessions. He kept, however, the title of duke of Austria, and Ferdinand took that of imperial lieutenant. It was not without distrust that the half-Spanish prince Ferdinand

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was received in the country, for he was a stranger, and the foreign advisers whom he had brought with him were extremely unpopular. His arrival was followed by disturbances in Vienna, and the heads of the two chief rebels, Eicinger and Pucheim, fell on the scaffold (1522).

On the 27th of May, 1521, at Linz, Ferdinand celebrated his marriage with the princess Anna, sister of Louis, king of Bohemia and Hungary, and at the same time Louis, who was then fifteen years of age, married Mary, the sister of Ferdinand. Thus the wise matrimonial plans of Maximilian were carried into execution. But this double marriage could not absolutely guarantee the possession of the two crowns of Bohemia and Hungary, as that depended on the consent of the Estates. And even when this had been obtained and they had accepted the rule of a foreign prince, it was the intention of both Bohemia and Hungary to remain quite distinct from the group of Austrian states, and to have nothing in common with them but the person of the sovereign. At his coronations at Prague and at Buda he had to swear to maintain the rights of the two kingdoms, and their history ought not to be mixed up with that of the hereditary states, but to be studied separately with all the minuteness it deserves.

At present it is our business to relate the history of the Austrian states from the accession of Ferdinand I. to the death of Charles VI., who by his Pragmatic Sanction was to take a decisive step towards uniting the various parts of the Austrian monarchy. The name of Ferdinand shines but dimly by the side of that of Charles V., and yet only a memory survives to-day of the empire of Charles, on which the sun never set, while Ferdinand's reign marks the rise of a state which even now plays an important part in the destinies of Europe. The Spanish branch of the house of Habsburg attained its highest point of power at the time of the treaty of Château-Cambresis in 1559, and by the treaty of Vervins its decline is shown to have begun as early as 1598. The Austrian branch, owing to its possession of the Hereditary States,

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Bohemia, Hungary, and the imperial crown, grew steadily in power, and to it was reserved, at the beginning of our century, the honour of upsetting the crowned revolutionist who believed he had restored the empire of Charles V.

Ferdinand became king of Bohemia and Hungary in the year 1526, and, notwithstanding the opposition of the Protestant party, he was elected king of the Romans in 1531. From this time the imperial crown remained with the house of Austria. The care of two kingdoms and an empire did not prevent the successor of the Habsburgs from attending to his own hereditary domains, and at the close of the war of Smalkalde he was able to annex the town of Constance, which had been put under the ban of the empire in consequence of its adherence to the league of Protestant princes, and to buy the counties of Bregenz and Thengen.

Notwithstanding his attachment to Catholicism, Ferdinand was not able to keep the Reformation out of his kingdom. As was the case in Germany, the preaching of the new Gospel was coincident with a formidable peasant war which took place in Salzburg, Styria, and Tyrol. At a meeting of the people which was held about this time at Meran a manifesto was drawn up which astonishes us even now by its courage. "In Tyrol," it says, "there shall in future be but one law, and that the law of the land; there shall be no Roman law, foreign and unintelligible to the people. The government sitting at Innsbruck shall be composed only of native officials"—the latter clause was especially aimed at the Spaniards whom Ferdinand had brought with him.—"There shall be no respect of persons before the courts of justice. Bishops, monasteries, and begging friars shall be suppressed. Priests shall not hold more than one living. The surplus of the revenues of the Church shall be divided among the poor. The estates of the clergy shall be secularized. The revenues of the monasteries shall be collected by agents of the king and employed for the needs of the land. The king may choose his financial agents, but all judges shall be chosen and dismissed by the people.

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Fishing and hunting shall be free to every one. The great trading companies shall be dissolved, that so the price of goods may be lowered. All custom-houses, except those belonging to the crown, shall be suppressed; all seigneurial dues and enforced labour shall also be suppressed, and uniformity of weight and coinage shall be decreed." The peasants took great pains to explain that they fought against the privileged classes, and not against their sovereign. Ferdinand was obliged to yield to most of their demands; he granted pardon to the insurgents, and ordered the execution of those clauses in the articles of Meran which did not affect Church property.

In other parts of the Hereditary Provinces the Reformation made rapid progress; as early as the year 1520 it found ardent disciples in Austria proper, and thirty years later it was not thought safe to hold the procession of Corpus Christi in Vienna. Two hundred parishes had no priest; two hundred and sixty-eight had become Protestant. The same progress was made in Styria, and in 1552 the procession of Corpus Christi was suppressed at Gratz. Among the Slovenes in Carniola one result of the Reformation was the emancipation of the national language, several theological works being printed at Tubingen in the Slav tongue, under the direction of Primus Truber, who also undertook the translation of the Bible. The new doctrines spread as far as Trieste and Gorica, while the Anabaptists almost succeeded in causing a fresh revolt among the peasants of the Tyrol. The diets on several occasions gave expression to the need for liberty of conscience which troubled the people; and even Ferdinand, who had begun by forbidding the reading of Luther's Bible, was obliged in the end to allow communion under both kinds.

To put down the Reformation was the special aim of the Society of Jesus; for that it had been founded, and it was not long before it made its way into Austrian land, the Jesuits settling themselves in Vienna in 1552, in the Tyrol in 1560, and in Styria in 1564. In 1547, Ferdinand established the censorship of the press in his dominions. During his reign,

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the famous Council of Trent (1545–1563) took place in Tyrol, and the title of Protector of the council was bestowed on him as its temporal defender. His lands were several times ravaged by the Turks, Vienna being besieged by them in 1529; and thirty years later, Carniola suffered greatly from them. In the midst of all these trials, Ferdinand had at any rate the consolation of seeing his son Maximilian chosen king of the Romans, and of having him crowned king of Bohemia and Hungary. The law of primogeniture had never yet been strictly carried out by the house of Austria, and Ferdinand divided the hereditary states among his three sons, Maximilian II. taking Austria; Ferdinand, Tyrol; and Charles, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. These collateral branches did not come to an end for a century, when they were united anew under Leopold I. in 1665.

The character of Ferdinand I. has been thought worthy of much praise; he had received a careful education, and was a thorough master of the Spanish, French, and German languages, and he cared for men of literature and science. He was no fanatic, though he was a sincere Catholic, and he might have proved a good ruler for Austria if it had stood by itself. But he understood nothing of the constitutions of Bohemia and Hungary, and, believing as he did in absolutism, proved but a very indifferent king for these countries. In Bohemia especially his memory is detested. From his reign dates the first institution common to the whole group of states, the High Council of War, but in truth, when Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria chose the same sovereign, it was less a union than a defensive alliance that they sought.

Maximilian II. (1564–1576).

Maximilian II. was a liberal and tolerant prince for the age in which he lived. Wolfgang Schiefer (Severus), who was a wise and enlightened man, had been his preceptor, and Schiefer was secretly attached to the doctrines of Protestantism. Ferdinand dismissed him from his office as soon as he discovered

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the feebleness of his orthodoxy; but Collatin, who replaced him, was also far from being a fervent Catholic, and it was in order to correct whatever harm might have been done by these two men, that Ferdinand sent his son to finish his education in Spain. He had even some thoughts of excluding him from the succession, and it was owing to his distrust of Maximilian that he eventually divided his dominions among Maximilian, Ferdinand, and Charles. The three princes were not equally tolerant in their several states.

Maximilian showed himself extremely liberal towards the Reformation. He corresponded himself with Melancthon, even kept a Lutheran preacher at his court, and more than once roused the suspicions of the court of Rome. At the time of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, he wrote, "It is with deep regret that I have learned that my son-in-law,[1] the king of France, has allowed himself to be dragged through this *shameful bath of blood.* I wish to God he had consulted me on the subject! He never would have acted thus with my consent. . . . Religious matters ought never to be settled by the sword. No good man, who fears God and loves peace, believes they can be so settled. . . . If Spain and France carry out their intentions, they will have to answer for it before God. As for me, I wish to live like a good man and a Christian, and so doing, I care little for this poor world." He refused, however, to send the Jesuits out of the country when the Austrian estates begged for their expulsion, and would not allow his nobles to celebrate the reformed rites on their estates, nor grant to the towns liberty of conscience. He had married his cousin Mary, the daughter of Charles V., and she, true to her Spanish blood, brought up their children with a horror of heresy. Two of his sons, Rudolf and Mathias, reigned after him. The elder, Rudolf, he had had crowned during his own lifetime; as king of Hungary in 1572, and as king of Bohemia in 1575. On the extinction of the Jagellon dynasty

[1] Charles IX. had married Elizabeth of Austria, Maximilian's second daughter.

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in 1572, some of the Polish nobles chose Maximilian to be their king, but the majority preferred Stephen Batory, of Transylvania.

Rudolf II. (1576–1611)—*The Counter-Reformation in the Austrian States.*

Rudolf II. imitated rather the narrow devotion of his mother than the tolerance of his father. In several respects he resembled Philip II., possessing the fierce fanaticism and the morose temper of that prince, but not his strength of will. He is celebrated for his love for the occult sciences and for his obstinate indolence. Prague, which owes to him much of its splendour, was his usual place of residence; he lived there shut up in his castle of Hradcany, surrounded by astronomers and astrologers. He sent for Kepler, who prepared for him the astronomical tables called the Rudolphine tables, and for Tycho Brahé, who united with his love of real knowledge a leaning towards alchemy and astrology. The dangerous fancies of the weak emperor ended by disturbing his reason, and his brothers decided to proclaim one of themselves, Mathias, as the head of the house. Mathias took up arms against Rudolf, and in 1608 obtained the title of governor of Austria, Moravia, and Hungary.

In the hereditary provinces the reign of Rudolf was signalized by a peasant war, caused by agrarian difficulties and an earnest desire among the people for liberty of conscience. During the whole of this period we find agrarian and religious troubles constantly coincident. Bishop Khlesl, who was the administrator of the two dioceses of Vienna and Wiener-Neustadt, worked hard to stop the progress of reform, and was assisted to the utmost of their power by the Jesuits. The fierce couplet addressed to the emperor in 1581 by one of the Jesuits has been often quoted:

> "Utere jure tuo, Cæsar, servosque Lutheri
> Ense, rota, ponto, funibus, igne neca."

The archduke Charles was no less in earnest for the restora-

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tion of Catholicism in Styria. He settled the Jesuits in Gratz, and in 1572 the religious processions, which had been suspended for twenty years, were resumed. The Lutheran nobles protested in vain, and the worship of Mary, which was so zealously taught by the Jesuits, became the rallying-point of the anti-reformers. A Catholic printing-press was set up at Gratz, and a university for Jesuit instruction, which has continued to the present time, was founded in 1586. The nobles were obliged, under pain of disgrace and even punishment (*schwerer Ungnad und Straf*), to send their children to this university, and no one was allowed to attend the heretical schools of Germany. But Charles was incessantly harassed by the complaints of citizens, peasants, and diets, and died in the end of weariness and vexation (1591). His work was worthily carried on by his successor Ferdinand (1591–1637), who afterwards became emperor and king of Bohemia and of Hungary. When on a pilgrimage to Loretto this prince had vowed to exterminate heresy, and he endeavoured to keep his word. He began by driving all the Protestant preachers from Gratz and other towns; he then took possession of their schools, burnt their books, and forced the members of the reformed Churches to sell their property and quit the country. The Capuchins were sent for to help the Jesuits to bring back the people to the right way, and liberty of conscience was stifled for long years to come. Later on, Ferdinand had an opportunity of applying in Bohemia, and on a far larger scale, the methods of conversion which he had first tried in Styria.

In Austria, when the archduke Mathias was made governor, he was obliged to listen to the demands of the estates, and to renew the arrangements made by Maximilian II., which granted liberty of conscience on all seigneurial estates, but not in the towns.

In Tyrol also the archduke Ferdinand—who must not be confounded with the emperor Ferdinand II.—laboured no less actively than his namesake for the restoration of Catholicism. This province owed to him a code of laws (*Landesordnung*)

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which remained in vigour for more than two centuries, a better system of coinage, and wise measures for the development of trade and industry. He founded the famous Ambras Museum in the castle of Ambras, near Innsbruck, which was afterwards carried to Vienna, and bears witness to the knightly and artistic tastes of this enlightened prince.

Mathias (1612–1619)—*Ferdinand II.* (1619–1637)—*Ferdinand III.* (1637–1657)—*Influence of the Jesuits.*

Rudolf never married, and he was succeeded in Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary by Mathias, whose activity formed a striking contrast with the indolence of his brother. His chief minister and confidant was Cardinal Khlesl, bishop of Vienna, who had carried on the counter-reformation in the Austrian dominions with so much vigour. The whole interest of the reign of Mathias is centred in Bohemia and Hungary, and the part he acted there enables us to measure the poverty of a character which never rose to the height of its ambition. It is far easier to covet power than to exercise it well. Mathias had no direct heir, and his first and principal care was to secure his inheritance to his family and to arrange the order of succession. To this end, he chose his cousin Ferdinand, of the Styrian line, as his heir, and obtained a deed of renunciation from his brothers Maximilian and Albert, and even from the king of Spain. Thus we see that even then the succession to two great kingdoms was nothing more to the Habsburgs than a family affair. It is true, however, that the Bohemian and Hungarian estates ratified this arrangement, and Ferdinand was crowned king of Hungary on the 8th of June, 1617, and king of Bohemia on the 16th of May of the following year.

The ease with which these transactions were accepted by the two kingdoms may seem astounding; but we must not forget that both Bohemia and Hungary were essentially aristocratic countries, and that their nobles would rather obey a foreigner than see one of their own number, even if he were a Mathias Corvinus or a Podiebrad, raised to the throne.

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Besides, they were constantly in dread of a Mussulman invasion, and instinctively felt it their interest to obtain the support of a house which was already powerful in itself, and could, at need, secure to its subjects the help of the whole of Germany. Unfortunately, the house of Austria adopted too completely the character of defender of Christendom, and identified itself entirely with Catholic intolerance. The reformed Churches, whatever their origin, whether they followed Hus, Luther, or Calvin, were all enemies as hateful to the Habsburgs as Turks, and much more easy to fight; and confounding as they did the spirit of independence with that of heresy, they stifled liberty, and made absolutism the sole basis of their policy.

Ferdinand II. (1619–1637), a fervent Catholic and a despotic ruler, was the first representative of those typical Austrian monarchs who ruled Austria, with the one single exception of Joseph II., from 1619 down to the middle of the present century. He had been educated at Ingoldstadt, under the care of the Jesuits and of his uncle, the pious William of Bavaria; he had more than once expressed a wish to become a Jesuit, and we have already seen how he carried the maxims of his teachers into practice in his government of Styria. He found a far larger field for his religious zeal in Bohemia and Hungary. In order to obtain the funds needed for his war against the Chekhs, Ferdinand pledged Upper Austria to Bavaria, and Herbersdorf, the Bavarian governor, had recourse to the most violent measures in order to restore that province to Catholicism. Those peasants who were attached to the reformed religion rose in arms. According to a song of the time, they wished to become their own masters, and to govern their country as the Swiss did. The hatter Fadinger, who was an old soldier, was their leader, and showed real military talent in the unequal struggle. He took the title of captain-in-chief of the Christian army, and was followed by seventy thousand men, whom he organized and furnished with artillery; but he was wounded at the siege of Linz, and died shortly afterwards (1627). His successor as leader of the insurgents was a

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knight named Wiellinger, who was defeated by General Pappenheim, one of the heroes of the Thirty Years' War. The peasant army was gradually broken up, and Wiellinger and the other chief leaders perished on the scaffold. Four weeks were granted to the rebels in which to become good Catholics; but, of course, many of the conversions were insincere, and in a latent form the spirit of the Reformation lingered on in most of the parishes.

Ferdinand's reign was a golden age for the Catholic Church. He founded sixteen colleges for the Jesuits, besides convents for the Barnabites, Capuchins, Camaldulensians, Augustines, and Benedictines, and he increased the estates of the clergy. He was outwardly a strict observer of the Christian virtues, and loved to practise towards the poor that charity full of ostentation which is so easily reconciled with cruelty towards heretics. His second son, Leopold William, was destined for the Church, and by the age of eleven already possessed two bishoprics and four abbeys.

Ferdinand had reunited all the hereditary provinces, but in 1623 he ceded Western Austria and Tyrol to his brother Leopold, who married the beautiful and intelligent Claudia de Medici. In 1665, this province returned to Leopold I., and, excepting during the wars with Napoleon, has never again been separated from Austria.

Ferdinand II. left the continuation of the Thirty Years' War as a legacy to his successor, Ferdinand III. (1637–1657). This war struck a rude blow at the prestige of the house of Austria in Germany. There is no need to relate here its varying incidents; we shall see further on how it affected Bohemia and Hungary. The famous pamphlet of Hippolytus a Lapide (Philip Chemnitz) on the position of the Holy Roman Empire appeared during this time. According to it, the sole means of saving the empire from certain ruin was the exclusion of Austria from Germany. It argued that Austria had always exercised a fatal influence, having grown powerful at the expense of the empire; she ought now to be separated from

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it, and so leave Germany to form a federation under the protection of France and Sweden, etc. The peace of Westphalia, while it secured liberty of conscience for Germany, contained no stipulations in favour of the subjects of Austria, except for those in Silesia. The rapid spread of the Reformation in this province, which had formerly been so hostile to the Hussites, was in later years to make its separation from Bohemia and assimilation with the Prussian monarchy much more easy. By the treaty of Münster Ferdinand was obliged to cede his Alsatian possessions to the king of France.

During the reign of Ferdinand III. the counter-reformation in the Hereditary States was continued with greater energy than ever. Upper Austria, however, showed remarkable tenacity in its attachment to the reformed doctrine, and withstood all the efforts of this sovereign. In 1645, when Vienna was threatened by the Swedes, the malcontents sent emissaries to them to concert a common course of action, and some noble families even sold their estates and emigrated in order to be able to keep the faith they had chosen. An insurrection among the peasants was severely repressed. And yet Ferdinand was neither cruel nor wanting in intelligence; Guistiniani, the Venetian ambassador, speaks of him in his correspondence as a king who was enlightened, gentle, and moderate in his views; he simply carried out the ideas of his time and the traditions of his family, and did this without exaggeration. During his lifetime he saw his eldest son, Ferdinand, elected king of Hungary and crowned king of Bohemia; the early death of this prince, however, left both these crowns to his brother, Leopold I., whose long reign occupied the whole of the latter half of the seventeenth century.

Leopold I. (1657–1705)—*Siege of Vienna—Sobieski* (1683).

At the time of Leopold's accession Austria was a much smaller state than it is in our own time. Galicia still belonged to Poland; the shores of Istria and Dalmatia, and the islands from Fiume to Cattaro, to the Venetian republic; Brixen and

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Trent were only attached to Tyrol by a very loose tie, and Tyrol itself belonged to the junior branch of the family. Scarcely the third of a divided Hungary obeyed the king, but, on the other hand, Bohemia still included the greater part of Silesia which is now Prussian, with the principalities of Breslau, Oppeln, and Ratibor. Leopold acquired Tyrol in 1665, when the last prince of the younger line died, and at the same time he inherited a million of florins, which was a large sum in those days. The victories of prince Eugène secured for him almost the whole of Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia, and Transylvania. The Austrian states, which at the accession of Leopold had contained only 6800 square miles, on his death contained 9100.

This prince, who added a third to the inheritance of his forefathers, was not, however, of a warlike temperament, and never commanded an army. He had been educated by the Jesuits Muller and Neidhard (Nitardi), and was to have been a priest. His father used to say that he would make an excellent bishop, and he exhibited on the throne the virtues and the faults of the profession to which he was to have belonged,—great purity of life, extreme timidity, and a spirit of inexorable intolerance. He had absolutely no decision of character, and followed the lead of councillors of the most opposite kinds. Among these advisers we find Auersperg, Zinzendorf, Schwarzenberg, Hocher, Montecuculli; his confessor, the Jesuit Muller, whom Puffendorf calls "a pedant of the schools who knew nothing of business;" the Capuchin Sinelli, the Jesuit Menegatti, and the Spanish Franciscan Spinola, who dreamed of a united Church which was to include Protestants and Catholics. The curious accounts of the Venetian ambassadors at the court of Leopold prove that the influence of these Churchmen far exceeded its due limits. Leopold was passionately attached to the Jesuits, and hoped, like Louis XIV., to make the Catholic faith triumphant in his country; but he lived in his castle at Vienna a solemn, monotonous, and melancholy life, which was very different

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from that of the Sun-king. Spanish etiquette weighed heavily on the Viennese court, which was almost as dull as that of the Escurial. Music, painting, literature, the study and practice of some of the mechanical arts, alchemy, and astrology were the pastimes of his sleepy life. More than once a placard was found on the gates of the palace on which was written, "*Leopolde, sis Caesar et non musicus, sis Caesar et non Jesuita.*" The sternness of the prince did not prevent his manner to the poor and to those whom he received in audience showing a certain paternal kindness and good-nature; but he punished all who ventured to attack his kingly power with merciless cruelty. "In Leopold," says Sayous, "were united and intensified all the faults of his ancestors, while he had none of their greatness; the haughty Austrian lip, which was a real deformity in him, made him look like a caricature of Charles V." His bust in the Ambras Collection in Vienna represents a face of repulsive ugliness which rouses strong feelings of dislike. Leopold founded two universities, one at Breslau, and another at Innsbruck. He reformed the courts of justice, replaced in them the use of the Latin language by German, and established a regular police in Vienna.

If we leave on one side the part played by Leopold in European affairs as emperor, his reign in Austria presents but one event of importance, the siege of Vienna by the Turks. In 1683, the grand vizier, Kara Mustapha, with the aid of the Hungarians, marched against Vienna. The emperor, with his family and court and the greater number of the nobles, immediately quitted the town and retired to Linz. Abandoned by the sovereign, with dismantled fortifications and a feeble garrison, it seemed impossible that the capital should hold out long; but duke Charles of Lorraine and count Stahrenberg put it into a state of defence, and the inhabitants displayed heroic courage, students, merchants, and citizens turning soldiers, and themselves burning the outskirts of the city lest they should be used as shelter by the enemy.

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The outer fortifications were soon in the possession of the Turks, who formed a magnificent camp before the town, and began a regular siege, attempting to take it by assault no less than eighteen times. Soon famine attacked the place. Happily the pope, Innocent XI., terrified at the danger to Christendom, had persuaded John Sobieski, king of Poland, to lend his aid to the emperor, and, thanks to the efforts of the Holy See, a formal alliance between the courts of Vienna and Cracow had been concluded. Leopold had undertaken to set on foot an army of sixty thousand men, and Sobieski forty thousand; and both parties were to help each other directly either of their two capitals was attacked. All Christian princes, amongst them even the czar of Russia, were to be invited to join this alliance. Sobieski was faithful to his engagements. The victor of Chocim (1673) had long been celebrated for his success and his heroic courage, and as soon as he heard of the peril of Vienna, he set out at once, and arrived there by forced marches on the 7th of September. There he met the armies of the duke of Lorraine, the emperor's brother-in-law, and the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, who had come to the help of the besieged city. The total number of the three armies was about eighty thousand men, and among their leaders we find the names of some of the heroes of Poland, the Czarniecki, Potocki, Zamojski, and the Leszczynski. On the 12th of September, they appeared on the heights of Kahlenberg. The battle that followed was terrible. The pachas of Aleppo and of Silistria perished in the fight. "God is against us," cried Selim Gherai, the khan of the Crimea. In the end, the Turkish camp was captured, and Kara Mustapha was forced to fly. The Turks lost twenty thousand men, while only four thousand Christians were left on the field of battle. Sobieski sent the golden stirrup of the grand vizier to the queen of Poland, and his standard to pope Innocent XI.

The next day the conqueror entered Vienna, and the populace, who had seen the departure of the emperor with indignation, received their deliverer with enthusiasm. On

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the 15th of September Leopold returned to the capital, and at once gave proofs of the utter meanness of his character. More jealous of the success of Sobieski than grateful for his help, he first tried to avoid an interview with him, and then, finding that impossible, set to work to contrive how best to humiliate his glorious rival. He lost time in trying to find out how an emperor ought to receive the elected king of the Polish republic. "With open arms," the duke of Lorraine had answered; but to Leopold the great question was whether Sobieski ought to stand on his right hand or his left. The interview at length took place in a field, and it was decided that the two sovereigns should stand face to face. After the exchange of a few commonplace sentences, Sobieski rode off, saying that, if it pleased the emperor, he would direct his generals to show him the Polish troops. In his letter to Maria Kazimira, his wife, Sobieski has described eloquently and bitterly the painful impression made upon him by the ingratitude of Austria. He writes: "The palatine of Red Russia displayed our army before the emperor, but our people have been much annoyed, and have loudly complained, because the emperor never deigned to thank them, not even by a bow, for all their trouble and privations. They give us neither forage nor provisions; our sick are lying on dunghills, and our many wounded cannot obtain a single boat to carry them down to Pressburg, where I could more easily provide for them at my own cost. They will not bury our dead in their cemeteries, not even the superior officers. . . . They steal our baggage; they carry off those of our horses which are in the rear. But for the oats which we found in the Turkish camp, all our horses must have perished. We should be less miserable if they would have the charity to build us a bridge across the Danube, and let us go to live in the land of our enemies. There we should find something to keep us alive. But these Viennese gentlemen put off everything till to-morrow, and now that they are saved, they give themselves up to those excesses for which God had righteously punished them. Many of our men, find-

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ing that they were dying of hunger in the country, hurried to the town to find food; but the commandant of Vienna had given orders that they should not be allowed to enter, and that they should be fired upon. After this great battle, in which we have lost so many members of our most illustrious families, we are treated like plague-stricken men, whom every one must avoid. There remains nothing for us now but to groan as we watch our army perish, not by the blows of our enemy, but from the faults of those who owe everything to us. So I shall march away to-day, perhaps to meet a greater famine than I leave; but I wish to get far away from the town of Vienna, where they fire on my men. We are here by the waters of the Danube, as the Israelites were in old times by the waters of the Euphrates. We weep for the loss of our horses, for the ingratitude of those whom we have saved, and for the many chances of victory which we have lost. Every one is out of heart, and we even go so far as to regret that we ever helped the emperor."[1]

After leaving Vienna, Sobieski pursued the Turks into Hungary, and captured Esztergom (Gran) from them, and in the month of December he returned to Cracow. It is difficult to understand why historians have named Leopold "the Great," when his character so little justifies the title.

Austria under Leopold I.—Army—Finances.

Before going on to the reign of Joseph I., it will be well to study the general organization of the Austrian provinces under Leopold, leaving on one side everything which concerns the empire and also the internal government of Bohemia and Hungary. At this time all political and judicial matters were settled by the Council of State or Secret Conference, matters

[1] Two centuries later, when the emperor Nicholas had saved the house of Austria from a revolted Hungary, he asked the poet Rzewuski, "Who was the most stupid king of Poland before me?" When the poet hesitated to answer, "Well," said the czar, "it was Sobieski, for only he and I have helped Austria."

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of finance and trade by the Court Chamber (*Hofkammer*), and questions of war by the Council of War; but the powers of these various councils were not defined with strict precision, and there were not as yet ministers entrusted with special departments. The Secret Conference never included more than twelve members, among whom the chief men were Auersperg, Lobkovice, Trautson, Montecuculli, Harrach, and Kinsky. This council assisted the emperor in all important matters. There was no minister of foreign affairs, and all negociations were carried on with a slowness which had become proverbial. "*Vienna vult expectari*," said a proverb which was widely spread in the diplomatic world. No one in the council could ever boast of having as much influence with the emperor as any one of his numerous confessors.

The High Council of War was founded in 1556. Under Leopold it was composed of twelve members, and had amongst its presidents the celebrated general Montecuculli, and Hermann, margrave of Baden. This institution did not, however, call forth good generals from among the native Austrians; Montecuculli came from Modena, De Souches from France, while the titles of Charles of Lorraine and Eugène of Savoy show their foreign origin. At the head of the army was a lieutenant-general, who was dependent on the Council of War. At the beginning of the reign of Leopold there was no standing army; Montecuculli was the first who proposed that one should be organized, and although the sovereign did not yield to his wishes, Montecuculli was able to induce him not to disband all the troops after a war, and to make some effort to retain the veterans in his service.

The army on an average was composed of thirty thousand men, not including the garrisons; in this number the Hungarian and Croatian troops are not included. From fifty to ninety thousand soldiers were employed in the wars against Turkey, but from twenty to thirty thousand of these were furnished by the German princes. From 1680, the continuance of war had for its immediate result the permanence

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of the army, and its formation into regular regiments.[1] The first infantry regiment was formed in 1680. By 1705, the date of Leopold's death, there were twenty regiments of cuirassiers, eleven of dragoons, and thirty-six of infantry, besides irregular troops. The infantry regiments contained from two thousand to two thousand five hundred men; the cavalry regiments, from five hundred to a thousand. Recruiting was carried on, as in France, by means of recruiting officers and sergeants, who induced men to become soldiers by offering them money and promising them booty. In case of extraordinary need the provincial diets voted special levies, and vagabonds and prisoners of war were forcibly enrolled. Old soldiers married and brought up their children to their own trade—sometimes three generations might be found fighting under the same flag—and the armies were always followed by an immense number of women and children.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century a small fleet was established on the Danube, commanded by an admiral and manned by sailors from Holland and the Baltic. The garrisons in time of peace were very small. Vienna itself had never more than two thousand soldiers. In Hungary, besides the national militia, the government maintained ten thousand men, but these men were badly fed and badly paid, and were often forced to pillage the enemy's territory in order to live. Pillage of this kind had become a custom, and the Turks themselves allowed that peace was not violated so long as the frontier was not crossed by as many as five hundred men at a time, and no artillery came with them. Wars were still organized extremely ill; supplies were never ready when they were needed, and all the expeditions against the Turks set out too late. Regiments were usually farmed by the colonels or other officers to their own profit; the treasury was a bad paymaster, and the soldiers' pay was often six months in arrears. This state of things produced insubordination, and that again

[1] Compare the growth of a standing army in England during the same period.

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provoked harsh measures of repression. A commission was appointed in 1698 to remedy these abuses; its deliberations were numerous, but had little result. There were also other evil influences at work on the army. The nomination of officers frequently depended on the king's confessor; there was no security for their obtaining technical instruction, and the government was obliged to have recourse for this purpose to Prussian, English, and French officers; there was no military college, and the care of the sick and wounded was almost entirely neglected. In 1696, a lottery was established as a means of founding a military hospital; and the lottery has remained ever since one of the financial institutions of Austria.

Much of this mismanagement was due to the bad state of the finances. The whole of the ordinary revenue from direct taxation was made up of the subsidies granted yearly by the diets, (in Hungary, every three or four years,) and these subsidies amounted almost always to the same sum, so that the income from this source never increased. Lower Austria paid on an average about two hundred thousand florins; Upper Austria, one hundred thousand; Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia, one million two hundred thousand. The only extraordinary subsidies that were ever granted were as voluntary gifts, as, for instance, on the occasion of a coronation, or as aid under exceptional circumstances. The income derived from indirect taxation, moreover, was often burdened with debts contracted towards the various provinces of the empire. The treasury was, however, clever at finding money. We find taxes on billiards, playing-cards, and hair-powder as early as 1676; later on, the State had a monopoly of tobacco and stamped papers; and, in 1691, a capitation tax was raised which excepted neither priests nor nobles. Then came the lottery under a philanthropic pretext. The whole revenue of Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary amounted to about twelve million florins by the end of Leopold's reign. The members of the *Hofkammer*, whose business it was to watch over the finances, were not always remarkable for their honesty, and

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Leopold's thoughtless generosity also helped to compromise the revenues of the State.

Administration—Legislation—Literature.

For purposes of administration the country was divided into several groups. Lower Austria, which included the Austrian lands on both sides of the Enns, Middle Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Gorica, and Istria; Upper Austria with Tyrol and Outer Austria, *i.e.* the Austrian possessions in South-Western Germany and Bohemia, which included Silesia and Moravia; while Hungary and Croatia were grouped together. There were three chief chanceries attached to the court—one for Bohemia, one for Hungary, and one for the Hereditary Provinces; but these central offices did not prevent the working of the autonomous institutions which belonged to each kingdom. Thus, while Hungary had its chancery at Vienna, the emperor was represented in the kingdom by the palatine, in Croatia by the ban; but great efforts were made to bring all financial and military matters to the capital for decision. Bohemia, which had been crushed in 1620, had nothing but its chancery at Vienna.

The Habsburgs loved absolute power, and the prestige of their imperial title made them easily forget the duties imposed on them by that of king, count, or archduke. Their rule, however, was based on representative government, each country having its diet where the delegates of nobles, priests, and cities assembled. But these delegates were not always consulted by the government either about civil or criminal legislation or on questions of trade. Their principal business was to levy taxes, and to administer the internal affairs of the province; authority over the inferior courts of justice, and the nomination of the officers of the provincial government were also left to them. Customs barriers between the various provinces seriously interfered with trade. Legislation descended to the most minute and absurd details. An order of police in 1671 divided laymen into five classes, and gave the most

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minute instructions as to what each class ought to wear and what it ought to eat. Another order in 1688 reduced the number of classes to three, and tailors and cooks were called upon to denounce all who were so unlucky as to infringe the rules. Interfering as the police was on certain points, on others it was exceedingly negligent. In those days Vienna, like all other cities, was ill-drained. The plague which broke out in it in the year 1679 was almost as terrible as the great epidemics of the Middle Ages, and the emperor Leopold fled before it, as he fled before the Turks a little later on. It caused the death of more than fifty thousand persons.

This government by a paternal despotism, together with the perpetual wars (which were usually undertaken for causes foreign to the interests of the several countries), the financial difficulties, and the great influence of the Jesuits, sufficiently explain why Austria made so little progress in arts and literature. The teaching of the Jesuits and of the Piaristes, who settled in the country at the close of 1656, was entirely confined to the lifeless formulas of the schoolmen, and the importation of books and of foreign ideas was strictly prohibited. The Latin which was used in teaching was detestable, and the German little better. The melancholy position of Bohemia and Hungary prevented any real progress in their national literature. No single centre of intellectual activity could at this time have borne any comparison with the little republic of Ragusa, which was then independent, and within which the Slav literature attained its highest degree of excellence.

Leopold meant, however, to encourage learning. He spent considerable sums of money on the royal library, sent for some portion of the museum of Ambras (*Ambraser Sammlung*) after the annexation of the Tyrol, and placed it in Vienna, and collected the scattered remains of the library of Mathias Corvinus. He had the catalogue of the manuscripts of the imperial library and the works on physics of Father Kirschner printed at his own expense, founded the two universities of Inns-

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bruck and Breslau, and began the collection of pictures which now forms the picture-gallery of Vienna. But, notwithstanding all his efforts, his reign produced not one single man of genius.

Joseph I. (1705–1711)—*Charles VI.* (1711–1740)—*The Pragmatic Sanction.*

The very short reign of Joseph I., from 1705 to 1711, was occupied by his wars with France for the Spanish succession and his struggle with Rakoczy of Transylvania. His tolerance towards the Reformed Church has been praised, and it is true that he forbade Catholic priests to attack Protestants in their sermons, and favoured the Jesuits far less than his predecessors had done. Indeed, if we are to believe the doubtful evidence of the emperor Joseph II., he had some thoughts of banishing them from the kingdom. He also did not shrink from a dispute with the pope, Clement XI., on the subject of the presentation to benefices, and the sovereign pontiff issued a bull against him, in which he reproached the emperor "for having forgotten the hereditary piety of the house of Austria." But Clement's action is largely explained by his hostility to the foreign policy of Austria and his devotion to the cause of France.

At the time of Joseph's death his brother Charles was in Spain, where for some years he had been unsuccessfully fighting against Philip of Anjou for the possession of that kingdom, without succeeding in gaining more than Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia. On leaving for Vienna, he appointed his wife, Elizabeth Christina of Brunswick, governor-general of the provinces of Aragon, Valencia, Sardinia, Majorca, Catalonia, Roussillon, and Cerdagne, and Stahremberg commander of the Austrian troops in the peninsula. The treaty of Rastadt in 1714 obliged the house of Austria to give up Spain, and gave to it in compensation the Spanish Netherlands, Naples, Milan, the *presidii* of Tuscany, and Sardinia. By the Barrier treaty of 1715 the Dutch reserved the right to place garrisons

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in the towns of Namur, Menin, Ypres, Tournai, etc. We shall take no notice of the history of these ephemeral possessions. They did nothing but weaken Austria, and it would have been far wiser to have striven continuously to enlarge the borders of the kingdom at the expense of the Turks.

Charles VI. succeeded peacefully to the empire and the two kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary (1711–1740). His brother Joseph I. had left two daughters, but the will of Leopold I. had excluded females from the throne, and, in default of male heirs, had declared that the younger should succeed to the elder brother. It had gone on to declare that in case of Charles VI. having no male heir, then the daughters of Joseph I., or of the elder branch, should take precedence of the daughters of the junior branch.[1] Charles VI. had but one daughter, Maria Theresa. Immediately after his accession, he began a series of negociations with the various members of his family and with the diets of his various Estates, with the object of reversing the order of succession as established by Leopold, and of securing the whole of the Austrian dominions for the young princess. These negociations were all directed towards obtaining the confirmation of the celebrated deed of settlement which is known under the name of the Pragmatic Sanction, and they occupied most of the reign of Charles VI. The following were the principal phases of the matter.

[1] GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG, FROM LEOPOLD I. TO MARIA THERESA.

Leopold I., died 1705.

- Maria Antonia, d. 1692, married Max Emanuel, elector of Bavaria.
- Joseph I., 1705–1711.
  - Maria Amelia, d. 1756.
  - Maria Joseph, d. 1757, married Augustus III. of Saxony, king of Poland.
- Charles VI., 1711–1740.
  - Leopold, d. 1716.
  - Maria Theresa, d. 1780.

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On the 13th of April, 1713, the emperor summoned the Secret Council at Vienna, and read to them a solemn declaration, which may be summed up in the three following articles:—

I. All the Austrian dominions form an indivisible whole.

II. Heirs male in the house of Austria succeed each other by virtue of the law of primogeniture.

III. In default of heirs male, daughters are to succeed in the following order: first those of Charles VI., then those of Joseph I., then those of Leopold I.

The council had nothing to do but accept the royal will without any discussion, but the emperor required further guarantees. First of all, he obtained from each of the princesses interested in the will of Leopold a renunciation of her rights, and then he proceeded to extract a ratification of the family compact from each of the different states over which he ruled, beginning with the more docile.

On the 21st of April, 1720, the Estates of Lower Austria were convoked in Vienna, and undertook to recognize the archduchess Maria Theresa as rightful heir if there should be no heirs male. On the 21st of September, the Estates of Silesia gave the same promise. The Bohemian nobles had entirely lost the habit of meeting in diets, but they were now summoned by Charles to meet in the castle of Prague, and were informed of what had taken place concerning the succession of the house of Austria from the time of Ferdinand I., and of the projects of the reigning sovereign for the good of all his dominions and the preservation of the Catholic faith. On the 16th of October, 1723, a deed was prepared containing the agreement of the Estates to the Pragmatic Sanction, of which two copies were made, one for the Bohemian chancery in Vienna, the other being deposited among the archives of the kingdom, where it still remains; and when all was completed, the emperor wrote to the diet to thank them for their compliance with his wishes.

It might have been expected that Hungary would find it

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more difficult to agree to the arrangement. On his coronation as king of Hungary, Charles VI. had been obliged to sign five articles, one of which insisted on the right of the Magyars to choose their own king if he himself should die without male heirs. Besides, Hungary had never felt cordially towards the Austrian dynasty. The dependent provinces were first asked to sign the Pragmatic Sanction—Croatia in March, 1721, and Transylvania in March, 1722; and then, in the month of June of this year, Charles went in person to open the Hungarian diet, which had already been prepared by cardinal Csaky to receive the king's proposal favourably, and there, thanks to the eloquence of the orator Szluha, he obtained its ratification by the Magyars. He next had it proclaimed at Milan and in the Low Countries. Nothing now remained to be done but to obtain the adhesion of the European powers. The Pragmatic Sanction was recognized by Prussia and Russia in 1726, in 1731 by England and the States-General of Holland, in 1732 by Germany, and in 1733 by Poland. France, Spain, and Sardinia did not give in their adhesion until after the treaty of Vienna in 1735. As prince Eugène said, "a well-filled treasury and a strong army would have been a better guarantee than all these parchments," for all the ratifications which had been obtained with so much difficulty did not prevent the powers from attacking Maria Theresa the moment she ascended the throne. The real interest of the Pragmatic Sanction lies in the more or less voluntary consent yielded to it by the various portions of the Austrian state, by some from an instinct of hereditary fidelity to the reigning dynasty, by others only because they were weary of continual struggles, and felt themselves unable to maintain their existence outside the Austrian state.

This agreement, which has long been looked upon abroad as nothing more than a bit of parchment with historical associations, still forms the basis of the common law of Austria, and is quoted in Parliamentary debates. For example, the Croats remember that they accepted the Pragmatic Sanction before

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Hungary, and argue from this their right to the self-government which Hungary would withhold from them.

The recognition of the Sanction was the most important success obtained by Charles VI. during his reign. By the treaty of Vienna (1735), which put an end to the war of the Polish succession, he lost part of his Italian possessions, the Two Sicilies, which he ceded to Don Carlos in exchange for Parma and Piacenza. But this could hardly be looked upon as a real loss of power to Austria. Far more serious was the disastrous treaty of Belgrade (1739), by which he was obliged to restore to the Porte almost all that Hungary had gained by the treaty of Pozarevac (Passarovitz). A short time before the treaty of Belgrade was signed, Charles had lost the great general of the Austrian forces, Eugène of Savoy, and he himself did not long survive, dying in 1740 at the age of fifty-six.

Charles is celebrated for his love of the fine arts, especially music. He invited to his court Scarlati, whose pupil he was, and Caldara, both well-known Italian musicians, and he adorned Vienna with fine buildings, founded academies of painting and sculpture, and enlarged the collection of medals. He was a great admirer of Italian literature, and he had Muratori for his historian and Metastasio for his poet laureate. He tried hard to develop commerce, and to that end had a large number of roads made, some of which bear his name to this day, while he also established at Vienna an Eastern Trading Company in 1719, a Levantine Company at Trieste, and an East India Company at Ostend, which latter, however, he soon sacrificed to the jealousy of the neighbouring states in order to obtain from them their recognition of the Pragmatic Sanction. Trieste and Rieka (Fiume) were declared free ports in his reign, the ports of Buccari (Bakar) and Porto Ré (Kraljevica) were improved, and a small fleet of war-ships was created on the Danube in order to protect the navigation of that river. We must not forget to mention the efforts of Charles VI. to improve the administration of justice. His clemency obtained for him

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the surname of Titus; but it did not extend to religious matters, for during his reign many of the Austrian Protestants were compelled to migrate into Germany and Transylvania.

We will now return to Bohemia and Hungary, and see by what series of events these two kingdoms were induced finally to accept the rule of the Austrian dynasty.

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CHAPTER XVII.

BOHEMIA UNDER THE FIRST AUSTRIAN KINGS (1526–1620).

Ferdinand I. (1526–1564)—*Growth of the Royal Power—The Monarchy becomes hereditary.*

THE elective throne of Bohemia had been left vacant by the death of Louis at the battle of Mohacs in 1526. Ferdinand of Austria immediately laid claim to it in virtue of the treaties concluded between Wladyslaw Jagiello and the emperor Maximilian; but the Estates of the realm refused altogether to recognize their validity, and insisted that none but a freely elected sovereign could ascend the throne. Ferdinand set to work to conciliate the chief nobles in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia by gifts and promises, and in consequence of his clever management was at last chosen by them in preference to his rivals, Sigismund of Poland and William and Louis of Bavaria, being unanimously elected by the four and twenty electors to whom the diet had entrusted the decision. He immediately confirmed all the privileges of the kingdom and the Compactata of king Sigismund, and signed a *revers*, in which he acknowledged that he owed his nomination to the free elections of the Estates; at the same time, he undertook to reside in Prague. A diet was held immediately after the accession of the new king, which defined some of his prerogatives. It authorized him to have his successor crowned in his own lifetime, provided he should be the legal heir to the kingdom; it recognized the exclusive right of the king to

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convoke diets and the assemblies of the *circles*, and it granted supplies for the war against John Szapolyai and his allies the Turks.

Ferdinand at first got on well with his new subjects, owing to his tolerance and his firmness. He endeavoured by all the means in his power to put an end to the quarrels between the various religious parties, and to lessen the power of the nobles, who during the troubles had become accustomed to the exercise of tyrannical authority on their estates. He entered into a solemn engagement to protect the Utraquists, and to secure to them rights equal to those of the Catholics; but this tolerance did not extend to the Bohemian Brothers, who still remained proscribed, nor to the followers of the new Lutheran doctrines, whom the Utraquists endeavoured to attach to their party. John Pasek of Vrt, the first consul or burgomaster of Prague, who was one of the most influential persons in Bohemia at this time, had acquired so much authority that he was able to persecute the Lutherans, drive them from the town, and even bring some of them to the stake. In the reign of Louis, John Pasek's authority in Prague had been almost boundless; but Ferdinand obliged him to be more tolerant. Pasek had formed the old and the new town into one single municipality; Ferdinand restored the old division, and ended by banishing Pasek, notwithstanding the services he had rendered him at the time of his election, and by this act restored peace and order to the capital. He took advantage of the position of affairs to reduce the privileges of the royal cities by forbidding all municipal assemblies unless held with the permission of the king; he restored regularity to the administration of justice, and put an end to the private wars which had so long wasted the country.

Ferdinand was a sincere Catholic, and entirely hostile to the Lutheran doctrines, but circumstances would not allow him to act with all the energy he would have wished. He forbade the use of the churches to the Protestants, but he could not prevent the spread of their doctrines and their form of worship

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on the estates of the barons and knights. In order to be able to fight the new heresy more successfully, he strove hard to bring about a union between the Utraquists and the Catholics, and to found an archbishopric common to both confessions (diet of 1537); but in this he failed. The Lutherans took advantage of the troubles Ferdinand met with in Hungary to make an attempt to form for themselves a permanent organization, but the king would make no concessions. Indeed, the war with the Turks, instead of weakening him in Bohemia, enabled him to obtain additional supplies of money over and above the annual subsidies.

With the tenacity of his race he never neglected a single opportunity of increasing the prerogatives of his crown or dynasty; as, for instance, in 1541, when a fire destroyed large portions of the town of Prague, and burnt part of the *Tabulæ regni Bohemiæ* (*desky zémské*), the national archives, in which the public and private charters were preserved, and the diet undertook to replace this important collection. The king then demanded that, in consideration of the rights of his wife Anna, the *revers* which he had signed on his accession should be considered as annulled, and that another should be substituted for it, in which it should be stated, not that he had been elected, but that he had been received as king. The Estates had the weakness to agree to this new formula. Already, in 1527, they had admitted his right to have his successor crowned during his lifetime, and this was to recognize the hereditary right of the Habsburgs to the crown. But the spirit of the people had been weakened by their religious quarrels, and each party thought only of gaining the favour of the sovereign by servile concessions, instead of keeping in sight the interests of the whole country. This compliant temper was not, however, without limits; the Estates were far from having entirely renounced their independence, and of this fact Ferdinand had some experience before long.

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Revolts and Persecutions of the Protestants—Destruction of the Municipal Franchises.

In 1546, Charles V. applied for help to his brother Ferdinand in his war against the Protestant league of Smalkalde. The king of Bohemia had no power to levy troops without the consent of the diet, and the Utraquist members of the diet were not inclined to furnish an army to fight against those whom they looked upon almost as co-religionists. In spite of this, the king insisted that the Estates should meet at Litomerice (Leitmeritz) on the 12th of January, 1547, and should bring their troops with them. Some of the members refused to answer the sovereign's summons; others declined to cross the frontier, as the kingdom was not in danger; and in the end only a small minority accompanied Ferdinand on his expedition against Saxony. The moment he had left the country, discontent broke out; and, in spite of the royal prohibition, the consuls of Prague summoned a meeting of the citizens and formed a league for the defence of the liberties of the land, the Utraquist barons and knights hastened to the city to join it, and some of the Bohemian Brothers became its leading orators and chiefs. Under their influence certain articles were drawn up for presentation to the king, which called upon him to renounce all those rights of which he had possessed himself in the last twenty years, which increased the power of the crown at the expense of the kingdom. According to these articles, the Utraquists were to organize their Church as they wished and to form unions in defence of their interests, and the diets of the kingdom and the *circles* were to meet whenever they considered it necessary. The king was to give up the concessions made to him in 1545 relative to the hereditary succession to the crown, and to agree to appoint no public officers except with the consent of the diet. As soon as these articles were decided upon, messengers were sent to Ferdinand to ask him to summon a diet in which they could be discussed, and at the same time the Estates of Silesia, Moravia, and

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Lusatia were invited to take similar resolutions. The elect of Saxony, who had been threatened by Charles V., entere into relations with the Estates assembled at Prague, and calle upon them to join him in his resistance to the king and th emperor. A victory gained by the elector encouraged th diet to set on foot an army which was to go to his assistance if his success continued, but the defeat at Muhlberg (1547) destroyed all their hopes. Ferdinand entered Bohemia at the head of the imperial forces, and the Estates had not the courage to resist him, laying down their arms all the more quickly in consequence of his promise of an amnesty to all those barons and knights who should give in their submission. Many of them hastened to Litomerice to pay their homage to their sovereign, and then marched with him against Prague. The terrified capital surrendered at discretion, and the other towns followed its example. The king revenged himself on the towns, confiscated their goods, and limited their powers of self-government by the appointment of royal judges and captains, while the estates of some few nobles were confiscated, and two knights and two citizens were put to death, their execution taking place on the same day as the assembly of the diet, which received the name of the Bloody Diet (*Krvavy snem*). The king declared that the towns deserved to lose their places in the diet for their conduct, but that, in his clemency, he would only restrict or suppress their privileges. From this time no communal meeting could be held except in the presence of a royal judge. Thus this attempted revolution, badly begun and badly carried out, resulted only in the increase of the power of the dynasty, enlarged the royal dominions, which had been much reduced in former reigns, and weakened the power of the diets, where the town representatives could only appear by royal favour, and, it might almost be said, controlled by royal officers.

These energetic measures enabled Ferdinand to leave Bohemia for Augsburg, where Charles V. had just convoked the imperial diet. He left the archduke Ferdinand, his second

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n, as regent. While at Augsburg, the German princes demanded that Bohemia should be made subject to the same harges as the rest of the empire; but Ferdinand knew how to defend the rights of his kingdom, and maintained his independence as regarded Germany. Soon after this he established a royal court of appeal at Prague for all his Bohemian possessions, suppressed the town courts of Prague and Litomerice, prohibited the further use of the German code of Magdeburg, and brought about the unification of the law throughout the whole of the kingdom of St. Vacslav. In the same year he renewed the persecutions of the Picards and the Bohemian Brothers, breaking up their communities, and forcing the Brothers to join either the Catholics or the Utraquists. Those who refused were banished, and more than eight hundred emigrated into Prussia and Poland, many of them going to Leszno, near Poznan (Posen), where, later on, the great Komensky[1] came to seek them. One of their elders, John Augusta, was thrown into prison, and remained there till the death of the king.

Ferdinand proposed fresh measures against the Lutherans at the diet of 1549, but he met with strong resistance from both Bohemia and Moravia, and the energy shown by the German Protestants obliged him to renounce them. The peace of Augsburg (1556), which secured the triumph of the Reformation in Germany, gave fresh courage to the Evangelicals of Bohemia. In order to resist them, Ferdinand threw himself more passionately than ever on the side of the Catholics, summoned the Jesuits to Prague (1556), founded an archbishopric for the Catholics, and entered into negociations with the Council of Trent for the admission of Utraquists into the Catholic Church. In 1564, he obtained the sanction of the pope, Pius IV., and the authorization of the Council of Trent for the use of the Cup throughout the kingdom of Bohemia, and in Prague the Jesuits and the archbishop himself might be seen administering the sacrament under both kinds.

[1] See *post*, p. 304.

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During his lifetime, on the 14th of February, 1549, Ferdinand succeeded in getting his eldest son, Maximilian, recognized as heir to the kingdom of Bohemia, and crowned in 1562.

Maximilian II. (1564–1576)—*Rudolf II.* (1576–1612)—*Wars with Mathias and the Utraquists.*

Maximilian II. was favourable to the Reformation, and ascended the throne with ideas of toleration, which he applied so far as the spirit of the time allowed. He granted the request of the Utraquists that they should be allowed to govern themselves not according to the Compactata, but according to "the Word of God." The Evangelicals, however, were not able to obtain the king's recognition of the Confession of Augsburg, and consequently joined with the Bohemian Brothers, who still existed though in secret, to elaborate a kind of confession of faith of their own; but this also failed to obtain the recognition of the sovereign, and the Lutheran Church was allowed to remain without clergy and without government. This led to a state of disorder and moral anarchy which wasted the energy of the best men of the time.

We shall not dwell on the wearisome quarrels which filled almost the whole of the reign of Maximilian. During his reign and that of his predecessor, as regarded foreign enemies, Bohemia was at peace; she had to furnish some levies against the Turks and Hungarians, but no enemy was seen on the native soil. But the Chekh nation was enervated by this long peace, spent in endless theological discussions and religious quarrels; it lost those warlike qualities which had been its glory in the previous century. The national literature, verbose and pedantic, was more remarkable for the quantity than the quality of its productions. A large number of foreigners, especially Germans, again settled in the capital; and the policy of the sovereign was always prompted by the interests of either Germany or his own dynasty, never by those of the kingdom.

Rudolf II. (1576–1612) had more taste for arts and science

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than for theology. Like Charles IV., he made Prague one of the most learned cities in Europe, and in his time Chekh literature made remarkable progress; the prose of Adam of Veleslavin[1] being still considered classical, though his matter lacks originality. The Bohemian Brothers published a translation of the Bible, which was for Bohemia what Luther's was for Germany. The number of foreigners in the kingdom continued to increase. Rudolf, who had been educated in Spain, never knew the national language, and he was always surrounded by Spaniards and Germans. Though a Catholic, his character was so indolent and dreamy that for a long time he remained either ignorant of the religious quarrels of his subjects, or quite indifferent to them. The Jesuits made great progress in Bohemia during his reign, and acquired considerable influence both in the schools and with the Catholic nobles, and in the end the Catholics obtained an overpowering influence over the enfeebled character of Rudolf. In 1602, he renewed the persecutions of the Bohemian Brothers, and the Utraquists found it impossible to defend them, as the Jesuits and fanatical Catholics had become complete masters of the kingdom. All the servants of government were obliged, under pain of dismissal and exile, to sign a confession of the Catholic faith; and we are even told of a certain lord, Borita of Martinice, who on his estates hunted his peasants to church with his dogs, and forced them to receive the sacrament. A provincial synod was about this time assembled by the archbishop of Prague, with the avowed purpose of restoring the whole of Bohemia to the Catholic union. Religious dissensions broke out worse than ever when the feeble Rudolf had to defend his power against his brother Mathias, who was impatient to rule over the whole of the Austrian dominions and had found allies in the Bohemian Brothers of Moravia, led by their chief, Charles of Zerotin. Zerotin is an important person in Moravian history. He was devoted to the Reformation, and had been a good deal associated with Henry IV. of

[1] See Morfill's *Slavonic Literature*, p. 234.

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France, to whom he lent money, and in whose army he served during the siege of Rouen in 1591. His correspondence, which is otherwise very remarkable, supplies us with some curious details concerning that prince.

Zerotin convoked the Estates of the kingdom at Caslav and entered Bohemia, but they remained true to their lawful king and flocked round him at Prague. The Utraquists took advantage of the position of affairs to ask that their religious grievances should be redressed, and to demand political reforms. Rudolf promised all they asked, and purchased peace with Mathias by the treaty of Libno (1608), by which he ceded Moravia to him.

At the diet held in 1609, the Evangelicals and the Bohemian Brothers renewed their demands, calling upon the emperor to recognize the Bohemian confession, to admit them into the consistory of the Utraquists, and to entrust to them the management of the university of Prague. The emperor refused these demands, whereupon they constituted themselves an independent diet in the town-hall of the new town of Prague, and formed an armed league for the protection of their religion. At the head of their troops they placed count Mathias of Thurn, a German gentleman who had shortly before come to settle in Bohemia, and they also appointed a committee of seventy-five directors, who were charged with the defence of their interests. The Estates of Silesia joined this league.

The emperor-king, alarmed, begged the elector of Saxony to act as mediator, and offered to allow the formation of a special consistory for the Bohemian Brothers. They refused his offer and drew up their demands under the form of a *letter of majesty*—that is to say, a fundamental and perpetual law—which Rudolf at last made up his mind to sign on the 9th of July, 1609. This celebrated document secured the recognition of the Bohemian confession, the admittance of the Evangelicals and Bohemian Brothers to the consistory and their right to govern the university. Besides, they were to choose a certain

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number of defenders of the faith from among the lords, knights, and citizens who were to maintain these privileges. At the same time, a treaty concluded between the Catholics and Utraquists decreed, as the treaty of Kutna Hora had formerly declared (1485), that for the future all religious parties were to tolerate one another. The whole matter was a definite recognition of the rights of liberty of conscience, so far as it was understood at the time, and was a kind of Edict of Nantes, which secured religious peace to Bohemia for the future.

Rudolf had signed the *letter of majesty* sorely against his will, and could think of it only with humiliation and with grief. He neglected no opportunity of revenging himself, and before long instigated the archduke Leopold, the younger brother of Ferdinand of Styria, and bishop of Passau and Strassburg, to attack Bohemia. Leopold collected an army on the frontiers under the pretext that he wished to conquer the duchies of Cleves and Juliers; this army, about twelve thousand strong, pushed on into Bohemia and captured Budejovice, Tabor, and Pisek, and reached Prague (1611). The diet was taken by surprise, but soon assembled an army which put the invaders to flight, When once free from their enemies, the Estates turned round upon Rudolf, whom they suspected, not without reason, of complicity with Leopold, besieged him in his royal castle, and forced him to abdicate. They then elected Mathias, who came up with an army of eight thousand men. Rudolf died the following year (1612).

Mathias (1612–1619)—*The Defenestration at Prague* (1618).

Unhappily, the Protestants and Utraquists did not know how to make a good use of the liberty which they had secured so much against the will of Rudolf. An agreement was entered into by the Evangelicals and the Brothers, according to which a new consistory was to be chosen and the higher dignitaries elected from among these two parties; but no serious steps were taken to increase the number of their clergy or to improve Church discipline, and the reformers continued to be

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divided into two rival camps by the dogmas of Luther and Calvin. They had taken possession of the university of Prague, but they found it far easier to destroy institutions than to restore them. No one was ready to make the sacrifices necessary to carry on the teaching with efficiency, and the old school of John Hus was never again able to recover the brilliant position it had formerly enjoyed. The Estates busied themselves less with the religious improvement of the nation than with the increase of its political liberty. At the coronation of Mathias they presented the following conditions to him. They claimed the right—1st, to hold diets even without the permission of the king; 2ndly, to summon the army whenever they judged it necessary; 3rdly, to maintain the union entered into with the Estates of Silesia in 1600 for the defence of the common religion; 4thly, to conclude similar treaties with neighbouring states; and, lastly, to renew the treaties formerly entered into by George of Podiebrad with the electors of Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palatinate, now become Protestant, in such sort that the diets should be able to apply for help to these princes in their conflicts with the king. Of these propositions Mathias only ratified the third, adjourning the discussion of the remainder, and meantime he endeavoured to disarm the leaders of opposition by honours and gifts. He was not successful, and the Protestants sought for allies among the Hungarians and Austrians, and among the Protestant princes and those states who were interested in the lessening of the power of the Austrian dynasty. The emperor-king tried to avert the threatened crisis by bringing forward a proposal for a war against the Turks, and invited the delegates of the various diets of the Austrian dominions to meet him at Linz in the August of 1614. Here they refused his request for men and money. He then convoked a general diet of the provinces belonging to the Bohemian crown at Prague on the same pretext. This assembly also remained deaf to the sovereign's proposals, and contented itself with taking vigorous measures for the maintenance of the Chekh language as the official

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language of the kingdom, while, in order to avert the danger to Slav nationality, threatened once more by German immigration, it also decided that in future no one should be admitted into Bohemia who could not speak Chekh.

Mathias, having no heir, proposed that the diet should recognize his cousin, Ferdinand of Styria, as his successor on the throne of Bohemia. He succeeded in having him crowned, but not without some resistance, as it was well known that Ferdinand was an enemy to the new forms of religion and a bigoted supporter of Catholicism.

An apparently slight incident which occurred about this time once more aroused the religious passions which were only slumbering. On the strength of the *letter of majesty* the Utraquists had built some churches on the abbey-lands of Brevnov and in the archbishopric of Prague. The *letter of majesty* had, however, only proclaimed tolerance within the royal cities,[1] and the abbot and archbishop consequently ordered the churches to be closed, and appealed to the king. After many discussions, the king decided that the church at Brevnov should be shut up by the abbot, and one which had been built in the German town of Klostergrab destroyed by the archbishop (1618). But as soon as this news reached the Defenders of the Faith they convoked the Protestant assembly, and that body proceeded to declare that the government had violated the *letter of majesty*, and sent messengers to Vienna, where the sovereign then was, to demand the restoration of the churches. Mathias refused, and ordered the assembly to dissolve. This excited their intense wrath, and, after some hesitation, they determined to break with the king and to proclaim their independence in some startling fashion. On leaving the country Mathias had appointed ten lieutenants to govern it, and it was resolved that these ten lieutenants should be hurled from the windows of the castle of Hradcany at Prague. Popular anger had already chosen this method of punishing its victims in earlier times and under other circumstances. The

[1] See, however, S. R. Gardiner, *History of England*, vol. iii. pp. 264–266.

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23rd of May was fixed for the revolt. The Protestant members of the council of the new town, notwithstanding all the efforts of the royal judge, remained in attendance on the deliberations of the assembly. The leaders of the conspirators were count Thurn, Schlick, and William of Lobkovice. They arrived armed at the castle, where they found four of the royal lieutenants, the grand burgrave, Adam of Sternberg, with his son-in-law, Jaroslav of Martinice, burgrave of Karlstein, the chief justice, William of Slavata, and the grand prior of the Knights of Malta, Diepold of Lobkovice; and with them was Fabricius, the secretary, an obscure personage whom this day was to make celebrated. The room, which is still shown in the castle of Prague, was small, and but a small number of the conspirators could get into it, but among them were Thurn, Schlick, William of Lobkovice, Ulric Kinsky, and Paul of Rican. They angrily questioned the lieutenants, and demanded whether they had not prompted the threatening letter which the assembly had received from Mathias. The lieutenants refused to reply. Thurn insisted, and declared that he would not quit the room until he had received an explanation. Schlick and Lobkovice violently addressed the lieutenants: "You dogs of Jesuits, you shall find out that you have not to deal with women!" All the conspirators were convinced that Martinice and Slavata were mainly responsible for the imperial letter, and, in spite of their protests, these men were declared enemies of their country and pronounced outside the law. The conspirators then thrust Sternberg and Diepold of Lobkovice out of the door, while the two other lieutenants were seized and flung down from the windows of the castle. Philip Fabricius, the secretary, who had hidden himself among those present, shared the same fate. By a strange chance the three men escaped the death that was meant for them. Although they fell from a height of more than forty yards, they were not hurt. The rubbish with which the ditch of the castle was filled had broken their fall. Slavata alone was slightly injured. They made their escape under a brisk fire from the guns, and

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hid themselves in the house of a friend. The Catholics did not fail to attribute their safety to a miracle. Fabricius hastened to Vienna to carry the news of the catastrophe, and there he was raised to the nobility as the reward of his fidelity, and received the appropriate title of Hohenfall (Lord of the High Fall). Martinice fled to Bavaria, and Slavata, later on, succeeded in reaching Saxony.

Bohemia in Revolt (1618)—*The Thirty Directors.*

The defenestration of Prague was the signal for a terrible war. The assembly, immediately after their act of rebellion, proceeded to form a provisional government, composed of thirty directors. They then assembled an army, which they placed under the supreme command of count Thurn, sent to ask the German princes for their alliance, and banished from the country the Jesuits, the archbishop, and the bishop of Brevno. Taken by surprise by the revolt, the emperor at first hesitated what step to take. His favourite, cardinal Khlesl, advised moderation; and Mathias was ready to listen to him, as he was weakly and dreaded the war which his heir, the impetuous Ferdinand, urged him to undertake. He first sent an envoy to Prague in the hope of treating with the rebels; but this proved of no use, and in the mean time the latter refused to allow the royal lieutenants to go out of their sight. It was not an easy matter for Mathias at this moment to collect an army against Bohemia. He was busied about the recognition of Ferdinand as his successor; the diet of Hungary was anything but docile, and both Upper Austria and Moravia would have nothing to do with raising troops against the Chekhs. Meanwhile the Bohemians did not wait to be attacked, but marched against the Catholic provinces who were faithful to the dynasty, and besieged the town of Budejovice (Budweiss). In order to force Mathias into action, his two brothers, Ferdinand and Maximilian, at last seized cardinal Khlesl by surprise and shut him up in the castle of Ambras in the Tyrol. Deprived of his constant adviser, Mathias now allowed Ferdi-

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hand to manage his affairs; and an army of ten thousand men, commanded by Henry of Dampierre, soon entered Bohemia. Thurn was obliged to raise the siege of Budejovice; but he repulsed Dampierre in two engagements, one at Caslav, the other at Lomnice, and obliged him to retreat into Austria. The imperial army was soon reinforced by some Spanish troops, led by the general, Charles Buquoi. But the Chekhs also were by no means without allies. The whole of Protestant Germany had been the enemy of Austria ever since the Schmalcaldic War, and the revolt of Bohemia was the signal for a European reaction against the excessive power of the house which held Europe and the Reformation in check; in order to obtain universal sympathy, the kingdom had only to declare its resolution never again to belong to the Habsburgs. Charles Emanuel of Savoy and the princes of the Evangelical Union furnished the Estates with an auxiliary force which was paid for out of a common fund and led by Ernest of Mansfeld. This general entered Bohemia and took possession of Plzen (Pilsen), which remained, as it had always done, true to the Catholic faith, and refused to recognize the authority of the Estates. Mansfeld also defeated Buquoi, and obliged him to shut himself up in Budejovice.

At the beginning of the winter, the elector of Saxony and Sigismund, king of Poland, tried to act as mediators between the emperor Mathias and Bohemia, and to this end a congress met at Cheb (Eger), but it did nothing. The plenipotentiaries of Bohemia insisted on the definite acceptance by Mathias of the four articles which had been in dispute ever since his accession, and before any decision was arrived at he died on the 20th of March, 1619.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

BOHEMIA CONQUERED (1619–1740).

Ferdinand II. (1619–1637).

FERDINAND showed more energy than his predecessor in the prosecution of the struggle. He began his reign by a letter addressed not to the Estates, but to the old royal lieutenants, in which he announced to them that he should respect the *letter of majesty* and those privileges which he had sworn to observe at the time of his coronation, and promised to restore peace and order to the kingdom. At the same time he offered to conclude a truce with his revolted subjects. But the diet refused his offers, and in the spring of 1619 Henry of Thurn entered Moravia. The greater part of the Estates of this province, Catholic as well as Protestant, had refused to join the Bohemian revolt. At their head was that Charles of Zerotin of whom we have already heard as leader of the Bohemian Brothers. He was both a lawyer and a soldier, and possessed great influence. He had more than once been the object of fanatical attack, and had suffered from cowardly persecution; but, in spite of this, he had set out for Prague immediately after the *defenestration* in order to persuade the revolutionists to follow the counsels of moderation and obedience, and although his brother-in-law, Albert of Wallenstein, and one of his sons-in-law were among their number, he remained faithful to the king. The arrival of Thurn in Moravia provided the malcontents of that province with a leader, and

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the Estates entered the confederation formed by Bohemia, Silesia, and Lusatia, and joined the three provinces in constituting a provisional government of twenty-four directors. Then Thurn marched to Vienna, where the Protestants rose and demanded the free exercise of their religion, but he was recalled to Bohemia by the defeat of Mansfeld by Buquoi.

Bohemia could not remain without a king. In those days no one thought it possible for a country to rule itself, and the patriotism of the nobles was not sufficiently intelligent to induce them to choose a king from among their countrymen. There were three candidates for the throne: the young elector-palatine, Frederick, who was chief of the German Evangelical Union; John George, elector of Saxony; and Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy. The general diet of all the Bohemian territories summoned to Prague by the directors, elected Frederick on the 26th of September, 1619; and the elector of Saxony, in his vexation, immediately became reconciled to Ferdinand, who had just been chosen emperor.

Frederick came to Prague, and, notwithstanding that he was a Protestant, was crowned in the city of St. Vit by the Utraquist administrator, for the Chekhs cared at least as much for their historical traditions as for their religious opinions. He undertook to recognize the four articles which had been disputed by Mathias, and which placed the sovereign completely under the control of the Estates. Almost all the Catholics were opposed to the election of Frederick, but his cause was materially assisted by the invasion of Hungary by Gabriel Bethlen, as Buquoi was obliged to leave Bohemia to march against the Transylvanian troops. Thurn pursued him as far as the Danube. At a diet held at Pozsony (Pressburg), a treaty was concluded between the Chekhs, Hungarians, and Transylvanians against the house of Austria, the contracting parties even sending an embassy to Constantinople to endeavour to arrive at an understanding with the Porte. In 1620, however, Bethlen made peace with Ferdinand, and the emperor employed the winter season in getting ready his army. Philip III., king of Spain, and the

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pope both sent him troops, as also did the elector of Bavaria, to whom he pledged Upper Austria, and the elector of Saxony, to whom he promised both Upper and Lower Lusatia. Sigismund of Poland also offered his help. The German Protestant princes, who were desirous of helping Bohemia, could do nothing, as they were paralyzed by the presence of the Spaniards, who at that time had possession of the Low Countries. Bohemia therefore found herself without allies, and, what was still worse, the palatine Frederic proved himself quite unfit for the position he held. He was a fanatical Calvinist, and favoured the sect of Bohemian Brothers to the detriment of the Lutherans, whose anger he excited; he changed the national cathedral of St. Vitus into a bare Protestant church, and he irritated his best generals, Thurn and Mansfeld, by the preference he showed for the foreign advisers whom he had brought with him. Almost the whole of his army was composed of mercenaries, and yet he was in constant need of money.

Battle of the White Mountain (1620)—*Political and Religious Reaction* (1620–1627).

In the spring of 1620 Frederick's army invaded Lower Austria, but obtained no decisive victory. In vain did Gabriel Bethlen renew his alliance with Bohemia; in vain did Mehemet Aga, the ambassador of the Sublime Porte, come to congratulate Frederick on the success he had obtained and promise him help. Ferdinand and his allies acted with an energy which destroyed every hope. Maximilian of Bavaria and Tilly entered Upper Austria, the elector of Saxony Lusatia, while the king of Poland's Cossacks made their way down to Lower Austria; and it was not long before Maximilian and Buquoi invaded Bohemia on the south with an army of fifty thousand men. Bohemia had only twenty-five thousand. Krumlov, Budejovice, Pisek, Strakonice, and Klatovy fell into the hands of the imperialists. The Bohemian troops were obliged to fall back, and entrenched themselves on the plateau of the White Mountain (Bilá-Hora, Weissenberg), to the west of Prague,

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where they awaited attack. Here they were completely defeated and put to flight by the two invading armies, notwithstanding the heroism of the Hungarian cavalry sent by Bethlen, and the courage of the Moravians, who fought to the last. Ten thousand corpses covered the field of battle, and the whole Chekh camp fell into the hands of the enemy. When the battle began, Frederick was quietly feasting in his palace; they brought him word that the battle had begun, but by the time he had reached the gate of Prague he was met by the ruins of his army rushing into the city (November 8, 1620).

But all hope was not yet lost. Prague might hold out; eight thousand Magyars, sent by Bethlen, had just reached the frontier; Moravia and Silesia were in arms; Mansfeld was still in possession of several strongly fortified towns, such as Plzen and Tabor; Lusatia alone had yielded, and was occupied by the Saxon troops. But Frederick, considering his position desperate, retired to Breslau, and the Estates, abandoned by the monarch whom they had chosen, opened the gates of the city and surrendered at discretion to the conqueror.

Ferdinand now entrusted Charles of Lichtenstein with the government of Bohemia, while Buquoi pushed on to Moravia to complete the submission of that province. The elector of Saxony soon brought Silesia under control, and Frederick, who had continued to exercise the last remains of his ephemeral power in Breslau, was obliged to leave that city; Mansfeld also was forced to quit Bohemia, after having resisted for some time in the western part of the kingdom.

As long as he was not quite sure of victory, Ferdinand had exercised a prudent reserve, and had allowed no one to know what were his intentions towards his revolted subjects; but the moment he felt himself complete master of the situation he set no bounds to his vengeance. He gave orders for the arrest of all the old offenders, the directors, and all those who, in whatever fashion, had taken part in the revolt. On the 20th of February, 1621, he threw into prison all who, trusting to the royal mercy, had remained in the capital, and this was the

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signal for his vengeance to begin. The Calvinist preachers and the Bohemian Brothers were banished from the kingdom, a special tribunal was set up in Prague, presided over by the prince of Lichtenstein, and after summary judgment pronounced the executions began.

On the 21st of June, 1621, before the town-hall of the Staremesto (Altstadt), seven and twenty of the principal leaders were put to death. Among them were Andrew Schlick, Vacslav of Budova, Harant of Polzice, and Jensenius, the rector of Prague university, who had been condemned to be quartered, but whose tongue only was cut out as an act of mercy. Some had their heads cut off, some were hanged; all died heroically, confessing their faith. Their heads were exposed on a tower on the bridge at Prague.[1] This 21st of June was to Bohemia what, later on, the bloody day of Eperjes was for Hungary. On the day following were published the punishments decreed against those who had not been condemned to death and the torture; these were flogging, banishment, imprisonment. One of the accused, graciously reprieved, was only nailed by the tongue to a beam till he died of his wounds. The goods of all these men were confiscated to the king, his generals or favourites, Spaniards, Italians, Walloons, and Germans. It was at this time that a crowd of foreign families settled in Bohemia, whose descendants may still be found in Austria or Bohemia—Colloredos, Piccolomini, Wallis, Gallas, Millesimos, Lichtensteins, Goltz, Trautmansdorfs, Villanis, Defours, Buquois, Maradas, Huertas, and Vasquez. It was small wonder that these intruders, enriched by the royal munificence at the expense of the Chekh nation, showed little solicitude for the rights of the people in the diets. The German historian, Struve, has remarked with justice that, of all the nobles in the world, those of the empire of Austria have the least right to

[1] The following quatrain was made on this execution:—

"Septem viginti procerum de gente bohema
Colla truci gladio demetit una dies.
Si cervix foret una tibi, gens czechica, credam
Uno momento demetet una dies."

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be proud of their origin; and this is especially the case in Bohemia.

Some portion of the confiscated property was consecrated to pious foundations in the archbishopric of Prague, and in favour of the Jesuits, for whom the emperor had a special liking. Father Carafa, one of their body, was entrusted with the organization of the movement against the Reformation in Bohemia. He has himself characterized the system he adopted in this frank avowal: "It is now agreed that there is only one means of enlightening the Bohemians and of bringing them back into the right way, and that is persecution." The members of the consistory of the Utraquist Church were all banished. Every single person in the kingdom, except the Catholics, had taken part in the revolt, so that terror reigned over the whole land. On the 3rd of February, 1622, Ferdinand proposed to put an end to this state of things by a mandate which was called a general pardon, and which enables us to take the measure of his mercy. This document says that all those who had taken any part in the revolt had deserved to lose both goods and life, but that the emperor, if they would agree to confess their fault, would deign to grant to them their lives, and would only confiscate their goods. This mock amnesty was accepted by seven hundred and twenty-three lords and knights, who found themselves, in consequence of it, either half or wholly ruined.

But Ferdinand's great aim was the restoration of the Catholic faith throughout the kingdom. To this end the university of Prague was taken out of the hands of the Utraquists and placed in those of the Jesuits, who now took possession of the teaching throughout almost the whole land. The elector of Saxony tried in vain to interfere in favour of his co-religionists, the Lutherans. In 1624, the Bohemian Brothers were banished from the kingdom by an imperial decree, which also ordained the restoration of Catholicism, placing all the churches in the hands of Catholic priests, many of whom had to be brought in from foreign lands,

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especially Poland. No possible means of reducing the people to spiritual obedience were neglected: those who did not profess the Catholic religion could exercise no civil rights and were not even allowed to practise a trade; those who were refractory were denied even the rites of marriage and burial; those who neglected the observances of festivals, who did not fast, or who did not attend Mass were punished by fines. At the same time, the peasants were persecuted by the new lords who owed their estates to the bounty of the king, and who were glad to prove their gratitude by their zeal. And even these measures were not enough. In Prague, it was found necessary to banish the greater number of the influential citizens, and, in the other royal towns, to place men in the houses of suspected persons to see that they obeyed the law. But the indomitable spirit of the Chekhs rose in direct ratio with the persecutions, and we see, at Lysa, the inhabitants burning their town and emigrating in a body rather than yield. In the circles of Kourim and Hradec the peasants took up arms and burned the castles; troops had to be sent against them, and order was established by means of executions and torture. The detailed account of the horrible cruelties then committed in the name of religion is one of the most terrible pictures in the history of religion, and we can well understand that a people that has gone through such an ordeal can never forget it.

A reaction in politics followed on that in religion. Immediately after his victory, Ferdinand sent for the original of the royal charters of Rudolf and the *letter of majesty;* these he had cut to pieces and thrown into the fire. He was determined that now that he had Bohemia in his power, the country should be reduced once for all into servitude. On the 15th of March, 1627, he published a new constitution for the country, which began by proclaiming the right of the house of Habsburg to the hereditary possession of the Bohemian throne in either the male or female line. To the three estates represented in the diets up to this time (lords, knights, and citizens) the sovereign

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now added a fourth, the clergy, which was to take rank above the other three, and was to include the archbishop of Prague, the primate of the kingdom, and all ecclesiastics who held royal benefices. The diets were deprived of all legislative power, which was reserved solely for the king. They were still to have the right of consent to the various taxes, but were to exact no conditions in return from the sovereign. They were to deliberate on no matters except those submitted to them by the king. The supreme tribunal was deprived of all legislative power, and was to comply with the decisions of the executive; trials were to be held in secret, and German was to be the language used equally with Chekh in the law courts and in all public acts (*tabulae regni*). A few weeks after the publication of this decree, a new order crowned the work of religious unity. It granted six months' respite, in which all who had not already accepted the State religion were to become converted.

The emperor came himself to Prague to watch over the execution of his orders, to hold a diet according to the new constitution, and to have his son, Ferdinand III., crowned. A certain number of conversions took place, many of which were not sincere, the pretended Catholics continuing to practise the religion dear to their consciences in the secrecy of their own fireside or in the shade of the forests. But a great number of Chekhs left their country and sought liberty of conscience in Protestant lands. It is believed that no less than thirty-six thousand families emigrated and founded colonies at Dresden, Pirna, and Meissen in Saxony, and at Leszno in Poland.

Among these emigrants were some who played a considerable part in the national literature; as, for instance, the historians Habernfeld and Paul Skala of Zhor; Paul Stransky, the author of the "Respublica Bohema;" the theologian George Holyk, who published "The Bloody Tears of Bohemia" at Wittenberg; and the famous engraver Hollar, whose works are still much sought after.

Moravia was treated with no less harshness than Bohemia. Dietrichstein, who was appointed commissary-general of the

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province, began by recalling the Jesuits; the leaders of the revolt were thrown into prison, and their possessions confiscated. It is believed that the gain of the Crown from these confiscations was no less than five millions of florins. No person not being a Catholic was allowed to hold landed property. Considering the size of Moravia, emigrations from that province were as numerous as from Bohemia. Among these voluntary exiles we ought to mention the celebrated teacher, John Amos Komensky (Comenius), who took refuge first in Poland, then in Transylvania, and finally in Holland, where he died (1670). His works, the "Orbis Pictus," "Janua Linguarum Reserata," and "Didactica Magna," exercised considerable influence on education, and are still looked upon as classics. His countryman and protector, Charles of Zerotin, was not more fortunate; he had also to leave Moravia, and took refuge in Silesia. Chekh literature was looked upon as stained by heresy, and was mercilessly persecuted, Chekh books and manuscripts being sought for even in private houses and burned by zealous Catholics. It was Bohemia that gave the signal for that Thirty Years' War which was to secure liberty of conscience for the rest of Europe, but to Bohemia itself it brought nothing but ruin.

The Thirty Years' War—Wallenstein—The Swedes in Bohemia (1634–1648).

EXHAUSTED as she was by the harsh measures of Ferdinand II., Bohemia was still called upon to furnish soldiers for the armies of Wallenstein. This celebrated soldier of fortune was born in the north of the kingdom, of parents who belonged to the community of the Bohemian Brothers, but he had been early left an orphan, and, educated by Jesuits, became a Catholic whilst still a boy. His brother-in-law, Charles of Zerotin, recommended him to the emperor Mathias, and his first military experience was in the wars against the Turks and against Venice. During the rebellion he remained faithful to the emperor, took part in the battle of the White Mountain,

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and also had a share in the defeat of Gabriel Bethlen. No one profited more than he did by the ruin of Bohemia. In payment of certain debts which he had contracted in the service of the emperor, he received the principality of Friedland, which contained no less than nine towns and fifty-seven villages. To these he added a large number of confiscated estates, which he was able to buy cheaply; and out of these new possessions he made, with the emperor's sanction, what might almost be described as a petty sovereignty, with the rights even of administering justice and coining money.

When the king of Denmark came to the help of the Protestants in Germany (1626–1629), Wallenstein offered to raise and maintain an army at his own expense for the service of the emperor. He collected thirty thousand mercenaries, with whom he invaded Germany, ravaging the whole district through which he passed. In return for these services he obtained from the emperor, first the duchy of Sagan (Zahan) in Silesia, and next that of Mecklenburg, with the title of General of the Baltic. Wallenstein inspired the Germans of the seventeenth century with the same terror that they had felt for Zizka and Procopius in the fifteenth, and even the emperor's allies were terrified by his success and asked Ferdinand to recall him. He returned to Prague, where he built a magnificent palace for himself. At Jicin he entertained a court as brilliant as that of a king, being waited on by sixty pages, and going about with a body-guard. Men of family even quitted the service of the emperor to enter his. When the cause of Protestantism was taken up by the king of Sweden, it was soon found that Germany had no general able to cope with so formidable an adversary, and the emperor was obliged to send for Wallenstein, who only consented to take up arms on the distinct understanding that he was to have the supreme command, both military and political. Already the Saxons, who were the allies of Gustavus Adolphus, had entered Bohemia (1631) and reached Prague. A large number of Bohemian emigrants had returned with them, and

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these men drove the Jesuits out of the country, and prepared to pay the last honours to the Protestant martyrs, whose heads still remained exposed on the tower of the bridge of Prague; when they had done this, they meant to summon a synod of the former representatives of the Evangelical Churches. But Wallenstein, who had assembled his army at Znoimo (Znaïm) in Moravia, now in his turn entered Bohemia, drove out the Saxons, and pursued the Swedes through Bavaria and Saxony, till Gustavus Adolphus fell on the field of Lützen, on the 16th of November, 1632. Then Wallenstein returned to pass the winter in Bohemia. Even while fighting the emperor's enemies he had never ceased to negociate with them, and betrayed a boundless ambition which aimed at territorial sovereignty in Germany, and perhaps at the crown of Bohemia. The suspicions and fears of the court were at last excited. He tried to clear himself, and retired to Cheb (Eger), where he was assassinated on the 25th of February, 1634.

It is difficult to know how far he was guilty, or who gave the order for his assassination. What is certain is that Ferdinand, while he ordered three thousand masses to be said for the repose of his soul, divided the greater part of his estates among the men who had taken part in the plot against him—Gordon, Butler, Gallas, Colloredo, and the Piccolomini. Wallenstein, whose tragic end forms the subject of one of Schiller's plays, has left behind him a name which inspires astonishment and contempt, rather than admiration; his countrymen curse his memory.

In the year of Wallenstein's death the Swedes were able to reach the very walls of Prague (1634); but they did not succeed in entering the city, and were soon obliged to leave Bohemia. The elector of Saxony, Frederick, finally made peace with the emperor, obtaining from him the province of Lusatia, which he held as a fief of the crown of Bohemia; that is, in case of the extinction of the electoral family, the province was to revert to the crown of St. Vacslav. It has remained ever since a part of Saxony, and but few remains of

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the old Slav population are now to be found in it; even in the sixteenth century they had already become very largely Germanized.

In the reign of Ferdinand III. (1637–1657) the Swedes returned to Bohemia under the leadership of Banner. This general called himself the avenger of oppressed Protestantism and treated the Catholics without mercy. He bombarded Prague, without however succeeding in capturing it, and took, burned, and pillaged by turns the towns of Nimburk, Podiebrady, Hradec, and Caslav. The country was left to its fate by the emperor, and suffered terribly from those who, twenty years earlier, had been its allies, and who now remained for a whole year in the land as its conquerors. The enemy carried off everything that could be carried off, and sent their booty on boats down the Vltava (Moldau) and the Elbe; remains of their spoils are still to be found in Sweden. In 1640, the imperial army returned, and with great difficulty forced Banner to retire; but his successor, Torstenson, soon brought the Swedish forces back into Bohemian territory, seized Silesia and part of Moravia, and ravaged the northern parts of the kingdom. He was recalled by the war which broke out between the emperor and Denmark, and pursued by Gallas with the imperial army; but Gallas was defeated, and returned to Bohemia with only two thousand men. After this, Ferdinand himself came to reside in Prague, in order to organize the defence in person.

In the years 1645 and 1646, the kingdom was again invaded, and the imperial forces were crushed by Torstenson in 1647, near the village of Jankov in the circle of Tabor. Wrangel, who succeeded Torstenson, obtained possession of Cheb (Eger) and marched into Upper Austria. In 1648, the Swedish general Königsmarck got into Prague itself by stratagem, but was obliged to retreat before the desperate resistance of the inhabitants. The city had to undergo yet another siege, but the treaty of Westphalia (1648) saved it.

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Decay of Bohemia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

No country suffered so cruelly as Bohemia from the Thirty Years' War. That war left its towns and villages destroyed or half ruined; its people famished and wretched; its trade gone; its land uncultivated. The kingdom, which before the war had contained three millions of inhabitants—without including Lusatia, Moravia, and Silesia—was now reduced to seven or eight hundred thousand.

Deprived of its independence by the new constitution, and left to the mercy of a rapacious aristocracy who were almost all foreigners, it seemed as if the land had received its death-blow. The sovereign resided entirely in Vienna, and the executive power was exercised by high civil and judicial functionaries, who formed a sort of council of regency; but all legislative power was in the hands of the king alone. The high chancellor lived in Vienna; and the chancery of the kingdom of St. Vacslav sank into the position of an executive department subordinate to the royal council. The chief dignitaries of the land were the president of the Court of Appeal and the chancellor. The other functionaries had merely honorary titles, with offices which were only filled on the occasion of a coronation. The finances were in the hands of the Royal Chamber in Vienna, and the army was taken completely out of the hands of the Estates and became part of the imperial forces; it is true the royal cities retained their civic guard, but they were not a military body. The country was still divided into circles, each of which was governed by two captains, one chosen from among the lords, the other from among the knights. The towns had their burgomasters and their consuls, but they were under the strict surveillance of the captains and royal judges, and the peasants were serfs who were under the rule of the lords. This was the only one of all their ancient privileges which the nobles had been able to keep, and it must not be forgotten that most of the estates were now in the hands of

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foreign adventurers, hostile to the Chekhs and devoted to the sovereign whose creatures they were, and servitude under these mercenaries was far harsher than it had ever been under the native aristocracy.

We have seen by what means the country had been restored to religious unity; but some followers of the old sects were to be found long afterwards, and down to the very end of the eighteenth century the proscribed rites were secretly celebrated in rural districts.

"I remember," says the refugee Holyk, "that once, when I was about seven years old, I went with my parents to a vast and gloomy forest. I remember sitting in a cart under the trees, which were covered with snow. Soon some hundreds of the faithful joined us, and began to build themselves huts of branches. Not far off a bell was hung between two trees; that was rung for divine service, and I still remember, as one remembers a dream, hearing the preacher preach and seeing the Communion administered to the crowd. . . . Watchful sentinels were stationed at a corner of the wood, and then we sang joyfully to the praise of the Lord. The Communion took place after the sermon round the stump of a tree rudely squared. Ah! how sweet and sublime sounded those holy hymns in the depths of the forest!"

Two bishoprics, those of Litomerice and Hradec, were added to that of Prague, that the maintenance of the Catholic faith might be well watched over; but the most active agents in Catholic restoration were the religious orders, and, among them, more especially the Jesuits. Bohemia became one of the provinces most under the influence of this celebrated order. As missionaries and teachers they possessed themselves of all the pulpits and of public education, and they made bitter war against heretical books and dogmas at the same time that they encouraged superstition and pilgrimages. It was at this date that the legend of St. John Nepomucenus, the pretended martyr in the cause of auricular confession, was invented; it was intended to supplant the worship of Master

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John Hus, saint and martyr, in the minds of the new converts. Other orders of monks, the Theatins, the Trinitarians, and the Piaristes, settled in Bohemia at the beginning of the second half of the seventeenth century, and no less than one hundred and seventy-nine new convents were built. At last the court of Vienna took alarm at the rapid growth of the Jesuits, and, in order to lessen their influence, obliged them to surrender to the court the control of the two faculties of Law and Medicine.

The nationality of the Chekhs suffered seriously from all these trials. The old inhabitants forsook many of the large landed properties, and the new lords peopled them with German colonists. These brought with them their language, which has since remained the dominant tongue in the frontier lands to the north and west. The real German invasion of Bohemia may be considered to have begun at this time: Germans then occupied, and have kept down to our own times, almost a third of the whole kingdom, and their language, favoured by the Government, became more and more that of the upper classes, while the national literature was neglected. The greater part of the works of old Bohemian literature was destroyed during this period, either by the Jesuit missionaries or the Swedes—by the former out of hatred of heresy, by the latter out of love of pillage. But the new Catholic literature which they tried to substitute had neither the vigour nor the originality of the old writings. It was, however, tolerably extensive, and proves the vitality of the national tongue, which flourishes more than ever now in spite of all it has gone through. The religious works published at this time serve to fill up the gap between the brilliant Hussite times and the literary renaissance, which was delayed till the end of the eighteenth century.

During this intermediate period, the history of Bohemia presents but few points of interest; she has no noisy diets at Pozsony (Pressburg), no revolts among Transylvanians, like Hungary. We need only mention one or two events. In 1680, an agrarian revolt broke out in the circle of Caslav. The peasants took up arms, and sent delegates to Prague to complain

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to the government of the tyranny of their lords. They declared that they were treated more harshly than if they were ruled by Turks or Tartars, and begged for some alleviation to their misery. The delegates were thrown into prison, and two regiments were sent against the revolted peasants. Upon this the insurrection broke out worse than ever in the circles of Litomerice and Plzen, and it was only put down with great difficulty and at the cost of some concessions, which, however, were more apparent than real. In the war of the Spanish succession, Joseph I., as king of Bohemia, concluded a treaty with the German princes by which he undertook to contribute for Bohemia to the common expenses of the empire; and in return the princes guaranteed the integrity of his kingdom. The crown of Bohemia, however, remained independent of the empire. This treaty may be called the prologue to the one which, later on, included Bohemia within the Germanic Confederation. It was concluded without any reference to the opinion of the diet of the kingdom. Charles VI. paid more attention to the Estates when he wished to secure the crown for his daughter, and laid the Pragmatic Sanction before them for their approval. It was adopted on the 16th of October, 1720. He also appointed a permanent committee of the diet in Bohemia, whose business it was to administer those current affairs which fell within the competency of that assembly.

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CHAPTER XIX.

THE DISMEMBERMENT OF HUNGARY (1526–1629).

Ferdinand I. and Szapolyai (1526–1540)—*The Turks in Hungary* (1529–1562).

THE defeat at Mohacs left a clear field for Austrian ambition in Hungary as well as in Bohemia. Many of the patriots, with Verböczy at their head, believed that the right course was to choose a national king, and, meeting in a diet at Tokaj, within the estates of Verböczy, they proclaimed John Szapolyai under the title of John I. The Szapolyais had already played a prominent part in Hungarian history. It was Stephen Szapolyai who captured Vienna in 1485, and who was afterwards the lieutenant of Mathias Corvinus in Austria. His court at Trenczin on the Vah had rivalled that of the king in luxury, and in 1512 his daughter Barbara had married Sigismund, king of Poland. His son John was voïévode of Transylvania, and had rendered signal services to the Magyar nobles in suppressing the peasant rising of the Kurucz. In concert with Verböczy and the archbishop Bakracz, he had practically governed the country as regent during the reign of Louis. It has even been asserted that from that time forward he aimed at the throne, and that he had not hastened to the help of Louis because he wished for his defeat, knowing that that would open the way to the object of his desires. However that may be, he was crowned in the month of November by the bishop of Nitra in Szekes Fejervar (1526). In the

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mean time another diet had been summoned to meet at Pozsony (Pressburg) under the influence of Batory, the bitter enemy of Szapolyai, and by it Ferdinand of Austria was proclaimed king. Hungary therefore had two kings, but Ferdinand had the advantage of having been crowned with the crown of St. Stephen, for which the Magyar patriots have always felt a superstitious reverence.

Szapolyai took every possible means to obtain his recognition by the European powers. The king of France, Francis I., who was represented in Hungary by the able Rosconi, as the enemy of the house of Austria was the natural ally of the national king of Hungary; and the Bavarian princes were equally inclined to sympathize with him, out of dread of the growing power of Ferdinand, who had just had himself crowned at Prague. Cardinal Wolsey also received the ambassador of Szapolyai most graciously. But these expressions of sympathy were not supported by any real help, and the troops of Ferdinand soon defeated those of Szapolyai and obliged him to flee to Poland. A diet then met at Buda and declared him and Verböczy enemies of their country. Szapolyai turned for help to the side on which it might have seemed that Hungary could least hope for it; he sent his envoy Laszka to the sultan Soliman at Constantinople. It is true that Francis I. had set the example of such alliances, which were so little to the credit of Christian princes; but France had never been sullied by an Ottoman invasion.

Soliman promised to come to the help of Hungary, if the claimant to the throne would acknowledge his suzerainty. He deigned, according to his own expression, "to grant to Szapolyai a kingdom which belonged to the victor of Mohacs by all the rights of war and the sword." At the same time Francis I. signed a treaty granting to the king of Hungary an annual subsidy of twenty thousand crowns, in return for an assurance that Szapolyai, if he died without a male child, should be succeeded by the young duke of Orleans. During these negociations the monk Martinuzzi, who belonged to the Croat

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family of the Utiesenovic, and was prior of the famous Polish sanctuary of Czenstochowa, traversed the whole of Hungary, endeavouring in all possible ways to arouse the enmity of the people against Austria, and to gain adherents for Szapolyai.

In the spring of 1529 Soliman entered Hungary, not this time as a conqueror, but as its suzerain. Szapolyai met him not far from Mohacs, and kissed the hand which had inflicted such terrible disasters on his country. He allowed the Turks to carry off the holy crown, the palladium of Hungarian independence, and agreed that Turkish garrisons should be placed in Buda and Gran. But the troops whom Soliman brought to the help of Hungary ravaged the country almost as badly as if it had belonged to an enemy and not to a vassal. "The Magyars," says an Hungarian historian, "hardly knew which to hate the most, the Austrians who came to attack them, or the Turks who came to defend them." Soliman besieged Vienna unsuccessfully, and in 1531 a truce was concluded between the two kings of Hungary. An Italian named Gritti, who had helped to secure the dangerous guardianship of Soliman for Szapolyai, laid claim to considerable power in the government of the country, and made himself detested by his insolence, his intrigues, and his cruelty. His unpopularity was reflected upon Szapolyai, who, however, believed himself unable to get on without this dangerous supporter. At last the adventurer was assassinated by the Hungarians, and a treaty between the two kings put an end to a long period of disorder. By this treaty of Varad (1538) Ferdinand and Charles V. recognized Szapolyai as king of Hungary; but on his death Ferdinand was to succeed, even in case Szapolyai should have a male child.

He did have one, for shortly after the conclusion of the treaty he married Isabel, the daughter of Sigismund and queen Bona Sforza, and by her had a son, who was named John Sigismund. Szapolyai died a few months after the child's birth, in 1566. When he had disinherited his son from the Hungarian crown he had stipulated that the house of Austria

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should provide him with a principality. Perhaps he hoped that the Magyars would violate the treaty he had concluded. He appointed Martinuzzi Utiesenovic, better known to his contemporaries by the name of Brother George, and Valentine Török head of the army, as guardians to his child, and Verböczy continued to exert with the young queen dowager the influence due to his ability and legislative skill. These men found that the only way to make Hungary independent of Austria was by an alliance with the Turks; and Verböczy decided on again asking the help of Soliman. Such an opportunity for interfering in the affairs of Hungary was not to be neglected by the Turkish sovereign; he recognized the son of Szapolyai as king and marched to his aid. Ferdinand, who had found himself obliged to conquer his kingdom, had laid siege to Buda, which was completely invested and on the point of surrendering when Soliman arrived. The Austrians, taken between two fires, were completely defeated, and their general, Roggendorf, died of his wounds.

But the grand signior was determined to be well paid for his assistance. He sent for the little king of Hungary, loaded him with caresses, and bade his sons love him as if he were their own brother. But meantime his troops took possession of Buda, and Soliman declared, as soon as he was master of the place, that he meant to occupy it, as John Sigismund was not yet old enough to be able to defend it. He then assigned him Transylvania as his place of residence, naming him voïévode of the province. It was in vain that the daughter of the king of Poland, the widow of John Szapolyai, protested against this humiliation; she was obliged to submit, the young prince took up his abode in the castle of Lippa, the monk Martinuzzi going with him into banishment. "From this time," says Sayous, "there were three Hungaries: Western Hungary, ruled over by Ferdinand; Central Hungary, occupied by the Turks, and governed by a pacha at Buda; and Eastern Hungary, which was formed by the semi-independent principality of Transylvania."

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The principal church in Buda was changed into a mosque, and Verböczy had the humiliating honour of being appointed supreme judge of the Christians in Buda, the subjects of the grand signior. He died soon afterwards.

Martinuzzi—The Turkish rule.

Soliman's success was not only an act of defiance towards Austria, but towards the peace and security of the whole Christian world. Fully conscious of this, the German princes offered their help to Ferdinand, and magnates of the highest rank placed themselves at his service. Martinuzzi, who was always hard at work endeavouring to keep the balance between Germany and the Turks, between the interests of Hungary and his own personal ambition, renewed the treaty of Varad (1541), adding to it as one of its conditions that Ferdinand should drive out the Turks. This was not, however, of much use. A German expedition which was sent against them failed, and it was in vain that the Magyar diet implored further help from the German diet. Germany was at this time divided by the struggles of the Catholics and Protestants, and had no time to attend to the troubles of Hungary. Soliman proceeded to take possession of Esztergom (Gran) and Szekes Fejervar (Stuhl Weissenburg). The greater number of the Hungarians, finding themselves treated with comparative gentleness by their Mussulman conquerors, grew accustomed to their rule, and Martinuzzi, "that evil-minded and unlucky monk," as Ferdinand called him, once more entered into alliance with Soliman. In the midst of all these disorders, Martinuzzi was the real master of the country. His policy of maintaining a balance of power between the three sovereigns, Ferdinand, Szapolyai, and Soliman, is probably to be ascribed to his Italian training. At one time he offered to give up Transylvania to Ferdinand, and so drew down on this unhappy country a Turkish invasion; then he turned against Austria; and finally he persuaded the queen-dowager to renounce the crown in Ferdinand's favour, and to lay down the royal insignia

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at the diet of Kolosvar (Klausenburg). But the Austrian king could have but little confidence in a personage who knew how to play so many parts at once. He sent the condottiero Castaldo into Transylvania to keep watch over him, and with Castaldo went some Italians who were not too scrupulous, and who could be counted on in any dangerous enterprise. In the midst of all his intrigues, Martinuzzi had managed to become a cardinal of the Church of Rome; but the purple could not protect him against the dagger of these assassins, who surprised him in the castle of Alvinz and murdered him, striking, it is said, sixty-six blows. So ended this strange man, who has been compared, not without reason, to Wallenstein. Rome aimed its thunderbolts against the murderers who had put an end to the life of a prince of the Church; but Ferdinand, who made no secret of his part in the "quick despatch of Brother George," was able to obtain absolution for the murder from pope Julius III. (1551).

The death of Martinuzzi did not deliver Hungary from the scourge of war. Temesvar fell into the hands of the Turks, in spite of heroic efforts, and Eger (Erlau) defended itself in vain with no less heroism. When the besieged city was summoned to surrender, four pikes were fixed on the ramparts, and on them was placed a bier hung with black, and this was the sole answer to the summons. Four times the Turks assaulted the brave city, whose women rivalled the men in courage; more than eight thousand perished beneath its walls (1552).

In the midst of all these misfortunes, Isabella Szapolyai, hopeless of reconquering the whole of Hungary for her son, determined at least to secure for him Transylvania. To this end she sought the help of Henry II., king of France, and of the sultan, both of whom were interested in holding the house of Austria in check. Henry II., invoking the traditions of the kings of France, "always ready to lend help and comfort to the afflicted," showed himself in his despatches very ready to aid the young prince, and in the year 1557 Christopher Batory was sent to Paris, and received from Henry the promise of

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the hand of one of his daughters for John Sigismund. Isabella, however, died in 1559, before she had succeeded in making her son's position secure.

Meantime the situation of Hungary properly so called was utterly deplorable. Ferdinand left all posts, such as that of the palatine, which ought to have been entrusted to natives, vacant, while he placed the government in the hands of Germans, and gave all military commands to foreigners. In 1562, he was obliged to conclude a treaty with the Turks which recognized their right to all their conquests and promised them an annual present, which was really tribute in disguise. He had, however, the satisfaction of seeing his son Maximilian crowned king of Hungary at Pozsony in 1563.

Maximilian (1564–1576) continued his father's policy. The only event of his time which may be mentioned with pride is the siege of Sziget, whose heroic defence has immortalized the name of Zrinyi. The peace signed by Soliman and Ferdinand had not been of long duration, and in 1566 Soliman had attacked the town of Sziget, situated to the west of Mohacs, to the north of the Drave. The Croat Zrinyi or Zrinski, who had formerly been the ban of Croatia, commanded the little town, which was surrounded by the waters of the Almas as by a lake. But the garrison only numbered two thousand five hundred men. After the outskirts had been destroyed by fire, Zrinyi took refuge in the castle. The Turks tried to force him to surrender, now by terror, threatening to murder his son George, who was their prisoner; now by the most tempting promises. During the siege, Soliman died in a fit of passion, but his vizir, Sokoli, hid his death from the besiegers. Gradually the castle fell into ruins under the fire of the artillery. Then Zrinyi clothed himself in his most magnificent garments and put gold into his pockets, "so that they should find something on his corpse," and, at the head of the soldiers who were left to him, dashed into the midst of the Turks. He soon found the death he sought for. That of Soliman was only made known to the troops when the town

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was in their hands. Sziget, whose tragic fate has been the theme of both Slav and Magyar poetry, remained in the hands of the Turks down to 1689, and Maximilian also allowed them to get possession of the town of Gyula, and concluded two treaties with the new sultan, Selim, which once more recognized the dismemberment of Hungary (1568).

The districts of Hungary which were under Ottoman rule became almost as wretched as the Servian or Bulgarian provinces. The orders of the pachas often began with these words: "In the name of the Emperor, the All-powerful! know that if you disobey, the stake is ready and the faggots await you." The towns which were occupied by the Turks were covered with ruins; the young Hungarians were carried off by the Janissaries and forced to enter the armies of the grand signior; the taxes were heavy, sometimes heavier than could be borne, and they were levied hap-hazard. For administrative purposes the country was divided into twenty-five *sandjaks*, which were afterwards formed into four *eyalets*, those of Buda, Eger, Kanisza, and Temesvar. The autonomy of the *comitats* was, however, respected, and in some matters, especially as regarded religion, they enjoyed more liberty than did the Austrian parts of the kingdom.

Maximilian recognized not only the authority of the Turks, but also that of John Sigismund Szapolyai in Transylvania. John Sigismund renounced the title of king and contented himself with that of Most Serene Prince. He died in 1571, and with him the dynasty of the Szapolyais came to an end. The Transylvanian diet elected Stephen Batory to be his successor. He managed to steer his way cleverly between Vienna and Constantinople, and was at last summoned to fill a still higher position. Poland had formerly given kings to Hungary; in Batory Transylvania gave to Poland one of her most celebrated rulers (1575). The departure of the French king, Henry of Valois, had left the throne of Poland vacant. Maximilian II. and Batory both became candidates for it, but Batory was elected, and the Poles consider his

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reign as one of the most glorious in their history. He took some Hungarians with him to his new kingdom, who improved the army and especially the artillery. Maximilian did not long survive his disappointment about Poland. He had taken care to have his son Rudolf crowned at Pozsony during his lifetime (1572). We have already elsewhere praised the tolerant and liberal spirit of Maximilian, but he was never popular in the kingdom which he proved himself so incapable of defending, and the Magyars never forgave his want of knowledge of their language. A conspiracy was at one time formed to dethrone him; it failed, but its authors were only condemned to banishment. Compared with his immediate successor, Maximilian was certainly one of the best of the sovereigns who reigned over mutilated Hungary.

The Reformation in Hungary—Rudolf (1576–1612).

The condition of Austrian Hungary during this period was scarcely better than that of Turkish Hungary. The whole country was in a state of continual warfare, and, the national militia being insufficient, the Austrian prince covered the whole land with foreign troops, Germans, Italians, and Spaniards, who were often as oppressive as any Turks. Each *comitat* was responsible for raising soldiers for the national defence, and we have seen how these native troops, the Honveds, distinguished themselves at the sieges of Eger and Sziget.

The most prominent event of the time is the spread of the Reformation among the Magyars. Notwithstanding the political antagonism which existed between Hungary and Bohemia, at several periods Hussitism had penetrated into the land of St. Stephen, and had prepared men's minds for new doctrines. The causes which predisposed the Catholics to the Reformation were the same here as elsewhere. The ignorance of the clergy was gross, and though the Hungarians, whose minds were less original and less cultivated than those of the Bohemians and Germans, had not sufficient energy to produce a reformation of themselves, they were sufficiently yielding and

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docile to accept it as soon as it reached the frontiers of their kingdom. Besides, the German colonies of Transylvania formed a sort of half-way ground between Germany and Hungary; and here we find the diet, as early as the beginning of Louis's reign, a year before the battle of Mohacs (1525), at the instance of the terrified clergy, condemning all heretics to be burned. The partition of Hungary could not fail to favour the spread of the new doctrines. The various masters who divided the land amongst them could not secure that unity of action which renders persecution successful in its struggle against heresy. Pastor Honter in Transylvania had early helped on the work by schools and books, while in Hungary itself, Devay, who had known Luther at Wittenburg, was the first reformer. He translated the Epistles of St. Paul into Magyar. Some of the nobles accepted the new doctrines, and from the year 1548 the diets ceased to pass persecuting laws. The Evangelical Church organized itself on the basis of the Augsburg confession, without keeping strictly to it on all points. But it was Calvinism which mostly took root in the centre of Hungary along the valley of the Tisza (Theiss). A proverb says, "*Calvinista hit, Magyar hit*"—"The Calvinistic faith is the true Magyar faith;" for the Lutheran doctrines came from Germany, and, therefore, were suspected by patriots. The new sect established itself at Debreczen, and its chief was pastor Juhasz, who, according to a fashion of the time, changed his name for the pseudo-Greek Melius (or shepherd). He translated the Scriptures from the Greek and Hebrew, composed hymns, and corresponded with Theodore Beza. In 1567, the Synod of Debreczen drew up the creed of the Magyar Calvinistic Church in seventy-four articles. John Hus had restored Chekh prose; Luther, German prose; and the Hungarian reformers, Devay, Erdösi (Johannes Sylvester Pannonicus), Gaspar Heltai, and Karoly, rendered the same service to their country. Protestantism became a new power in Hungary, ready to confront the Catholic and Ultramontane dynasty.

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Rudolf II. (1576–1612) did nothing to increase the popularity of the house of Austria. At the beginning of his reign (1582) the diet brought forward some of the grievances of the country. They demanded that he should pledge himself to maintain their rights, and expressed a wish that the relations with Turkey should be regulated by native ambassadors, and not by Germans or Italians, who were strangers to the interests of Hungary; and Rudolf was so much annoyed by this that he left the country and never set foot in it again.

For four years Rudolf never once summoned the diet, and all this time the office of palatine remained vacant. The friend of occult arts and sciences, and steeped in the doctrines of absolutism, he had no love for that uncivilized Hungary which he found so independent, and never appealed to it except for money. One of the Venetian ambassadors has thus recorded his impression of the condition of the kingdom: "The Hungarians detest the house of Austria: they consider that they are not only subject to her, but that they are also despised by her, as she governs them by means of the Germans, who are her natural enemies." The wars with the Turks continued, and, in order to keep back the Mussulmans, the emperor granted certain lands between the Unna and the Kulpa to Servian colonists, on condition that they should defend the frontier. These lands were lying waste—contemporaries call them *desertum primum*, *desertum secundum* —they were thus repeopled by men who were both agriculturists and warriors, and this is the origin of the organization of the "military frontiers," which was retained down to the year 1881.[1]

In 1577, the fortress of Karlovac (Karlstadt) was constructed to defend Croatia from Mussulman invasions. In 1592, Hassan, the pacha of Bosnia, was defeated under the walls of Sisek, and, in 1595, the town of Esztergom (Gran) was captured by the combined troops of the empire and Hungary. But these successes were unfortunately balanced by the loss of Eger.

[1] See *Les Serbes de Hongroie*, by M. Picot.

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This town had been impregnable when defended by native soldiers, but now that it was garrisoned for the most part by Walloon mercenaries, it capitulated. A few days after its fall, a terrible battle took place at Mezö Kereztes in Transylvania, between the army of Mahomet III. and that of the archduke Maximilian, assisted by the troops of Sigismund Batory. Raab (Györ) was retaken by Adolphus of Schwarzenberg in 1597. When the house of Austria had summoned Walloons and Spaniards to its aid, the Turks had brought Tartars, and the Magyar nation suffered equally from friends and foes. The last event of any importance in this war was the check received by the imperial army before Kanisza in 1601; the archduke Ferdinand lost all his artillery under the walls of this town, and a large number of his troops were taken prisoner and beheaded. But the thirst for conquest among the Turks had gradually diminished, and in 1601 they themselves proposed peace. The treaty of Sitvatorok shows clearly how weary they were of fighting. They demand from the Christians neither humiliating concessions nor any annual tribute; they only stipulate that they shall keep the lands they have conquered, and from this time onward they turn all their attention to the side of Transylvania.

The Transylvanian Princes—Gabriel Bethlen (1613–1629).

It was in this Eastern Hungary with its three languages (Magyar, German, and Wallachian) that the destinies of the fatherland and the great Magyar Orszag (country) were to be decided. From 1571 to 1575, the principality was ably governed by Stephen Batory, but he prepared the way for serious religious troubles by the introduction of the Jesuits. His successors were Christopher Batory (1575–1581) and Sigismund Batory (1581–1599). The latter, a feeble prince who was entirely under the influence of the Jesuits, the fast friends of the emperor, consented to cede Transylvania to Rudolf, in exchange for the principalities of Oppol (Oppeln) and of Ratibor in Silesia

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(1597). He afterwards revoked this decision on the persuasion of his uncle, cardinal Andrew Batory, and had in consequence to defend himself against both the imperial army and that of Michael, voïévode of Wallachia, who hoped to obtain a grant of the principality from the Turks. Tired of war, Sigismund at last abdicated and retired to Prague, where he died in 1613. Transylvania was then invaded by the imperialists, and was for a time really governed by general Basta, whose rule is still remembered by the people as one of terrible oppression, and the Protestants, whom the Mussulmans had left in peace, were systematically persecuted. The exactions of the Austrians were such as to make men even desire the return of the Turks. Such tyranny was sure to excite a terrible reaction. The Transylvanians rose in revolt together with the Magyars of Upper Hungary, who were exasperated by the brutality of Belgiojoso, the imperial lieutenant. All these foreign adventurers treated the kingdom like a conquered land, and made the Austrian dynasty detested. The Transylvanians chose for their leader Stephen Bocskai, one of the great nobles, who was full of daring and an able soldier, and he was seconded by the youth Gabriel Bethlen. The imperialists were defeated before Kasso (Kaschau), and that town opened its gates to Bocskai. At the diet of Szerencs, Bocskai was proclaimed prince or voïévode of Transylvania. The new voïévode ruled the land from 1604 to 1606, and showed himself as able as a diplomatist as he was skilful as a general. He entered into negociations with the Turks, and secured the alliance of the sultan, Achmet II., who even offered to recognize him as king of the whole of Hungary. Bocskai had sufficient prudence to decline this honour, and in 1606, by the peace of Vienna, he obtained the recognition of his sovereignty, not only over Transylvania, but over part of Northern Hungary; if he died without heirs these provinces were to return to the house of Austria. The peace of Vienna also granted certain rights to Hungary, among them liberty of conscience for the Protestants, and a stipulation that, in the

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absence of the king, an archduke should reside in the kingdom; it also promised that military posts and public offices should be filled only by natives.

Of the three masters who then divided Hungary amongst them, Bocskai was the most powerful. The kingdom of St. Stephen, with Transylvania, Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia, comprised 5163 square miles; of these Austria possessed 1222, the Porte 1859, and Bocskai 2082.

The treaty of Vienna was due to the efforts of the archduke Mathias, who endeavoured with the whole force of his energy to make up for the indolence of his brother Rudolf. When he became governor of Austrian Hungary he tried to put an end to the discontent of the nation, but he had not succeeded in reannexing Transylvania, when the sudden death of Bocskai in 1606 left it without a ruler. The diet met at Kolosvar (Klausenburg), and elected first Sigismund Rakoczy, and afterwards, when Rakoczy voluntarily renounced the princely title, Gabriel Batory (1608).

In the same year, Mathias obliged his brother to cede Austria and Hungary to him, but the hopes which had been raised by his efforts as archduke were not all fulfilled. He did, however, give the kingdom once more its high officer, the palatine, and undertook that this important post should never again be left vacant; he also gave back the sacred crown, withdrew the foreign garrisons, and granted liberty of conscience. In the absence of the king, the royal authority was in the hands of the palatine, the king's council, and a treasurer. These concessions soothed the Hungarians, but they could not make them forget all their other grievances. Henry IV. of France recognized the existence of these grievances, and in the political plans he had formed, and which death prevented him from carrying into execution, Hungary had its place. According to Sully, he wished "that the Hungarians should have their old franchises restored to them, the right of themselves electing their prince, or of choosing any other form or mode of government which they should judge convenient."

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After the coronation of Mathias, the Protestant Thurzo was elected palatine. This election was a great triumph for religious toleration, but it was extremely difficult to maintain such toleration in the face of the traditions, and in opposition to the usual advisers of the house of Austria. There were besides many decided opponents of the Reformation among the Hungarians themselves, and at their head cardinal Pazmany, a fiery prelate, clever and eloquent, who had been educated by the Jesuits, and who succeeded in restoring to the Catholic Church some of the highest families in the kingdom. For one moment, after the tragic death of the voïévode Batory, whose violence had provoked the intervention of Austria, Mathias may have hoped to reconquer Transylvania (1613); but the Transylvanians cared almost more for liberty of conscience than for political independence, and they proceeded to elect Gabriel Bethlen, the Protestant (1613–1629).[1] This enlightened prince was able to restore toleration in religious matters, discipline in the army, and order in the government of the country. He has been compared, with reason, to Mathias Corvinus. Like that great king, he cared for art, and was himself a well-educated man. He constantly endeavoured to hold the balance even between the Protestants and Catholics, as well as between the Austrians and the Turks. When Ferdinand II. ascended the throne (1619–1637), and the Thirty Years' War broke out, Bethlen understood how seriously Protestant interests were threatened, and how possible it was that the blow which was aimed at Bohemia might reach the Magyar nation. The emperor first tried to secure the voïévode's neutrality by sending to him Nicholas Esterhazy, one of the ablest diplomatists and best patriots of Austrian Hungary. Esterhazy was one of those who, like Francis Deak in later times, frankly accepted the Habsburg dynasty, and only asked that, in return for loyal obedience, it should respect the wishes

[1] Also known by the name of Bethlen Gabor. Gabor is the Magyar form of Gabriel. The Hungarians place the baptismal name after the surname.

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of the nation. A sincere but liberal-minded Catholic, he may be said to have stood half-way between Cardinal Pazmany and the Protestant Bethlen. Gabriel hesitated for some time, but finally decided to take the side of Bohemia. He published a manifesto, entitled the "Complaint of Hungary," which he sent all over the country, and then convoked a general diet of all the *comitats*. This assembly met at Kasso, and named him governor and George Rakoczy captain-general, placing the latter at the head of all the *comitats*. Bethlen sent a body of ten thousand auxilliaries to count Thurn, and the diet, which met under his protection at Pozsony, decided to go to the help of Bohemia. On the 25th of August, 1620, about the same time that Bohemia was choosing the elector palatine for her king, this diet proclaimed Bethlen king of Hungary. But, unfortunately, neither France nor Poland was ready to come forward to the help of the new sovereign, and even the Turks seemed no longer to interest themselves in Hungarian affairs. The defeat of the Chekhs at the White Mountain destroyed the hopes of Transylvania, and Bethlen was obliged to come to terms with Ferdinand. By the peace of Nikolsburg, he renounced the crown of Hungary; but he kept, together with Transylvania, the government of the seven northern *comitats*, Abauj, Bereg, Zemplin, Borsod, Szabolcs, Ugocsa, and Szatmar, the fortified towns of Kasso, Munkacs, and Tokaj, and the duchies of Oppeln and Ratibor. Besides this, he received the title of prince of the empire, and an annual subsidy of fifty thousand florins. 1620

But this treaty was only temporary, for Bethlen was determined not to remain long in the position thus assigned to him. He hoped to be able to find allies somewhere, and entered into negociations with Holland, England, and Venice, through their ambassadors at Constantinople. At the same time he strengthened his connection with Northern Germany, and married the princess Catherine of Brandenburg. He had a large number of diplomatists at work under his orders, and from 1623 to 1629 he was negociating with the French am-

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bassador at Constantinople, M. de Césy, who encouraged him to march against Austria. But all his efforts, even an attempted campaign against Wallenstein, came to nothing, and Bethlen died in 1629, without having succeeded in altering any of the stipulations of the peace of Nikolsburg.



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CHAPTER XX.

HUNGARY IN REVOLT AND HUNGARY RECONCILED (1629–1740).

The Rakoczy Family in Transylvania—Leopold I. in Hungary (1629–1705).

GEORGE RAKOCZY was chosen to succeed Bethlen, notwithstanding that the claims of the princess-dowager, Catherine of Brandenburg, were supported by the courts of France, Holland, Sweden, and Brandenburg. During the Swedish period of the Thirty Years' War, Transylvania was at peace, for the policy of George Rakoczy was pacific. In the kingdom of Hungary the palatine Esterhazy endeavoured to maintain public liberty against the encroachments of the sovereign, but he was unable to prevent the establishment of the Jesuits in the kingdom by cardinal Pazmany. They founded a university at Trnava (Tyrnau, Nagy Szombat), and made themselves the educators of the young Magyar Catholics. In 1637, Ferdinand II. was succeeded by Ferdinand III. In his reign, the discontent of the Hungarian Protestants was increased by the constant violations of the treaty of Vienna. George Rakozcy believed that the time for a successful attack on Austria had come, and in spite of the entreaties of Esterhazy, who implored him not to weaken the power of Hungary, which was all needed for resistance against the Turks, he entered into negociations with France and Sweden. He received from them the promise of a subsidy of one hundred thousand crowns a year, and religious

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liberty and political independence for Hungary and Transylvania, as the price of his co-operation. He began hostilities in 1644, took Kasso, and advanced as far as Éperijes, where he issued a proclamation calling on all the Hungarians to join him. But here he was stopped by the imperial troops, and forced to fall back on his own dominions. When the negociations which preceded the peace of Westphalia began, he was not forgotten, and the French diplomatists offered to represent his interests. He would not, however, wait for the conclusion of the peace, but signed a treaty on his own account, by which the emperor ceded to him the northern *comitats*, which Gabriel Bethlen had already possessed, and the fortresses of Tokaj and Regetz (peace of Linz, 1645).

Transylvania was prosperous under this prince, who introduced the reformed religion into his court and army. He was succeeded by his son, George Rakoczy II. (1648–1660), whose ambition seriously compromised the fate of the principality. He hoped that Sweden would help him, as it had helped his predecessor, Batory, to obtain the throne of Poland. But the Porte was not prepared to allow so powerful a state to be formed on its frontiers, and the only result was a series of wars and invasions, in which Transylvania was cruelly ravaged and George lost his life (1660). He was succeeded by John Kemenyi, one of his principal lieutenants and one of the best writers of his day, who tried with the help of the emperor to drive back the Turks. He also was killed (1662), and the Transylvanians, quite as much alarmed by the imperial alliance as by the ravages of the Mussulmans, on his death accepted a voïévode imposed upon them by the Porte, Michael Apafy, who ruled from 1662 to 1689.

The reign of Leopold I. (1657–1705) was a most disastrous reign for Hungary. On the coronation of this prince, the diet had insisted that the office of palatine should be restored, and all foreign troops should be banished from the kingdom; the Protestants had also demanded that they should have that liberty of conscience which had been so often violated. For

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a short time in 1664 the invasion by the Turks under the grand vizir Kiuprili united all the forces of the empire and the kingdom. The imperial army was commanded by the celebrated Montecuculli, the worthy adversary of Turenne, and the Hungarians by Zrinyi, a descendant of the hero of Szigeth. Zrinyi performed prodigies of knightly valour, while Montecuculli was an able representative of that school of great tacticians which was formed by the Thirty Years' War. The battle of St. Gothard, which is called by the Magyars the battle of Körmend, took place on the 1st of August, 1664, on Hungarian soil, and the Turks, to the great joy of Christendom, suffered a terrible defeat. The French auxiliaries, under La Feuillade and Coligny, distinguished themselves greatly in the fight. But this victory brought but little profit to Hungary, as the peace which was concluded almost immediately after it at Vasvar did not free the least particle of Magyar soil. Indeed, the Turks obtained possession of several fresh fortresses, among them Nagy Varad (Great Varadin); and it seemed as if the treaty had been drawn up in the interests of Austria and Turkey, at the expense of those of Hungary. A truce for twenty years was agreed upon.

The emperor Leopold was inspired by a double fanaticism for an intolerant creed and for absolute power. Led by the Jesuits, he had determined to destroy at one and the same time the reformed religion and the liberties of the kingdom. He first of all tried to suppress the diet, and to substitute for it an assembly of the great lords and prelates at Vienna; but even among these men he discovered a spirit of independence which thwarted his plans. Can it be true that he one day pronounced the dreadful words, "*Faciam Hungariam captivam, postea mendicam, deinde catholicam*"? Such historical sayings are always to be distrusted, but it is quite certain that the men who surrounded Leopold never disguised their hatred of the nation which so obstinately refused to yield. "*Gens dura et pervicax, non nisi atrocibus suppliciis, et quae alibi saeva viderentur, coerceretur*," wrote the Jesuit Wagner, the historian

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of Leopold the Great. Against this double tyranny Hungary could only hope for help in the support of foreign lands. As early as 1665, Francis Frankopan, a Croat magnate who was allied to the illustrious family of Zrinyi, addressed a memorial to the prince elector of Maintz, in which he said, "The kingdom of Hungary has reached such a state of ruin and misery, that if God does not incite Christian princes to defend it, all is over with this bulwark of Christendom and of all lands. . . . The upper *comitats* of Hungary have fallen into such a depth of despair that they see no means of safety except in placing themselves under the protection of the Turks. . . . The Hungarians, from national antipathy, have a horror of Turkish rule. . . . And yet extreme necessity has now reduced them to thoughts like these." Peter Vesselenyi, Peter Zrinyi, the brother of the general, Nadasdy, and Frankopan put themselves in communication with the French ambassador Gremonville at Vienna, but Louis XIV. cared too much for the rights of princes to support revolt. Apafy remained indifferent; but Zrinyi and Frankopan tried to stir up Hungary, and succeeded in gathering some troops together. They were soon, however, induced to lay down their arms on the promise of a full and complete amnesty. Arrested together with their accomplice Nadasdy, they were thrown into prison, and then, contrary to the law, were tried outside Hungarian territory, Nadasdy at Vienna, Zrinyi and Frankopan at Wiener-Neustadt, and were condemned to death, the emperor, "out of his royal grace and favour," sparing them the cutting off of the right hand (April 30, 1671).

The execution of the three counts was the signal for atrocious persecutions of both patriots and Protestants. Gaspar Ampringen, a German, was made supreme commander of the country and invested with special powers. The primate Szelpcsenyi, who cared more for Catholicism than for his country, set to work to prosecute the Protestants, many of whom were sent into exile, condemned to hard labour, or sold to the viceroy of Naples to row in his galleys. But the Magyar

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spirit of independence was not crushed by all this severity; the Kurucz were heard of again, and Louis XIV., who was at war with Austria, at last decided to help the malcontents, and sent them men and money through the French ambassador in Poland. Emerich Tököli was the formidable leader of the insurrection. He was the son of that Count Tököli who had been the friend of the three counts beheaded in 1671, had taken part in their enterprise, and had been killed in battle. Emerich Tököli had married brave Helen Zrinyi, the widow of George Rakoczy II.; his banner bore the motto "*Pro aris et focis;*" he coined money bearing his own effigy and ruled with real sovereign power. He succeeded in getting together an army which vigorously pushed its way into Moravia. Meantime the primate Szelpcsenyi had tried to bring about a peace at the diet of Pozsony in 1681, and had secured the nomination of a palatine and the restoration of the constitution. But Tököli was not satisfied with these concessions; his aim was to become the sovereign of an independent Hungary.

He hoped to find allies among the Turks, who were at this time marching against Vienna, and with this end in view went to meet the grand vizir, Kara Mustapha. He invested Pozsony while the Turks besieged the Austrian capital. But the defeat of the Turks by Sobieski was also a defeat for him whom they called the king of the Kurucz, and after it he found himself reduced to guerilla warfare. The victory over the Turks was followed by the capture of some of the chief Magyar towns, the imperial army entering Hungary and gaining possession of Esztergom, Visegrad, Éperjes, Pecs, Szegedin, and in the end Buda itself, which was at last recovered after so long an occupation. The Turks were pursued as far as Mohacs and there atoned by the loss of twenty thousand men for their former victory on this plain. Kara Mustapha attributed his defeat to Tököli, and had his former ally arrested and imprisoned in Belgrade. His captivity put an end to the party of the king of the Kurucz; his followers dispersed, and the towns which they had held surrendered. Only the fortress of

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Munkacs held out, defended by brave Helen Zrinyi, the wife of Tököli, whose heroism is often sung by Transylvanian poets.

The insurrection at an end, and Hungary in a great degree reconquered, it might have seemed as if mercy were the first duty of the conqueror. But Leopold and his lieutenants were not of this opinion. An amnesty was proclaimed and immediately afterwards violated, the Italian general, Caraffa, becoming the merciless executioner of imperial vengeance. He established a court at Éperjes, and the horrors of this tribunal recall the most atrocious deeds of the Spaniards in the Low Countries. For thirty consecutive days, thirty executioners exposed their victims, innocent as well as guilty, to the most refined tortures and the most terrible forms of death. *The Butchery of Éperjes*, as it is called, is the saddest of all the sad events in Hungarian history. The emperor Leopold pretended that he had nothing to do with these horrors, and that they had taken place without his knowledge.

After having terrorized Hungary, Leopold thought he had the right to expect every sort of concession. Notwithstanding persecution, up to this date the monarchy had remained elective. He was determined it should now become hereditary; and the diet of 1687, in conformity with the wishes of the sovereign, made the crown hereditary in the male line of the house of Habsburg. The mode of procedure had been the same in both Hungary and Bohemia; first executions, and then the nominally free consent of the country to changes in the law of the land. The king was to swear to maintain the fundamental laws of the land; but article 31 of the Golden Bull, or the constitution of Andrew II., was abolished: it was the one which proclaimed the right of insurrection. When granting these concessions, the diet stipulated that executions should come to an end, and prisoners be set at liberty, and a general amnesty was in consequence proclaimed. Tököli had already taken refuge at Nikomedia, in Asia; the fortress of Munkacs was surrendered by Helen Zrinyi.

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Expulsion of the Turks.

It now seemed as if Austria wished to recompense Hungary for her more or less voluntary submission by fighting her battles against the Turks. Louis of Baden first led his troops against them to the south of the Danube, and then, returning within the boundary of the kingdom, won the battle of Slan Kamen on the delta between the Danube and the Save (1691). The Turks, however, with the help of Tököli, who had returned to Transylvania, were able to hold their own until prince Eugène of Savoy, their most formidable adversary, appeared upon the scene. Eugène had been placed in command of an army for the first time, and was in the neighbourhood of Szegedin, in Higher Hungary (1691), when he heard of the approach of the Turks by way of the valley of the Tisza. He immediately threw a bridge across this river at Zenta, and had made preparations to attack the enemy, when he received orders from the emperor by courier, forbidding him to fight. He believed, however, that the position of the two armies was such as to justify disobedience, and his audacity was crowned with victory. More than ten thousand Turks were slain, great numbers of them being thrown into the Tisza; the sultan fled to Temesvar, and thence to Constantinople (1697). Winter prevented prince Eugène from following up his advantages, and the emperor, who was busy about the succession to the throne of Spain, granted the request of the Turks for peace. A treaty was signed at Karlovci (Karlowitz), by which the sultan was bound not to grant any help to the Hungarian malcontents, and to abandon all claim to Transylvania. Of all her old possessions in Hungary, Turkey was only allowed to keep a small territory between the Theiss and the Maros. A special clause in this treaty of Karlovci stipulated for the maintenance of the tomb of a Mussulman monk, Gul Baba, "the father of roses," at Buda, and this tomb exists in our day, and is still the object of pious pilgrimages to the Turks.

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Latterly the Hungarians have kept it in repair at their own expense, in order to prove their sympathy with Turkey.

In its struggles against Turkey the house of Austria had found most valuable allies in the Servians, who had emigrated in large numbers from Turkey into Hungary. Their chief, Brankovic, had lent his assistance to the imperial army; but he was afterwards suspected of treachery, perhaps on account of his popularity with the Servians of the south, and was arrested and thrown into prison at Eger, where he died in 1711.

In the month of April, 1690, Leopold laid claim to Bosnia and Bulgaria on behalf of Hungary, and called upon the Slavs in Turkey to take up arms. Later on, he invited the Servian patriarch of Pec (Ypek) to settle with his Servians in his dominions, promising them the free exercise of their religion and a separate government. In 1691, the patriarch Arsenius Tsernoïevitch (Cernojevic) accepted this offer, and from thirty-five to forty thousand families were settled on the banks of the Maros, in Sirmia, in Slavonia, in the district of Backa, and even in the outskirts of Buda; and these colonists, owing to their special privileges, formed a distinct nation. The soldiers which they furnished to Leopold and his successors rendered great services in the wars against the Turks and Hungarians.

The descendants of these Servian emigrants are still to be found in the south of Hungary, where their influence is considerable. The Magyars called them Rascians, from the name of the old town of Rasa, which used formerly to stand on the spot now occupied by Novi Bazar.

Francis Rakoczy (1700–1711).

After the departure of Tököli, Transylvania had become an Austrian province, and during the campaigns against the Turks Austrian generals had garrisoned most of the Transylvanian towns. The young prince, Michael Apafy, had been taken to Vienna to be educated, and the principality was governed by imperial lieutenants. The treaty of Karlovci in 1699

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obtained the recognition of this new state of things from the whole of Europe, and the same year, by a special charter, the rights and privileges of the principality were recognized by Leopold, and the free exercise of the Protestant and Orthodox religions, which were practised by some of its inhabitants, was granted to them. But the Transylvanian nobles were not prepared to accept at once an annexation which, while uniting the province once more to the mother-country, also subjected it to a brutal soldiery and a harassing administration.

The malcontents soon found a leader in the person of Francis Rakoczy (1706–1711), who brought with him to their cause a heritage of heroic traditions and hereditary hatreds. His mother was the daughter of that count Zrinyi who had perished on the scaffold, and the widow of Francis Rakoczy and of Tököli. His father, Francis Rakoczy, had taken part in the conspiracy of the three counts, but, more fortunate than they, had escaped the scaffold. At the age of twelve, Francis Rakoczy had been taken to Vienna to be educated in the Catholic faith, and it was intended he should become a priest. But he obtained permission to return to Hungary and to travel, and when still very young he married a princess of Hesse-Rheinsfeld, whose manly courage harmonized well with his own adventurous disposition. To great bodily vigour Rakoczy joined rare moral energy and extraordinary ambition. His first conspiracy failed, and he was seized and thrown into the prison of Neustadt, but he managed to escape and took refuge in Poland. There, while the emperor confiscated his property and put a price upon his head, he entered into relations with the French embassy, and obtained some help in money from France. He returned to Hungary in 1703, when a revolt of the peasants broke out in the districts round Munkacs. A state of great irritation existed at the time throughout the whole kingdom. The efforts of the court of Vienna to destroy Hungarian liberty had continued without a pause, and quite recently the emperor Leopold had summoned a meeting of the great nobles and prelates, at which he had brought forward

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a scheme for suppressing part of the Hungarian nobility, that *petite noblesse* which had always taken so active a share in the public affairs of the *comitats*. Besides this, a large number of families were indignant at certain clauses of the treaty of Karlovci, which forbade the return to Hungary of those who had emigrated into Turkey during the late revolts. The insurrection of 1703 was not only a rising among the Kurucz; members of some of the highest families, and even some Catholics, took the side of the revolted peasants. In the beginning of 1704, the insurrection, spreading from Transylvania, had crossed the Vah, and even made some progress in the neighbourhood of Vienna. At this moment began the war of the Spanish succession, and the Bavarians, who were allies of the French, attacked Austria. Prince Eugène was busy fighting the armies of Louis XIV. The king of France entered into correspondence with Rakoczy, calling him "mon cousin," and sent him French officers to command his forces.

In spite of some checks to his arms, Rakoczy had been able to organize a government. A diet which met at Szeczeny elected him chief of the Hungarian nation; another, assembled at Maros-Vasarhely, proclaimed him voïévode of Transylvania. The greater part of the kingdom of St. Stephen was, in fact, under his command, though he would gladly have come to terms with the emperor on condition of being allowed to keep only Transylvania. But the exasperation of the Hungarians was such that they had determined to break once for all with the Habsburgs. At the diet of Onod, on the river Sajo, in the *comitat* of Borsod, thirty-one confederated *comitats*—the kingdom only contained fifty-two—proclaimed Joseph I. no longer king of Hungary. They dared not go on to offer the crown to Rakoczy, but, at the suggestion of Louis XIV., offered it to the elector of Bavaria. The elector declined to accept it, and much precious time was lost in negociations, during which the imperial general, Heister, defeated the insurgents at Trencsin in the August of 1708, and regained from them part of Hungary. Stahrenberg and Sickingen followed up his successes;

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Louis XIV., exhausted by defeat, could no longer continue his subsidies, and Rakoczy, unable to go on with the war, left the country and took refuge in Poland. In 1711, the diet agreed to the treaty of Szathmar, which granted a general amnesty and the restoration of the rights of Hungary.

Some time after Rakoczy went to Paris, and, together with some of his companions in arms, paid a visit to that court of France with which he had formerly treated as a sovereign. This visit has done much to make his name known; he and other Magyar nobles are frequently mentioned in contemporary memoirs and documents as taking part in court ceremonies. Hungarian vests and Transylvanian boots became all the fashion; "there is no good society without prince Rakoczy," writes a learned lady of the day, and St. Simon often mentions the celebrated Transylvanian in his memoirs. The Austrian government at last became anxious about his stay in Paris, and he then went to Turkey, where the Porte, in fulfilment of the treaty of Pozarevac, assigned him the castle of Rodosto, on the Sea of Marmora, as a place of residence. He did not abandon all his dreams of ambition in this quiet retreat. More than once he tried to interest France and Turkey in his cause, but without success. To occupy his leisure time, he wrote his "Memoirs of the Hungarian Revolution," which were published at the Hague in 1732. His name is also associated with a celebrated march. It is not known who was its author; all that is certain is that it was often played in his armies, and that it has become a national hymn, a revolutionary Marseillaise, to the Magyars. Whenever Hungarian liberty has been attacked, the Austrian government has strictly forbidden the playing of this march.

Hungary reconciled—The Treaty of Passarowitz (1718).

Hungary was finally reconciled to the house of Austria by the peace of Szathmar, and to Joseph I. belongs the honour of accomplishing this work. Declared by the diet in 1707 un-

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worthy to reign over Hungary, he had nevertheless, by 1711, established his dynasty firmly on the throne. He was a prince of gentle and tolerant character, and would doubtless in the end have secured the affection of his newly reconciled subjects, but he died at the age of thirty-three. His successor Charles VI., who was Charles III. of Hungary, reigned from 1711 to 1740, and bound the Magyar nation still more closely to the dynasty, endeavouring by all means to carry out and develop the results of the treaty of Szathmar. After his coronation, he recognized in a special law the right of the Hungarians to elect their own king in case the direct male line of the house of Austria should fail. But though he made this concession to Magyar pride, the Pragmatic Sanction shows how little he meant to be bound by it. The first years of his reign were occupied in restoring order in the land, but evil traditions were not abandoned; the amnesty was limited in its application, and religious intolerance continued to flourish with less brutality outwardly perhaps, but with all its old obstinacy. It attacked alike Hungarian Protestants and the new Servian colonists of the Orthodox faith. But it was not alone the court of Vienna which was guilty of this persecuting zeal: the greater part of the Magyar Catholics joined in it, and it was the result of the spirit of the times.

The reign of Charles III. saw the final expulsion of the Turks. In 1716, the grand vizir of the sultan, Achmet III., crossed the Save and marched on the town of Petervarad. There Prince Eugène awaited him, and inflicted a defeat which resounded throughout Christendom. The Hungarians fought gloriously in this battle, which cost the grand vizir his life, and restored to the conquerors the town of Temesvar and the last possessions of the Turks in their land.

Prince Eugène immediately followed up his advantage by advancing right up to the walls of Belgrade, and forcing the great city to capitulate. The remembrance of this exploit was preserved in a soldiers' song which is still popular in the Austrian army:

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"Prince Eugène, the valiant warrior,
Vowed to gain the fair white city;
Vowed to snatch the town of Belgrade
From its captors without pity.

"Prince Eugène, the knightly soldier,
Led the right wing straight to vict'ry;
Like a lion, fought and conquered," etc.

The palace which was occupied by the victorious general is still shown at Belgrade.

The loss of this fortress was a fatal blow to the power of the Turks, and the Porte was soon after forced to sign the treaty of Passarowitz (Pozaverac, in the present principality of Servia). By it were lost all its possessions on the right bank of the Danube, the town of Belgrade, and part of Servia and Wallachia. These conquests delivered into the hands of Austria the keys of the Ottoman empire. She might then, by following up her successes in this direction, have restored the Servian and Roumanian peoples to liberty and civilization, and have gradually annexed them to herself; that so considerable a number of Servians and Wallachians were already incorporated in the kingdom of Hungary would have served as an attraction to their kinsmen. But for the accomplishment of so great a task, the king of Hungary must have devoted all his undivided energies to the work, and the Austrian princes preferred to make distant acquisitions of territory in Germany and Italy. Besides, Charles VI. cared far less for the greatness of Hungary than for securing the throne to his daughter, Maria Theresa. We have already seen how the Pragmatic Sanction was successively recognized by the diets of Croatia, Transylvania, and Hungary.

The Servian Colonists—The Military Frontiers—The Treaty of Belgrade (1739).

Hungary, now that she was reconciled with the house of Austria, showed little political vitality. In 1723, the diet reduced the Servian colonists, who had entered the kingdom

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under Arsenius Tsernoïevitch, to the condition of serfs of the soil; not only were they not to be allowed to return to their native land, as Leopold had promised they should, but they were no longer to be able to move from one part of the country to another. Here we see the first signs of that spirit of exclusiveness, that intolerance towards other nations, which has more than once characterized Magyar policy; but in the reign of Charles III. this intolerance was directed rather towards religions than nationalities. Magyar Protestants and Orthodox Servians were persecuted by their fanatical fellow-countrymen, until at last the emperor, who was by no means inclined to toleration, was obliged to interfere in their favour.

"Thus," says M. Sayous, "we see the gradual formation of the modern policy of the Habsburgs. It was sincere on this occasion, and at various other times was more sincere than the Magyar historians are willing to recognize, but only too often it is open to the charge of treachery and dissimulation. It consisted in being more liberal than the constitutionalists, more ready for progress than the assemblies, more tolerant of religious minorities and small nationalities than the fellow-countrymen of Verböczy. It more than once proposed reforms which it knew very well ought not to be accepted, and contrived to wound the feelings of the Magyars so much by the manner in which these proposals were drawn up by foreigners, that it forced them into such a refusal of them as damaged them in the eyes of Europe. When, on the contrary, the country and the diets were anxious for reform, then the court at Vienna took fright, or pretended to take fright, at the innovations. At the same time, these changes were seldom openly refused; they were put off to a more convenient season, and such a season never came."

Charles, however, rewarded the Hungarians for their compliance in voting the Pragmatic Sanction by some rather important concessions. He undertook to convoke the diet at least once in three years; to reside in Hungary whenever circumstances permitted him to do so; to arrange the business

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of the country in person with the help of the Council of Regency, presided over by the palatine; and he made Rieka (Fiume) a free port.

The organization of the military frontier was one of the most important acts of his reign. It reached from the banks of the Save to those of the Tisza and the Maros. This institution was not the work of a single man nor of a single day. Under the constant threat of an Ottoman invasion, several of Charles VI.'s predecessors had felt the need of creating within the kingdom a special body of troops for the defence of the frontiers, and the immigrations of those Servians who fled from Turkish oppression furnished the materials for such a body. In 1522, after the fall of Shabats and Belgrade, Louis II., with the consent of the diet, had entrusted the Croatian frontier to those German soldiers who had settled there. Their centre was at Varazdin. The Uskoci, or Slav refugees, who came at about the same time from Turkey, also received lands, with the special duty of defending them. In 1575, the Slav and Croat frontiers were placed under the control of a general, and owing to the troubles of the time, the commandants of these regions were made independent of the civil power of the diet of Croatia. Their troops were entirely composed of German and Slav soldiers, who enjoyed special privileges, and were exempt from all taxes. They steadily increased in number, owing to successive colonizations. At the time of the peace of Karlowitz, the frontier was already divided into three districts, each under a general: those of Karlovac, Varazdin, and the Banat. The Hungarian diet hardly ever interfered in the affairs of these purely military districts, in which the Magyars were only indirectly interested. After the treaty of Karlowitz, this frontier system was extended to the recently conquered country along the shores of the Save in Slavonia, the Tisza, and the Maros; and the new frontiers were made directly dependent on the Council and Chamber of the emperor. When the Banat was reconquered in 1724, Servian and Roumanian refugees were settled there in the same

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way. The command of these frontiers was generally given to German officers directly dependent on Vienna. It is evident that when the Magyars were reducing all the Servians within the kingdom to a state of serfdom, those on the frontier would prefer the rule of the emperor, which offered satisfaction both to their warlike instincts and to their hatred of the Turks. On their side, the Magyars could not but see with distrust this new institution; these lands, which were included within the frontier line, were in reality detached from the main body of the kingdom, and soldiers drawn from thence, never having been under Hungarian influence, might become obedient instruments in the hands of the Habsburgs, and, after having served against the Turks, when once the ancient enemy of Christianity was no longer to be dreaded, be the sure support of Viennese despotism. Hence the constant complaints of the Hungarians and the Croats. But, notwithstanding, the institution of the military frontiers continued to our time.

One of the most remarkable events of the reign of Charles VI. was the revolt of Servian and Hungarian peasants (1734), under the leadership of Pero Tzegedinac, one of the old soldiers of Rakoczy. They were now serfs of the soil, and the Servians saw their condition grow worse from day to day; the victims of both religious persecution and personal oppression, they rose against their tyrants, and were joined by some Hungarian Protestants and some partisans of Rakoczy's. They were defeated by the army and cruelly punished, and their chiefs put to death. The Servians bitterly resented their treatment at this time, and some years later a certain number of them left Hungary to settle in Russia.

The campaigns of 1737–1739 against the Turks made the reign of Charles VI. end less brilliantly than might have been expected from its commencement. His alliance with Russia obliged him to undertake the war, and it began with some great successes. The command of the imperial army was given to prince Francis of Lorraine, who had recently married Maria Theresa, but it was led by imprudent and disunited chiefs,

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among whom, however, we do not find a single Hungarian; and when it attempted the invasion of Bosnia and Wallachia, it was beaten or surprised at Banjaluka, Nich, and Viddin, and forced to retire into Transylvania. The Turks captured Orsova on the 27th of May, 1738. Belgrade was now the only place on the right bank of the Save which remained to the emperor, and it was not in a condition to maintain a siege. He was forced to treat with the enemy. By the treaty of Belgrade the Porte once more obtained possession of the whole of Servia. The imperialists were allowed to retain the *banat* of the Temes, but they were required to dismantle the fortresses of Mehadia, Uj Palanka, Kubin, and Pantchevo. At one time the Porte thought of proclaiming the young Joseph Rakoczy, the son of the last hero of Transylvania, prince of the province, but he died in 1738. His brother Francis went to live in the kingdom of Naples under the name of marquis of St. Elizabeth, and died, leaving no children; and with him ended the family which had played so distinguished a part in the history of Hungary.

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CHAPTER XXI.

MARIA THERESA (1740–1780).

War of the Austrian Succession—Loss of Silesia—Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748).

THE arch-duchess Maria Theresa, heiress of Charles VI., had married Francis Stephen, duke of Lorraine. Ever since the preceding century, the house of Lorraine had been allied to the house of Austria. Duke Charles V. had married the sister of Leopold I., had commanded his army, and had been one of the heroes of the war against the Turks. His grandson, Francis Stephen, had been brought up at the court of Vienna, and from an early age chosen to be the husband of the hereditary princess, while his younger brother married Maria Anna, the younger sister of Maria Theresa. Francis had been obliged by the treaty of Vienna to give up Lorraine to Stanislas Leszczynski, and had obtained in exchange the grand duchy of Tuscany, left vacant by the death of the last of the Medici. Tuscany was not attached to the dominions of the reigning house of Austria; it became an inheritance for second sons, and, at the death of Francis Stephen, passed to his younger son Leopold, and not to his elder son Joseph II.

Maria Theresa was the first woman who had ruled over the whole group of states forming the Austrian power, and she had not the prestige of that imperial crown which had been worn so long by her predecessors that it seemed hereditary in the house of Austria, though, as queen of Bohemia, she had a

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vote in the Electoral College. She made her husband co-regent, but left him no large share of power; the active and imperious temper of the young princess did not admit of a fair division of her prerogative, and at the beginning of her reign Francis Stephen was no more than the husband of the queen. Her accession seemed a favourable opportunity for the attacks of the neighbours and enemies of Austria. No one believed in the permanence of the Austrian state as it had been created by Charles VI. with the help of the Pragmatic Sanction; nothing seemed easier than to dismember it. The French Marshal de Belle-Isle even arranged a plan which gave the Low Countries to France, Bohemia and the imperial crown to Bavaria, Silesia to Prussia, and Tuscany, Parma, and the Lombard possessions to Spain and Sardinia. There was only one thing which puzzled the marshal, and that was "what to do with Moravia." Maria Theresa was to think herself lucky to keep Hungary and the Austrian provinces. It seemed as if no state could be easier to break up than this polyglot collection of principalities, which had no other tie than the person of the sovereign and the more or less faithful adhesion of the diets to the Pragmatic Sanction. A new power had arisen in the north of Germany, which made conquest the law of its existence and war its national trade. Prussia had been erected into a monarchy early in the century, and now had for its sovereign Frederick II., a prince whose ambitions were as vast as his scruples were small, and who would have deserved the surname of Great, if his political honesty had been equal to his genius. He invaded Silesia. He claimed as a justification for his invasion rights no better founded than those in virtue of which Austria afterwards dismembered Poland. It was in vain that Austria protested; Frederick had the final argument of kings on his side, and the capture of Breslau and victory of Molvitz decided the cause in his favour in 1741. He had at his command an army in admirable condition, and treasure which had been carefully accumulated by his predecessor; while the Austrian treasury was empty, and the army in a wretched state.

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The success of the king of Prussia seemed a proof of the weakness of the edifice which had been so laboriously raised by Charles VI. The young queen found herself surrounded by enemies on every side; among them were Bavaria, France, Spain, the elector palatine, and the elector of Cologne. Charles Albert, duke of Bavaria, had married the cousin of Maria Theresa, and he now put in a claim for part of the Austrian inheritance as the descendant of Anna, daughter of Ferdinand I., who had married duke Albert V. The will of Ferdinand I. ran thus: "In case our sons shall die without heirs male, our daughters shall have a right to part of the inheritance." According to Charles Albert, directly females were allowed to succeed, the elder daughter of Ferdinand I., and her heirs, ought to take precedence of all later heirs. He also laid claim to Austria by right of the claims of the house of Bavaria, dating from before the year 1156. Augustus III., elector of Saxony, who had married the elder daughter of the emperor Joseph II., founded his claim partly on that of his wife and partly on a distant relationship to the house of Babenberg. The other powers brought forward no other right than that of the strongest, wishing simply to increase their own territory at the expense of Austria.

At first Maria Theresa tried to negociate. She offered to give up the duchy of Luxemburg to Louis XV., if he would persuade Spain to content herself with the Low Countries and the elector of Bavaria to be satisfied with some portion of Upper Austria; but these negociations came to nothing, and she was obliged to appeal to the fortune of war. An alliance was concluded between Spain, France, and Bavaria. It has been lately proved that this treaty of Nymphenburg, at any rate in the form in which it has come down to us, is apocryphal, but one fact is indisputable, and that is that France placed its troops at the disposal of the elector of Bavaria. Charles Albert, with the help of the French army, captured Linz and pushed on into Bohemia. The French for the first time set foot on the soil of the kingdom of St. Vacslav, while Frederick

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occupied Silesia and the Spaniards attacked Italy. In this emergency Maria Theresa was saved by the swords of her Hungarian subjects and the subsidies of England. We shall see later on what we must think of the famous "*Moriamur pro rege nostro.*" After an interregnum of two years, the elector of Bavaria was chosen emperor on the 24th of January, 1742, and it seemed as if the imperial crown had escaped from the house of Habsburg-Lorraine. Meantime, however, England had paralysed the efforts of Spain in Italy, and forced Frederick II., after the victory of Chotusic (near Caslav), to sign the preliminaries of Breslau and the peace of Berlin. By this treaty Maria Theresa gave up to her fortunate rival Upper and Lower Silesia, the Bohemian county of Glatz (Kladsko), and the lordship of Kostcher in Moravia—in all more than six hundred and fifty square miles; and the only possessions which she retained in Silesia were the principality of Tesin (Teschen) and some portions of those of Opava (Troppau), Jägerndorf, and Neisse (1742). This was a serious loss; Silesia conquered by Frederick brought Prussia to the frontiers of Bohemia. Breslau had to give up its old name of Vratislav and become a completely German town. The province, however, was almost entirely Protestant, and regretted Austrian rule but little.

Saxony, which had hoped to annex Silesia and part of Moravia, now left the league and concluded a separate treaty with Maria Theresa in December, 1743. For one moment the fortune of war seemed to turn to the side of Austria. The *pandours*, or Slav soldiers of the frontier, did wonders under the command of De Menzel and Trenck. The French were forced to evacuate Bohemia, and the emperor, Charles VII., saw the Austrian troops enter and occupy his electorate of Bavaria. He had had himself crowned at Prague, and in her turn the queen of Bohemia and Hungary now received the homage of Bavaria, and established a royal lieutenancy at Munich. France and Bavaria proposed peace, but it was refused, and France attacked Austria in the Low Countries, while Frederick II. again took up arms in July, 1744, entered

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Bohemia, captured Prague, and defeated the Austrians and Saxons at Hohenfriedburg on the 4th of June, 1745; at Zarov (Sorr) near Trutnov, and at Kesseldorf in December, 1745. Austria still had on her side Saxony, England, and Holland; nevertheless her arms were not very successful. Charles VII. returned to Bavaria, though only to die. His son signed the treaty of Füssen and recognized the Pragmatic Sanction. The imperial crown returned to the house of Austria with the election of Maria Theresa's husband, Francis of Lorraine, as emperor, and the mediation of England brought about the peace of Dresden between Prussia, Austria, and Saxony, in which Prussia recognized the imperial dignity of Francis I. and the states of Prussia and Austria mutually guaranteed one another's possessions.

We shall not follow the various events of this war in the Low Countries or Italy. Notwithstanding the support of England and also of Russia, which sent troops as far as the Rhine, the armies of Maria Theresa were generally defeated. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle put an end to the series of campaigns, the result of which was more to the advantage of the empress-queen than she could possibly have hoped. She gave up Upper Novara and Vigevano to Sardinia, and Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla to Don Philip of Spain. But, with the exception of the loss of Silesia, the whole of the Austrian dominions remained intact, and the Pragmatic Sanction became part of the international law of Europe (1748).

Kaunitz—The French Alliance—The Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

The war of the Austrian succession had greatly modified the political system of Europe. Prussia had come to the front as the grasping and merciless enemy of the house of Habsburg-Lorraine, and the acquisition of Silesia had given Frederick II. a strong position on the frontier of Bohemia itself. Russia had begun to take a share in the affairs of Europe, and her alliance was in future to have great weight in the disputes

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which occurred between Vienna and Berlin. From the year 1746, a treaty of defensive alliance had existed between Austria and Russia, by which each power undertook to furnish an army of sixty thousand men in case Frederick should attack Poland, Austria, or Russia.

Austria, however, could not be sure of keeping her Spanish or Italian territories as long as France was her enemy. It was in the year 1753 that Maria Theresa summoned to her counsels a celebrated man, the count de Kounic, generally known by the name of Kaunitz, who succeeded in putting an end to the long-standing rivalry of the houses of Bourbon and Habsburg, and brought about a friendly understanding between the courts of Vienna and Versailles. Kaunitz was a member of an old Bohemian family. He was born at Vienna in 1711, and had at first been destined for the Church, but the death of his elder brother had thrown him back into the world. He had studied at the universities of Vienna, Leipzig, and Leyden, and had travelled in Holland, England, France, and Italy. He had married a Stahrenberg, a descendant of the leader who had defended Vienna, and had entered the public service when still very young (1737). Under Charles VI. he had been a member of the imperial council; and on her accession Maria Theresa had entrusted to him several diplomatic missions, sending him first to Italy, then to Brussels, at last to England, where he showed himself possessed of rare diplomatic powers. He afterwards represented Austria at Aix-la-Chapelle, and from 1751 to 1753 was Austrian ambassador in Paris. As soon as he returned to Vienna he pointed out very forcibly the necessity of the French alliance to his sovereign. France, who could direct her troops at once upon Belgium, the Rhine, and Italy, was, he argued, far the most important ally for Austria. In spite of the opposition of the emperor and the majority of the council, it was finally decided that steps should be taken towards an alliance with France; Kaunitz was appointed chancellor and placed at the head of foreign affairs, and from this time all his efforts aimed at a reconciliation between the

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two cabinets. His first effort was to isolate Prussia. England, Russia, and Saxony were already the allies of Austria, and the German Catholics leaned to her side. Under these circumstances it even seemed possible to reconquer Silesia. But unfortunately France and England were at the time in the midst of a colonial dispute, and war between them had become inevitable. Kaunitz at first tried to remain neutral; but it soon became evident that an alliance with France would be far more useful against Frederick II. than one with Great Britain, especially as England had made overtures to Frederick in consequence of a threatened attack on Hanover on the part of France. The treaty of Versailles was consequently signed between France and Austria on the 11th of May, 1756.

It has been said that, in her desire to obtain the friendship of Louis XV., Maria Theresa entered into direct relation with Madame de Pompadour, and wrote a letter to her in which she styled her, "dear friend and fair cousin." The proud princess never used such language. "You are mistaken," she writes on the 10th of October, 1763, to the electress of Saxony, "if you believe we have ever had anything to do with the Pompadour. Not a single letter has been sent, not a single interview with our minister has taken place by means of her; they have paid court to her like the rest, but there has been no intimacy. Such a go-between would not have suited me."

The clauses of the treaty of Versailles which were published only stipulated for a defensive alliance, but its secret articles agreed that Austria should reconquer Silesia and the lost Italian possessions, and territorial gain was also promised to France. "I have never signed a treaty so willingly," said the empress. By a later convention France placed one hundred and five thousand men and twelve millions of florins at the service of Austria (May, 1757). In this same year Frederick II. had recourse to the tactics which had served him so well sixteen years before; he suddenly invaded Saxony, and, after the indecisive battle of Lobosice, entered Bohemia and advanced as far as Prague. His defeat at Kolin (1757) obliged him, how-

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ever, to evacuate the kingdom of Bohemia. At last he had found a worthy adversary in Marshal Daun; but, though pressed by the French on the west, by the Russians who had captured Eastern Prussia on the east, and on the south by the Austrians, who had once more forced their way into Silesia, Frederick held his enemies at bay.

The war between the Prussian and Austrian generals was a series of alternate triumphs and defeats. In 1757, the Hungarian hussars pushed on as far as Berlin. We shall not enter into well-known details, but will only recall the victory of Frederick at Lissa (Leuthen) on the 5th of December, 1757, where he beat the duke of Lorraine, Daun, and Nadasdy; his defeats at Hochkirch (1758), Kunersdorf in August, and Maxen in November (1759), and at Landshut; and his victories at Liegnitz on the 15th of August, and at Torgau on the 3rd of November, 1760. But all these efforts led to no result, and after 1760 the war was carried on but feebly. Silesia, the main cause of the war, remained in the hands of Prussia; and the peace of Hubertsburg, concluded in 1763 between Prussia, Saxony, and Austria, put an end to the Seven Years' War, and left everything in the *status quo ante bellum*. By a secret clause in it, Frederick II. promised his vote in the next imperial election to the archduke Joseph.

The Seven Years' War was an excellent school for the Austrian army, which improved greatly during its continuance. Among the generals whose courage and talents were brought to light by it, Joseph Daun must be especially noticed. He established the School for Cadets at Vienna, and recalled in his mode of warfare the severe style of Montecuculli. Also the Livonian Loudon, who first tried to enter the service of the king of Prussia, and, when refused, consecrated to the service of Austria a glorious career which she still remembers; and the two Irishmen Brown and Lascy. The victories of Kolin, Hochkirch, Kunersdorf, and Maxen proved that Austria could now take rank among the military powers of Europe, and from this time the nations became anxious for her alliance.

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The emperor Francis I. died shortly after the treaty of Hubertsburg. He had no less than sixteen children by his marriage with Maria Theresa, and through them the house of Austria became allied to most of the reigning families of Europe. The princess Maria Christina married Albert of Saxony; Maria Amelia, duke Ferdinand of Parma; Maria Caroline, Ferdinand, king of the Two Sicilies; and the archduke Ferdinand married the hereditary princess of Modena. These marriages naturally increased the interest which the house of Austria had always taken in Italian affairs. Finally, the marriage of Maria Antonia (Marie Antoinette) with the dauphin of France in 1770 seemed as if it would perpetuate that happy alliance between the families of Bourbon and Habsburg-Lorraine which Kaunitz had succeeded in bringing about. Maria Theresa's correspondence with the dauphiness and with M. de Mercy, her ambassador at the court of France, has been preserved, and shows the deep interest the empress took in the preservation of cordial relations between the two countries. It also reflects great honour on the character of Maria Theresa both as a sovereign and a mother.

After the death of Francis I., his son, Joseph II., was elected emperor (1765). His mother associated him with herself in the government of the Austrian dominions, but his part in it was not much more active than had been that of his father, although he had control of the army.

Partition of Poland—Acquisition of Galicia (1772).

Notwithstanding the loss inflicted on her by Frederick II., the empress-queen had every reason to be proud of the prosperity of her dominions and the splendour of her house. An occasion soon presented itself for repairing the injury she had suffered in the loss of Silesia by the acquisition of new territory, and the court at Vienna did not allow it to escape. The Austrian dominions and the republic of Poland adjoined one another in those parts of Silesia which the empress still retained, and also in the kingdom of Hungary. For some

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years the republic had fallen into a state of miserable decay which made it an easy prey to its neighbours, while the deplorable system by which its sovereigns were elected by a riotous and anarchical nobility had rendered its ultimate conquest by foreigners inevitable. The Polish aristocracy had taken possession of the country, and had become the land-owning class, but had made no effort to create a united nation; a middle class had never existed. Reasons for the interference of ambitious neighbours were not wanting. It is quite certain Maria Theresa would not herself have proposed the partition of Poland; but when once Prussia and Russia laid claim to the whole or part of the kingdom, the empress was not slow in suiting her policy to her interest.

There is no doubt that the idea first occurred to Frederick II. He had already tried to come to an understanding with the courts of St. Petersburg and Copenhagen about the partition of Sweden; and in 1772, after the defeat of the Turks by the Russians, a defeat which made it necessary for Austria to interfere, he proposed that territory in Poland should be offered to Russia in lieu of land that the czar might have seized in Turkey, and that Prussia and Austria should receive some fragments of the lands of the republic to enable the balance of power to be maintained. Catherine II. was quite ready to agree to such a proposition, and Joseph II., after two interviews with the king of Prussia at Neisse and at Neustadt, was also persuaded to agree. But Maria Theresa's loyal and religious mind was at first much troubled by the proposals. Informed by her minister at Berlin of the plot which was being hatched by the courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg, she wrote a confidential note to him on the subject, in which she said, "I confess that I find it very difficult to come to a decision about a matter concerning which I cannot feel sure that it is right; if it were even useful,—but I cannot see the utility. What right have we to rob the innocent, and one too whom we have always represented ourselves as being ready to support and defend? Why should there be all these

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vast and costly preparations and all these noisy threats to maintain the equilibrium of the north? The sole reason of convenience, not to be the only one among all the powers gaining no advantage, does not appear to me sufficient, nor even an honourable pretext, for joining two unjust usurpers whose aim is to destroy a third without any justification. I do not understand a policy which, when two use their power to oppress an innocent man, requires that a third may and ought to imitate them in their wrong-doing, simply as a matter of precaution for the future and convenience for the present. That appears to me a position which cannot be held. What would France, Spain, and England say of us if we should ally ourselves so closely with those from whom we have held ourselves aloof, and whose actions we have declared unjust? It would be to give the lie to all my actions during the thirty years of my reign. Let us try rather to diminish the claims of the others, instead of thinking of sharing the spoil with them *under conditions so unequal.* Let us rather be thought weak than wicked."

In another document which bears no date, Maria Theresa tries to explain the reasons which have induced her to share in the partition. "The interests of our own safety and that of the whole of Europe," she writes, "have induced us to endeavour, although to our regret, to balance that increase of power which Russia and Prussia have acquired, by reserving for ourselves that part of the land in dispute *to which we had undoubted claims.*" We see from these last words that reasons of state had triumphed over the Christian principles of the queen.

The treaty of partition was signed on the 25th of July, 1772. It has been said that Maria Theresa wrote the following words with her own hand at the bottom of the report which contained the decision as to its adoption :—"*Placet*, since so many wise and able men wish that it should be so, but long after my death the consequences will be seen of having thus despised what has hitherto been considered just and righteous." But this document is not to be found, and the words would seem

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to be apocryphal. The real sentiments of the empress after the partition are to be found in the passage we have quoted, and in a letter to Mercy, Austrian ambassador to the court of France. In this, Maria Theresa at the same time regrets having had anything to do with it, and having gained too little by it. "They have led us by the nose," she writes of her accomplices, "and I am inconsolable. If I could find consolation it would be in the thought that I was always opposed to this iniquitous division, which has been *so unequal*, and to any alliance with these two monsters. . . . I was unable to go to war, and so I yielded, but much against my convictions. I hope that the monarchy will not suffer from it after I am gone."

On another occasion she wrote to Kaunitz, "When all my dominions were threatened, I put my trust in my rightful claims and in the help of God. But in this business, where not only justice cries out to Heaven against us, but where every reason of equity and common sense is against us, I must confess that I have never in my life suffered so terribly. What an example do we set to the world, when we prostitute our honour and our reputation for a bit of Poland, or of Moldavia or Wallachia! I see only too well that I stand alone and am no longer vigorous, and so I let things go their way, but not without the utmost vexation." Frederick II., with his usual cynicism, speaking of the grief of Maria Theresa, said, "She is always weeping, but she is always taking;" and she herself has described her position in words which at any rate have the merit of sincerity: "One wishes to behave like the Prussians, and yet at the same time to keep up an appearance of respectability."

The presentiments of Maria Theresa have been partially realized, and the possession of Galicia has at times been a source of considerable difficulty to the Austrian government, but lately, owing to a curious change of opinion, the Poles have become the most loyal of all the subjects of the present emperor, Francis Joseph.

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When once the partition was resolved on, it became necessary to find some good pretext for accomplishing it, and the queen of Hungary and Bohemia proceeded to invoke some ancient rights, real or imaginary, which the two kingdoms were supposed to have over certain portions of the Polish territory. As early as 1770 she laid claim to the thirteen towns of the county of Zips (Szepes) which had been pledged by Sigismund, in the year 1412, to Wladyslaw, king of Poland, and had remained in pledge for three hundred and fifty-nine years. She did not actually take possession of them till the 5th of November, 1772, when the towns paid homage to the queen of Hungary.

In September, 1772, Austria brought forward some new claims. "Russia and Prussia having determined to insist on their ancient rights to certain districts in the kingdom of Poland," the empress-queen caused fresh territory to be occupied. A special manifesto explained the rights of Hungary over Little Russia and Podolia, and those of Bohemia over the duchies of Osviecim (Ausschweitz) and Zator. Austria thus acquired Red Russia and part of Podolia, and the palatinates of Sandomir and Cracow, with the rich salt mines of Wieliczka and Bochnia, the whole comprising thirteen hundred square miles and two million five hundred thousand inhabitants. These new possessions received the official title of the kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria. The former recalls the name of the old town of Galitch, the home of the Russian princes; the latter, that of prince Vladimir, who in the twelfth century ruled over the country of the Little Russians. The title of king of Galicia and Lodomeria had already been borne by the kings of Hungary. In spite of her honourable intentions, Maria Theresa was careful not to unite her new possessions either to Hungary or Bohemia, whose independent spirit she held in fear; she preferred to make them immediately dependent on the crown. The capital of the new country was fixed at Lemberg, which is called by the Poles Lwow, and by the Little Russians Lviv. In 1773, a royal rescript organized the

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government; on the 29th of December, the Estates—clergy, nobles, and citizens—had to take the oath of allegiance to the Austrian dynasty, and the government was placed in the hands of German officials. In 1775, the country was divided into eighteen circles, and in each of the chief towns a normal school was established for the teaching of German, now become the official language. Latin, however, was still used in the courts of justice. The estates were organized in the same manner as those of Bohemia and Hungary. We shall see later on what disputes were caused in Austrian Galicia by the rivalry which existed between the Poles and the Little Russians, who divided the country between them.

Joseph II. had taken much greater interest than his mother in the partition of Poland, and certainly had not shared her scruples. In 1778, we find him visiting the new provinces, anxious, no doubt, to study on the spot the results of that Germanizing system, which he was hoping to apply to all his other dominions.

Acquisition of Bukovina (1775)—*War of the Bavarian Succession* (1779).

Bukovina was another gain to Austria, though not so important a one as Galicia. It was the result of a war between Russia and Turkey which lasted several years. Austria and Turkey had lived in peace with each other since the treaty of Belgrade, but the attention of the Austrian cabinet had been necessarily drawn to the campaign of the Russians against the Turks. Russia had seized the Crimea and was approaching the Danube, when Maria Theresa grew anxious, assembled an army in Hungary, and attempted to bring about a peace. This was in 1772, but it was not until 1774 that the Porte agreed to the treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji, which secured to Russia the conquered territory and left Moldavia and Wallachia to Turkey. Austria took advantage of these circumstances to occupy some portion of Moldavia with troops. The reasons given to the Porte for this sudden occupation were scarcely

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better than those which had previously been used to Poland at the time of its partition. Austria asserted that the occupied land was necessary to her as a means of communication between Galicia and Transylvania, and to enable her to prevent the desertion of soldiers; also that a great part of Moldavia had once belonged to Podolia, which was now an Austrian possession. Turkey protested; Russia and Prussia demanded explanations. But the Turks were without allies, and on the 7th of May, 1775, they were obliged to yield and sign a treaty giving up the disputed territory. It contained about one hundred and eighty-nine square miles, four small towns, and about sixty villages, but from a strategic point of view it was of great importance. Ghika, hospodar of Moldavia, whose principality was dismembered by the treaty, tried to prevent the people from taking the oath of allegiance, but he was seized by the Turks, and his head was cut off. His memory is still held sacred by the Roumanians as that of a martyr to liberty. The population of Bukovina is composed largely of Little Russians and Roumanians. In 1875, the Austrian government celebrated the centenary of its annexation by founding a German university at Czernowitz whose business it is to help in the *Germanizing* of the land.

Thus Maria Theresa and her son practised that policy of rounding off territories by annexation which Frederick had made the fashion by his conquest of Silesia. The principles of Joseph II. in such matters were precisely similar to those of the king of Prussia. In 1779, died Maximilian Joseph, elector of Bavaria. Thereupon, in his own right as emperor, and in right of his mother as sovereign of Austria and Bohemia, Joseph II. laid claim to the electorate, and showed himself prepared to support his claim by arms, if needful. The rightful heir, the elector palatine Charles Theodore, was so much alarmed at these threats that he agreed to a treaty by which he abandoned to Austria almost half of Bavaria.

On this Frederick II., always jealous of any increase of the power of Austria, took up arms and entered Bohemia. But

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the war proved of little military importance, and was prosecuted without vigour, consisting only of a series of patrols, manœuvres, and reconnaissances. The Austrians called it *Zwetschgenrummel* (the Plum Skirmish), and the Germans, *Kartoffelkrieg* (the Potato War). "*Chienne de guerre politique!*" growled old Loudon, who was used to more heroic struggles. The mediation of France and Russia brought about the treaty of Tesin (Teschen) in 1779, and in this treaty Austria consented to accept considerably less than she had claimed. Maria Theresa only kept the *Innviertel*, a district situated between Salzburg and Passau, on the Lower Inn and the Salza. It includes about thirty-eight square miles, and Braunau on the Inn is the chief town. The treaty of Tesin was prepared and concluded by Thugut and Cobenzel, two statesmen who afterwards became celebrated, and was the last diplomatic act of the reign of Maria Theresa. She died soon after it, on the 29th of November, 1780. On her death the Austrian dominions, including the Low Countries and Italian possessions, comprised eleven thousand and ninety-five square miles.

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CHAPTER XXII.

BOHEMIA, HUNGARY, AND AUSTRIA UNDER MARIA THERESA.

Bohemia.

In the reign of Maria Theresa, Bohemia, which had already been so cruelly tried, became once more the battle-field of the enemies of the house of Austria. In 1741, the elector of Bavaria pushed his way as far as Prague, and there summoned the Estates. Four hundred nobles and knights, whose lands were occupied by his troops, answered the summons and took the oath of allegiance to him in the cathedral of St. Vit, Maurice, prince of Manderscheid and archbishop of Prague, himself officiating on the occasion,—so weak was still the tie which attached the kingdom to the house of Austria! The Chekhs had little reason to love the dynasty, and a change of master was a matter of small importance to them. The high state dignitaries were the only persons who remained true to the queen, and they quitted the capital. Charles of Bavaria instituted a provisional government, at the head of which he placed Philip Krakovsky of Kolovrat; established a chancery for the Bohemian kingdom in Munich; convoked the diet in order to obtain supplies for the prosecution of the war; and then returned to Germany. It was by him, as king of Bohemia, that the county of Glatz (Kladsko) was given up to Frederick, but Maria Theresa was afterwards obliged to ratify the agreement. Later on, the French invaded Bohemia under the

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command of Marshal Belle-Isle, and Prague was occupied by them.

It was not until April, 1743, that Maria Theresa entered Prague and was crowned by the bishop of Olomouc. In order in future to prevent the coronation of a foreigner with the Bohemian crown, and also gradually to destroy its historic value, she had it taken to Vienna. The loss of Silesia deprived the kingdom of St. Vacslav of a third of its territory. The queen called upon the Estates to ratify the arrangement, wishing to divide with them her responsibility in the matter, and she afterwards thanked them for their help. But Bohemia had other sacrifices to make besides that of Silesia. It gave up all control over the army; agreed that appeals should in future be carried to Vienna; that the chancery of Bohemia should be absorbed in the high chancery of the court, and that the criminal law should in future be the same as that of the rest of the Austrian dominions. An archbishopric of Olomouc was created, and Moravia removed by this means from the spiritual jurisdiction of Prague. And finally the German language was introduced into all schools and offices, as the sole official language of administration and instruction. These were hard blows to the Chekh nationality. A census taken in the reign of Maria Theresa gave the number of males in the kingdom as twelve hundred thousand, implying a population probably of two millions and a half. Immediately after the Thirty Years' War it had been but eight hundred thousand.

Maria Theresa gained some amount of popularity in Bohemia by one single act—her edict about forced labour, which was issued in 1773. The peasants did not at first understand the new regulations, and believed that the queen had released them from all dues and that her agents hid the truth from them. They marched to Prague in bands, in order to see the real text of the royal document, and burned and pillaged the castles on the road. It took a large army to reduce them to order, and general Wallis had great difficulty in protecting the capital. After the loss of Silesia, Maria Theresa had two fortresses built,

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one called Terezin (Theresienstadt) and the other Josefov (Josephstadt), to protect the country from Prussian invasion.

Hungary—"Moriamur pro rege nostro."

"We have seen how the house of Austria never ceased to oppress the Hungarian nobles. They knew not how precious they would one day become to them. They sought among that nation money which it had not, and never saw the value of the men it had. When a throng of princes divided its territories among themselves, the various parts of the monarchy became as it were a motionless and inert mass; no life remained except among that nobility, which grew wrathful and then forgot its wrath to take up arms, and found its glory in pardoning and in dying for those who had injured it." These words of Montesquieu express, with the brevity habitual to the author of "L'Esprit des Lois," the feeling of admiration which the devotion of the Magyars to Maria Theresa roused throughout Europe. Those who do not know the Hungarians have seen in this devotion nothing but the expression of their knightly feelings; but the Magyars are legists as well as knights, and these opposite characteristics of the race find their expression in the characters of Verböczy and Rakoczy. We must now explain with some detail the legendary and picturesque event which is associated with the celebrated words, "*Moriamur pro rege nostro Maria Theresa!*"

Charles VI. had not been content with the recognition of his daughter as his heir by the kingdom of Hungary; he had also wished that his son-in-law, Francis of Lorraine, should enter into personal relations with the Magyar nation. On the death of the palatine Palffy, in 1732, he did not make a new appointment to this high office, but instead gave his son-in-law the title of royal lieutenant. Now, the Hungarians were exceedingly anxious, and all the more so since the Pragmatic Sanction, not to be confounded with the mass of hereditary states. When Charles VI. died his successor had not yet been crowned. Should Francis of Lorraine ascend the Hungarian

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throne with his wife, and should he, as seemed already almost certain, be elected emperor, Hungary would run great risk of becoming merely an appendage to Germany. If, on the contrary, the crown of St. Stephen were placed on the head of Maria Theresa alone, there would be far greater hope of preserving the historic individuality of Hungary.

On the death of her father, Maria Theresa had entrusted the government to John Palffy, field-marshal and *judex curiae*, the old companion-in-arms of prince Eugène. She gave him full powers, and promised to respect the liberties of the kingdom, and to convoke a diet before long. This diet was held in May, 1741, and the debates in it were very animated, the majority of the members being opposed to the idea of the husband of the new queen being associated with her on the throne. Some days later, the queen received a deputation at Vienna, bringing her the congratulations of the diet, not only on her accession, but also on the birth of the future Joseph II. This deputation received fresh assurances that the privileges of the kingdom should be respected, and that the queen would very shortly come to Pozsony (Pressburg). She embarked on the Danube on the 19th of July, her boat being decorated with the Hungarian colours, red, white, and green. On the frontier she was saluted with cries of "*Vivat domina et rex noster!*"—the title of *Rex* having been given by the Hungarians to the only woman who had reigned before her in Hungary. On the 21st, in the castle of Pozsony, she received the homage of the diet, and in a Latin speech renewed the promises which she had already made to Palffy. She undertook to maintain all the rights and privileges of the kingdom—with the single exception of the thirty-first article of the Golden Bull, which proclaimed the right of insurrection;—to leave the sacred crown in Hungary; and to renew all the clauses of the Pragmatic Sanction.

The diet was full of sympathy for the young queen, whose graceful manner conciliated the hearts of even the fiercest, but it was careful not to yield to her one of the privileges of the

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country. It insisted that the nobles should be free from taxation; that the peasant and not the land should be taxed; that Transylvania should remain indissolubly united to Hungary; and that Hungarians alone should hold office. Their deliberations were noisy. But, fortunately for Maria Theresa, the diet chose Palffy as palatine, and he professed the most chivalrous devotion to the queen. He gained over the most troublesome members, and persuaded the diet to leave all questions then pending to be decided after the coronation. That ceremony, which has always excited the enthusiasm of the Magyars, who are exceedingly jealous of their autonomy and devotedly attached to the holy crown, took place now under circumstances of especial interest. It was a young and beautiful princess whose brow was encircled by the hereditary diadem, and who, mounted on a fiery courser, brandished the sword of St. Stephen to the four quarters of the globe from the top of the King's Hill.

"She was one of the most beautiful women in Europe," writes an English eye-witness. "Her figure was elegant and her bearing majestic. Her eyes were expressive and full of sweetness. It was only a short time before that she had given birth to her son, and a look of delicacy which still remained lent a new charm to her features. Everything about her was charming. This portrait, which is not in the least flattered, ought to be present in the mind of every one who recalls the enthusiasm which this princess inspired in the Hungarians."

And yet disputes began again directly after the coronation; even the hundred thousand florins, which were to be a "gift on her joyful accession," became the subject of bargaining; and the Magyar passion for legal forms expressed itself in a number of vexatious quibbles which drew tears from the eyes of the young queen. The first scene of the sensational story which has been so much exaggerated in the telling by contemporary writers took place on the 13th of September, 1740. The queen had summoned the two *Tables* to the castle of Pozsony, and appeared before them dressed in mourning,

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the crown upon her head, the sword of St. Stephen by her side. The dangers which threatened her and the country were first enumerated by Louis Batthyany, the chancellor, and Maria Theresa herself then made a short Latin speech calling upon the assembly to provide for the safety of herself, her children, and her crown. Her speech, which was mingled with tears, called forth considerable but suppressed emotion, which grew during the reply of the primate, the nobles interrupting him with cries of "*Vitam et sanguinem!*" and a levy of one hundred thousand men was at once decided on. On the 20th of September, in another sitting, the prince consort was accepted as co-regent of the kingdom. On the 21st he took the oaths and promised to devote his blood and his life to the queen and to Hungary, and it was on this occasion that Maria Theresa showed her young son, who had arrived from Esztergom (Gratz) only the evening before, to the assembled diet, and that the celebrated cry broke forth, "*Moriamur pro rege nostro Maria Theresa!*" It was not the spontaneous expression of chivalrous feeling; it was the result of prolonged negociations and of emotions skilfully called forth. Contemporaries themselves were misled, and concentrated into one single moment all the phases of an event of whose details they were ignorant. This diet, which broke up on the 29th of October, had in fact devoted itself almost entirely to the preservation of Hungarian interests. The queen had been obliged to agree to all its demands, which were, indeed, perfectly lawful; she had consented to the suppression of the military frontiers in Sirmia and Lower Slavonia, in the *comitats* of Bacs, Bodrog, Csongrad, Arad, Csanad, and in the *banat* of the Temes, and she had obtained, in exchange for these concessions, the help she needed to enable her to continue the war.

The enthusiasm of the Hungarians did not pass away with the circumstances which had given birth to it. Maria Theresa owed some of her best troops to them; the Servians and Croats commanded by Baron Von Trenck acquired a legendary reputation for their valour and their cruelty. These fierce

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fanlours, used to war with Turks and now thrown suddenly into the midst of civilized Europe, brought with them the half-savage habits which they had learned in their frequent contact with Asiatic hordes. The devotion of the Magyars to Maria Theresa was proved on many a field of battle, and their horsemen penetrated as far as Berlin, and even to Alsace. Frederick II., with the skill which so often aided Prussian ambition, tried to destroy the fidelity of the Hungarians to their queen by recalling to their minds their insurrections in times past, and the services then rendered to them by the house of Brandenburg; but his efforts were in vain.

The Peasant Question—The Military Frontiers.

This exchange of services between the Magyar nobles and the court of Vienna formed a tie between them such as had never previously existed. The great nobles were assiduous in their attendance at the palaces of Vienna, Schönbrunn, and Laxenburg, and contact with the Bohemian and Austrian nobility and the gentle influence of the empress-queen led them gradually to give up the favourite national dress and national language, and to seek and obtain the foreign titles of prince, count, or baron. A body-guard of Hungarians was at this time formed at Vienna, and the order of St. Stephen instituted, and, by means of ingeniously contrived marriages and a whole system of cleverly devised temptations, the higher nobility were persuaded to allow themselves to be *Germanized*. But the landed gentry (*petite noblesse*) remained incorruptible, and in the discussions of the *Lower Table* and at the meetings of the *comitats* they continued to defend with invincible obstinacy the pockets and the privileges of their order.

The disputes between the queen and the chambers turned upon two essential questions, the condition of the peasants and the constitution of the military frontiers. In Hungary the peasants were serfs of the soil. Both the philanthropic ideas of the eighteenth century and the financial interests of the kingdom required the abolition of serfdom. It is more easy

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to tax land, which is a stable element, than the person who cultivates it, and who is, from the nature of things, liable to constant changes. The queen asked for a reform of the old system; the nobles replied by a series of complaints against the encroachments of the German officials, against the council of regency, against the powers of the military commanders, and against the title of Landtag (local diet), which had been applied, perhaps designedly, to the Hungarian diet, instead of that of Reichstag, or diet of the kingdom. The queen, however, issued, and by dint of perseverance succeeded in enforcing, an edict which remained the fundamental law regulating the life of the peasant down to the year 1832. This was called an *urbarium*, from the German word *urbar*, a term applied to administrative rules or traditional customs affecting the relations between lord and peasant. By the *urbarium* of Maria Theresa, peasants obtained the rights of moving from place to place and of bringing up their children as they wished, and all suits in which they might be engaged were in future to be tried before the courts of the *comitat*. These liberal measures were only accepted by the nobles with the greatest reluctance; but they found some compensation in the matter of the military frontiers.

The old system of the court at Vienna had aimed at the complete separation of the frontier lands from the kingdom of St. Stephen. It was argued that they had been freed from Turkish rule by the imperial armies, and therefore ought to belong to the emperor. Moreover, the Slav populations of those districts were of alien nationality, and had no sort of wish to be united to the Magyars, preferring their present obligations of military service to the condition of the oppressed Servians of the *comitats*. Among other privileges, they possessed those of holding an assembly of their own, and of choosing their own bishop. Maria Theresa, however, was obliged to yield to the demands of the Hungarians, and to consent to suppress the frontiers of the Tisza and the Maros (1750). In consequence of this, no less than one hundred

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thousand Servians left the country and, under their leaders Horvat and Tököly, settled in Russia, in the province of Ekaterinoslav. The Austro-Hungarian army lost some of its best soldiers by the exodus, and the *gränzer* (soldiers of the frontier), who remained in the country in a state of great discontent, in 1755 rose in a rebellion which was not suppressed without bloodshed. Owing to the remonstrance of the Hungarians, the Servians were in 1776 forbidden any longer to maintain an agent at Vienna to look after their interests; and at last, in 1779, the lands between the Maros, the Tisza, the Danube, and the Carpathians were incorporated with the rest of the kingdom, and formed into three *comitats*, those of Torontol, Krasso, and Temes. Thus Hungary recovered the territory which had been gradually separated from her by Vienna. The partition of Poland ought also to have restored to her the towns in the county of Szepes (Zips); but Maria Theresa refused to annex this new acquisition to the kingdom, although she had laid claim to Galicia on the ground of ancient rights belonging to the crown of St. Stephen.

In 1765, she associated her son Joseph with herself in the government, and some of the measures decided on after this date would seem to have been inspired by the philosophic mind of this prince; as, for example, the suppression of the right of sanctuary and of the mendicant orders, the development of public instruction, and the foundation of numerous village schools. The Hungarians are grateful to him to this day for having given them the port of Fiume (Rieka), which had formerly been dependent on Trieste. It is still a matter of dispute whether the town of Rieka was united to Croatia or to Hungary proper. The possession of the town has been claimed most energetically by the Croats, but the government at Vienna has decided finally that it belongs to Hungary.

To sum up: on the death of Maria Theresa the kingdom was materially in a flourishing condition, but from a national point of view it was enfeebled, and had lost the greater part of those ancient rights whose maintenance was so dear to

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patriots. The diet of the kingdom, which, according to the Golden Bull, ought to meet every year, met only three times during the whole of her reign.

Reforms in Administration and Education.

It was the ceaseless aim of Maria Theresa to develop the authority of the prince, and to diminish that of the Estates in the Hereditary Provinces, as well as in the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary. Almost all the executive power had hitherto been in the hands of the prelates, lords, knights, and a few privileged towns; justice was administered by the towns or the lords; the roads were bad and the militia managed on no regular system. In the reign of Maria Theresa, government began to interfere with the churches and schools, and took pains to secure to the inhabitants of towns the position which had hitherto been refused them. The empress retained, on her accession, the principal advisers of her father, Zinzendorf, Kinsky, and Harrach. After the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, she made Frederick William of Haugwitz chancellor of Austria, in which post he rendered her important services. Maria Theresa wrote to his widow, "Haugwitz brought the government out of confusion into order." Later on, she united the two chanceries of Bohemia and Austria. Chotek was called upon to reform the finances, and Kaunitz foreign affairs.

The following were the principal measures taken to increase the power of the central government. The power of voting a certain number of indirect taxes, such as those on salt, tobacco, and stamps, was taken from the diets. The Estates were in future to be required to present their budgets to the court of accounts at Vienna (*Hofrechnungkammer*). All political power was taken from them and vested in the royal lieutenant. The peasants were relieved from some portion of their labour services and seignorial dues. Up to this time the central administration had been divided between the chanceries of Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, and Transylvania, but the imperial chancery and the council of war had exercised jurisdiction over all the territories,

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except those in Italy and the Low Countries, and with these we have nothing to do. The patent of the 14th of May, 1749, separated the administration of justice from the legislative and executive functions of government, and decreed the union of the Bohemian and Austrian chanceries in one supreme power, called at first the Directory of the Interior (*Directorium in Internis*), and afterwards the United Chancery of the Imperial and Royal court (*Kaiserliche Königliche Vereinigte Hofkanzlei*). Thus did the absolute monarchy take the first steps towards the arrangement now in force under the parliamentary system of Cisleithania. In 1760, Maria Theresa also instituted a council of state whose business it was to watch over the whole administration. Administrative power was gradually withdrawn from the permanent committees of the provincial diets, and vested in the representative of the sovereign power, *gubernium* (lieutenancy or agency); and the Estates were only allowed to meet in order to vote money to the crown. Officials were appointed by the court in those circles from which they had hitherto been excluded, and they became the representatives of the central authority, and were required to protect the peasants against their lords.

The peasants, without being serfs—except in Hungary—were almost absolutely dependent on the territorial lords; they had not the ownership, but only the usufruct of their holdings; without the lord's permission they could neither quit the estate, nor marry, nor bring up their children to any other business than that of agricultural labourer; and they were bound to perform many services, which were known by the Slav name of *robot*, corresponding to the *corvée* of France. Maria Theresa set herself to improve their condition. She had a new survey of the land taken, in order to be able to regulate the land-tax, and put an end to that exemption from taxation which the territorial lords had hitherto enjoyed. These measures suited not only the needs of the treasury, but also the humanitarian ideas which were coming into favour. They were enforced in all the Cisleithanian states except the Tyrol,

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Gorica, Gradiska, and Trieste, where feudal institutions were but little known. The policy of Maria Theresa was to improve the condition of the peasants in order to weaken the nobles; to attract the great nobles to Vienna, so that their influence should be lessened; and, by uniting the aristocracy of the various portions of her empire, to bring about the unity of the monarchy.

The reform of the communal system presented great difficulties. Down to the middle of the eighteenth century there were the most radical differences in the constitutions of the various communes. Some of them depended upon a lay, others upon an ecclesiastical lord; while others, especially cities and towns, were under the immmediate authority of the sovereign. Some of them were in possession of complete freedom, while others were tyrannized over by their lords or by the royal agents. Some of the towns possessed the rights of representation in the diet. Their constitutions differed as much as did those of the Italian republics: here the government was aristocratic, there a pure democracy; here municipal offices were hereditary, there elective. The institutions of the Middle Ages—as, for example, the guilds—were still vigorous, and we find town burgesses and "burgesses of the suburbs," "great burgesses" and "small burgesses;" while in those towns which were under Italian influence, such as Trieste and Gorica, there existed a patriciate, or hereditary aristocracy. After 1748, these mediæval institutions began to disappear, and one of the laws passed in 1776, proclaiming as it did freedom of trade, attacked the principle on which trading corporations or guilds were based. Maria Theresa also appointed a body of magistrates who administered justice and took the place of the old local courts.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, the law of the country was solely made up of prescriptive rights and local customs, whose deficiencies were supplied from civil, *i.e.* Roman law, canon law, or, in some provinces, imperial decrees. The fundamental principle was that every citizen should be judged by his peers. Clergy, universities, nobles, public officials, citizens,

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peasants, and Jews all had their separate tribunals. From the lords on their estates and the magistrates in the towns there was no appeal. Punishments were still barbarous. The most usual were branding, mutilation, the wheel and the stake, and these awful penalties were usually inflicted by ignorant and superstitious judges. Civil suits dragged on for an indefinite period, and often no final decision was arrived at. To put an end to this state of things, Maria Theresa resolved, in 1753, to make one uniform legislation for the whole of her dominions. The work of compilation took many years. The commission appointed by the sovereign first produced eight folio volumes in 1767; these were afterwards abridged, and in 1776 the first volume of the new compilation appeared. In 1768, the "*Constitutio criminalis Theresiana*" had been published. It had retained the barbarous penalties of the Middle Ages, admitted torture, and punished blasphemy. But even legal procedure was making progress; and, in 1777, torture was finally abolished, and trials for witchcraft, if not entirely suppressed, were at least considerably checked. A patent of the 14th of May, 1749, had separated the administration of justice from provincial business, and a minister of justice had been appointed for all the non-Hungarian states. Some of these praiseworthy reforms had, it is true, the Utopian character which is not uncommon in the eighteenth century; as, for example, the institution of the so-called commission of chastity, whose office it was to prevent all unlawful *amours*.

Though she was a sincere Catholic, Maria Theresa never sacrificed the state to the Church. She put an end to the ecclesiastical penalties which the priests had been in the habit of imposing; forbade the various religious orders to send money out of the country, the papal nuncios to travel in her dominions, and the bishops to correspond directly with the court of Rome. She also prohibited priests from having anything to do with the making of wills. In 1773, the order of Jesuits was suppressed in Austria, as it was throughout the rest of Europe.

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Down to 1740, public instruction had either been entirely in the hands of the clergy or under their control. There were hardly any elementary schools, and the teaching in the higher schools was extremely poor. Austrian education was in a state of miserable inferiority compared with either France or Northern Germany. It was a foreigner who was entrusted with its improvement—Gerhard van Swieten, a Dutch professor of medicine at Vienna—who was physician to Maria Theresa, and also the illiberal president of the commission for the censorship of the press. All schools were placed under state control. A law passed on the 7th of February, 1749, reserved the sole right of choosing the professors of the university of Vienna to the government, and, soon after, the schools belonging to the Jesuits and Piarists were placed under the state. An imperial resolution of the 24th of September, 1770, contains the words, "*Das Schulwesen ist und bleibt allzeit ein Politicum*" ("The organization of schools is and must always remain an affair of state"); and this principle, pushed to an extreme, bore singular consequences. The universities were not open to every one, and no one could go to study in foreign lands without the permission of the government. Even theological works had to be submitted to government censure, which was extremely strict, and often as intolerant as the ecclesiastical censure. It prohibited even such classical works as those of Machiavelli. A great number of schools for the young nobility were founded during the reign of Maria Theresa, among them the Theresianum, which exists at the present time. In 1766, the commission of instruction and of the censorship of the press was founded. The suppression of the Jesuits influenced the future of education greatly; but at first the majority of the professors had to be chosen from ex-Jesuits, as the number of other teachers was not sufficient. A new education code was published in 1775, and this was in force down to 1850.

But the best act of Maria Theresa was the foundation of elementary schools. Before 1770, primary education, properly

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so called, did not exist. Down to this date, all schools had been entirely dependent on the Church; the state had had nothing to do with them. A few had been founded by the Piarists; but those which had once flourished—as, for example, some in Bohemia—had been swept away by the Jesuit reaction. In May, 1770, the first normal school was opened at Vienna, and a royal edict of September in the same year freed schoolmasters from the control of the priests. The suppression of the Jesuits and the sequestration of their property had placed ample funds at the disposal of government, and enabled it to convert many classical into elementary schools, and in 1774 the Silesian schoolmaster, the celebrated Felbinger, was summoned to Vienna to introduce good methods of teaching.

At the same time higher education, especially in the university of Vienna, developed rapidly. The faculties of medicine and law took rank among the first in Europe. Besides Van Swieten, who was the worthy disciple of Boerhaave, we may mention the botanist Jacquin, the publicist Sonnenfels, and the archæologist Eckhel, the real creator of numismatics, as among those whose names are worthy of remembrance. In literature, properly so called, there is not, however, a single name to quote. Poetry made but halting progress, and in her clumsy attempts showed but few signs of the noble influence of Klopstock or Lessing. Architecture was *rococo* in style, and sculpture was represented in Vienna by Canova, the Italian. Music was the only great art in which Austria excelled, and under Glück, Haydn, and Mozart, it reached heights hitherto unknown. In their immortal works we may trace the influence of the races among whom they were composed; they combine the melodious brightness of Italian music, the depth of harmony of the German, and the melancholy of the Slav. Of all the manifestations of the mind of man, music is perhaps the only one which can develop in a state of intellectual servitude.

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Finance—Trade—The Army.

Francis I., the husband of Maria Theresa, busied himself chiefly with the finances, and was assisted in the work by Chotek, a Chekh noble, who had succeeded Haugwitz as chancellor of Bohemia and Austria in 1761. He was well acquainted with economic questions, and his first care was to reduce the expenses of the court. On the accession of Maria Theresa the finances were in a miserable condition; we are assured that not more than eighty-seven thousand thalers remained of her father's treasure. Chotek proceeded to levy a tax on property and another on persons, to which every one contributed, from the prince, who paid six hundred florins, down to the maid-servant, who paid four kreutzers, exemption from taxation being completely abolished. Count Chotek was the first to show what use could be made of Trieste in order to compete with the commerce of Venice. That town grew rapidly; Dutch, Neapolitan, and Greek merchants settled there for trading purposes, and entered into relations with both hemispheres. By 1763, Austria had twelve large ships trading with India, one of which took possession of the Nicobar Islands in 1776.

By this date, the port of Trieste was habitually frequented by six thousand vessels. Twenty-five consulates were established in the Mediterranean and Atlantic; seven in Italy, thirteen in Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia, one at Ragusa, one at Alexandria, one at Tripoli, and one at Lisbon. The Oriental Academy, which was founded at Vienna in 1754, furnished capable and well-educated men as consuls. The *Hofcommerzialrath* (Board of Trade) was established in 1766, and did much to develop commerce, the cloth of Moravia being especially and widely in demand.

Roads and canals were improved, while the customs dues established in the interior were either abolished or reduced. The postal arrangements were also greatly improved. Chotek created a reserve fund for unforeseen accidents, and raised the

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credit of Austria by his punctuality in meeting the charges of the public debt. During the reign of Charles VI. the state revenue had scarcely reached the sum of thirty millions of florins; by 1773 it had almost reached fifty-six millions, and by the time of Maria Theresa's death it exceeded eighty millions. A patent, bearing date 1751, reorganized the lottery, which by the end of this reign was bringing in to the treasury no less than one hundred thousand florins.

The system of centralization was applied to the department of war as early as to that of foreign affairs. Each state, however, retained the right of voting its contingent for the army. The total number of troops rose to one hundred and thirty thousand men, without counting the irregulars furnished by Hungary. Military schools were opened, and Maria Theresa anxiously watched over the welfare of her soldiers. During the war of the Austrian succession, a medal was struck in her honour, which bore the well-deserved superscription, "*Mater castrorum.*" After the battle of Kolin, she founded the military order of Maria Theresa. Some reforms were borrowed from the Prussian army, as, for instance, marching in time; and the corps of sappers and miners was introduced. The artillery was commanded by prince Lichtenstein, and was considered the best in Europe. In 1772, conscription was introduced into Bohemia, Austria, Moravia, Carniola, Carinthia, and Galicia; the Tyrol and Hungary were exempted. We have already spoken of the military frontiers. During the Seven Years' War there were no less than two hundred thousand men under arms. "A woman," said Frederick II., "has carried out measures that are worthy of a man." At this period, the Austrian navy was composed of nine ships of war carrying one hundred and ten guns, and six galleys of thirty-six guns each.

"On the accession of Maria Theresa," writes Sonnenfels, "the monarchy had neither external influence nor internal vigour; for ability there was no emulation and no encouragement; the state of agriculture was miserable, trade small, the finances badly managed, and credit bad. At her death, she left

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to her successor a kingdom improved by her many reforms, and placed in that rank which its size and fertility and the intelligence of its inhabitants ought always to enable it to maintain." Maria Theresa had certainly greater claims to the title of "Great" than had Catherine of Russia, and yet it has never been bestowed upon her.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

JOSEPH II. (1780–1790).

Character of Joseph II.

JOSEPH II. was forty years of age when he came to the throne. He had been emperor for fifteen years, and his mother had already associated him with herself, to some extent, in the government of the Austrian states. He seems to have taken Frederick the Great as his model. Greatly influenced by the philosophical ideas of his time, he had waited with some degree of impatience for the moment when he should be ably to carry his ideas into practice in his own dominions. During the lifetime of Maria Theresa it was necessary to conceal his aspirations, or at any rate to give expression to but few of them, and for many years there existed an open hostility between the old court of the empress and the young court of the emperor. Having for so long a time been obliged to confine himself to the domain of pure theory, the new sovereign hardly realized what difficulties stood in the way of the practical application of his ideas. A few weeks before his accession, the prince de Ligne said of him, "He will be a man of feeble desires which he will never be able to satisfy; his whole reign will be one constant desire to sneeze." It has been well remarked that almost every one of the changes made by the French Constituent Assembly were first tried by Joseph II.; but the sharp remedies of the French Revolution were tried on a homogeneous people who were in a much more enlightened state than were

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the subjects of Austria, and indeed many of them would probably never have been accepted in France had they not been enforced by the terrorism of the Convention and the despotic rule of Napoleon. Joseph II., a philosopher king, looked upon men as so much inert matter to be moulded at will, on which a sovereign might make what experiments he pleased as *in anima vili*.

Those which he tried during his reign came either too soon or too late: too soon, because the minds of men were not yet ripe for that liberty of thought and religious tolerance which he wished to introduce; too late, because the peoples whom he wished to civilize by *Germanizing* them were already aroused to a consciousness of their national individuality. Joseph II. had been restricted by his mother to the management of military matters, and he now expected to rule the monarchy as if it were a regiment. He aimed at making philosophy "the law-maker of his empire," and the works of the encyclopædists and of the French economists, especially the physiocrats, were his favourite study. During his visit to Paris, he had made the acquaintance of Necker, Turgot, Buffon, Rousseau, Marmontel, and D'Alembert. He could find no such men in Austria to help him to carry out his plans. Those whom he had—Von Kressel, Von Gebler, Martin, Gottfried van Swieten, Sonnenfels the converted Jew, Rautenstrauch, etc.—were most of them members of the secret societies of the Freemasons or the Illuminati. These societies had been obliged to conceal their existence under Maria Theresa. In Joseph's reign, they were tolerated; and we find quite early in it that there was a Lodge of True Concord at Vienna, where the most noted free-thinkers of the capital met, a Lodge of Crowned Hope, and a Joseph Lodge. By the end of 1785, Freemasonry was officially recognized in Austria.

Joseph II. had a very simple plan of action, which might be reduced to this formula—the destruction of everything which was contrary to his philosophical opinions, without any reference to either historical or religious prejudices or opinions.

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His most ardent wish was to bring about a complete similarity in language and culture among all the various nations whom fate had placed under his rule. He wrote to an Hungarian noble who had protested against the introduction of the German language into his country, "Every proposal ought to be based upon the irrefutable arguments of reason. . . . The German language is the universal language of my empire. I am emperor of Germany. The principalities which I possess are provinces which form one whole with the state of which I am the head. If the kingdom of Hungary had been the most important of my possessions, I should not have hesitated to make all the other countries speak Hungarian."

There were two obstacles which Joseph II. in his war with the past found quite insurmountable, and which led to his defeat in the struggle; on the one side religious tradition and faith, and on the other historical tradition and the sense of nationality. We shall soon see how he provoked a patriotic reaction in Bohemia and Hungary, the consequences of which have not yet passed away; while even in his efforts against Ultramontanism he did not always manage to have right on his side.

Church Reforms.

From the very beginning of his reign Joseph declared war on the Holy See and the religious orders. "We must lessen the influence of the Ulemas," he wrote in a letter to Cardinal Herzan, his minister in Rome. "I despise superstitions and Sadducees, and I must free my people from them. The principles of monasticism and human reason are in flat contradiction to each other." Again, he wrote to the archbishop of Salzburg, "Monks are the most dangerous and most useless subjects that a country can possess." The following are the principal measures which resulted from these opinions. The right of granting marriage dispensations, which had hitherto been reserved for the Holy See, was now transferred to the Austrian bishops; religious orders were no longer allowed to

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recognize as their head any person residing in a foreign land; no papal bull was to be published before it had received the imperial sanction; the two bulls, In Cæna Domini and Unigenitus, which defined the prerogatives of the pope, were no longer to be taught; no titles conferred by the Roman chancery were to be used; no one was to go to Rome to study at the Collegium Germanicum; and no money was to be sent to Rome.

All these measures were enacted in 1781. The following year Joseph II. attacked the convents. As a philosopher, he wished to destroy these dens of superstition, and as an economist he would not tolerate idlers who consumed without producing. By a single blow he suppressed more than six hundred convents belonging to those orders which made religious contemplation their sole object, and decreed that their property should be applied to charitable works. He caused their possessions to be sold at a low price, not excepting even works of art or sacred utensils. The number of monks, which had been sixty-three thousand, was reduced to twenty thousand, and they were strictly forbidden to maintain any connection with foreign countries. The king interfered even with the details of public worship, forbidding the placing of *ex voto* offerings in the churches, the reading of more masses than one in a church at the same time, the setting apart of altars with special privileges in the matter of indulgences, or the organization of pilgrimages. He also forbade the use of metal candlesticks and wooden coffins; the dead were to be buried in a sheet only. These two prohibitions were based on an idea of economy; he maintained that it was useless to waste so much silver, copper, and wood.

In 1781, an edict of toleration was also published, which granted the *private* use of their religion to Lutherans, Calvinists, and non-uniate Greeks. They were allowed to have schools and churches, but the buildings were to have neither towers nor bells, and their doors were not to open on the public road. These prohibitions did not, however, extend to Hungary or Transyl-

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vania, where liberty of conscience had always been more or less enjoyed. Members of the various sects were granted a legal right to acquire property, and were to be admitted to public offices. The condition of the Jews was also improved, and they were allowed to study at the universities and to practise medicine. For more than a century and a half toleration had been completely unknown in Austria, and when it was proclaimed, Hussites, Utraquists, and Bohemian Brothers suddenly reappeared in Bohemia. But Joseph II. had a fashion of his own of understanding what was meant by religious tolerance, and kept it within official boundaries drawn by himself, beyond which no one was allowed to step. When a sect of Deists was formed in Bohemia, he issued a proclamation, one of the articles of which ran thus: "If a man or woman comes to be entered in the lists at the chancery of the circle as a Deist, he must immediately receive four and twenty blows from a stick, not because he is a Deist, but because he pretends to be something concerning which he knows not what it is (*weil er vorgibt etwas zu seyn, von dem er nicht weiss was es ist*)."

Incomplete and absurd as some of these measures were, they none the less struck a terrible blow at Catholicism. The archbishops of Vienna and Pesth and the clergy generally protested against them with all their energy, and the following epigram was circulated in the capital :—

> "Tollendos tolerans, tolerandos Austria tollis ;
> Sic tollens, tolerans, intoleranda facis."

Pope Pius VI. took a step hitherto unheard of in ecclesiastical annals in the hope of averting the dangers which threatened the Austrian Church. He journeyed to Vienna to see what his personal influence could do with the son of Maria Theresa. On his arrival he was lodged in the imperial castle and treated less as a guest than as a prisoner, not even being allowed to communicate with the Austrian bishops, and though he was received with the most enthusiastic veneration by the Viennese people, he failed altogether to move the scepticism of the prince

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and his advisers. His visit even gave rise to a number of violent pamphlets which must have scandalized the ghosts of Ferdinand II. and Maria Theresa.

After the departure of the pope, Joseph continued his campaign against ecclesiastical institutions with fresh energy. He suppressed all the mendicant orders, even the Trinitarians, whose mission it was to ransom captives from barbarous nations. He would not, he said, have money going out of the country, and he had sufficiently provided for the interests of his subjects by means of treaties and the establishment of consulates. The marriage law passed in January, 1783, was a still more severe blow at the authority of the Church, as it made marriage only a civil contract and allowed divorce. The emperor also deprived all foreign bishops of their estates in Austria and annexed them to his own domains, at the same time that he caused the Austrian bishops to surrender any possessions which involved obedience to foreign powers. On the other hand he increased the number of village priests and elementary schools. The incessant complaints of the Holy See obliged Joseph in his turn to visit Rome, and this meeting with the sovereign pontiff brought about some slight improvement in the action of the emperor towards the Catholic Church, but it was always harsh and often clumsy. *Josephinism*, as it has since been named, preceded by about a century the *Kulturkampf* of modern Germany. The universities were as harshly treated as the Church on which they had so long depended, being deprived of their property and becoming state establishments. Joseph II. was essentially utilitarian in his views, and felt no interest in any but elementary education, and Van Swieten, when one of his ministers, prevented him even from founding an Academy. But he was more active in furthering projects of philanthropy, and Austria owes to him the establishment of hospitals and the foundation of a school of medicine and surgery. A German university was founded at Lemberg in 1783, but this had for its object the Germanizing of Galicia. Everything which could recall a past hateful to

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the emperor was treated by him with merciless brutality. Thus the palace of Hradcany in Prague was turned into a cavalry barracks, and the treasures of art which adorned it were abandoned to downright pillage. In a list drawn up at the time by one of the imperial agents, Titian's Leda is described thus: "Item, A naked woman bitten by a wild goose." Most of the legal measures of this time recall the extravagances of the period of the Reformation or anticipate those of the French Revolution.

Administrative, Judicial, and Economical Reforms.

Joseph II. was the enemy of all feudal rights and an enthusiastic philanthropist; he abolished serfdom in Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, and Hungary, and granted full ownership of the lands they cultivated to the emancipated serfs. The powers of the *Kreisämter* (government officials in the circles) were increased, and completely destroyed all those which the feudal lords had hitherto been able to exercise. Nothing was neglected which could help to reduce Bohemia and Hungary to the rank of simple provinces; the emperor meant to *Germanize* them at any cost, and then to rule them as a liberal tyrant. If this system had succeeded, when the whole of Austria had become German, she would gradually in her turn have assimilated the whole of Germany, and would form now, in union with her, a nation of nearly twenty-four millions of inhabitants. The possessions of Austria were divided by Joseph into thirteen governments, and subdivided into circles, at the head of each of which was a captain (*Kreishauptmann*). These governments were—1st, Galicia; 2nd, Bohemia; 3rd, Moravia and Silesia; 4th, Lower Austria; 5th, Inner Austria (Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola); 6th, the Tyrol; 7th, Outer Austria (possessions in South-Western Germany); 8th, Transylvania; 9th, Hungary; 10th, Croatia; 11th, Lombardy; 12th, Gorica, Gradisca, and Trieste; 13th, the Low Countries.

Diets were no longer convoked, and the privileges of the royal towns were entirely abolished; the old titles of *Schul-*

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theiss, senator, consul, etc.—were suppressed. Each town had a burgomaster, assisted by two or three councillors, who were all really government officials. Joseph II., imbued with the theories of the physiocrats, was determined to arrange the taxation of his dominions according to their notions; his ideal was to be able some day to obtain an average of forty per cent. on all incomes for the use of the state, but meantime he contented himself with establishing a tax levied on the incomes derived from land on the average of the last ten years. It was decreed that thirty per cent. of the net produce of the land should be set aside for the state, and neither nobles nor priests were to be exempted from payment. Two commissions of taxation were created, one for Hungary and another for the rest of the kingdom, and a government survey was taken at great expense; but this vast undertaking was unfortunately accompanied by many vexatious arrangements, and was usually entrusted to ignorant officials. It lasted for more than five years.

Joseph's efforts to enrich his people by means of commerce were especially directed to the Low Countries, which possessed the best ports for merchant vessels, and he attempted to obtain the free navigation of the Scheldt, which had been closed by the Dutch since the Barrier Treaty (1714). Owing, however, to the combined resistance of Holland and France, he failed in this; but he succeeded better on the Danube, and thanks to his exertions the natural wealth of Hungary in corn, wine, and flocks was able to be sold to greater advantage than formerly. A road, called after him the *Via Josephina*, was made in his reign to unite the town of Karlovac (Karlstadt) and the ports of Senj (Zeng), and Carlopago (Bag); and the ports on the Adriatic, especially Fiume, were improved. The friendly terms on which he was with the Porte enabled the emperor to obtain freedom from the attacks of the corsairs of Barbary for Austrian ships, and a treaty of friendship and reciprocal trade was concluded with the emperor of Morocco, and another with Turkey and Russia. Joseph was aided in

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all these undertakings by count Charles of Zinzendorf, the director of commerce, who had been governor of Trieste. Trade with the Levant acquired a degree of prosperity hitherto unknown, and factories were established even in China and the Indies. The Nicobar Islands were granted to Joseph by Hyder Ali, but the unhealthiness of the climate forced him to abandon them. At home a large number of manufactories were built, and it could no longer be said that the Viennese did not even know how to weave a pair of silk stockings. The emperor was a great protectionist, and wished above all things to secure the development of home industries and to restrain importation. As he said, he was desirous that the merchants in his dominions should no longer be merely "the agents of the English, French, and Dutch." His law concerning the customs, which bears date the 27th of August, 1784, introduces a thorough-going protective system. The importation of foreign produce is entirely prohibited; private persons even may only send for articles of food on payment of heavy duties amounting in some cases to sixty per cent. Even the importation of salt fish is forbidden! In order to set an example to his subjects, the emperor caused all the foreign wines which were in his cellars to be distributed among the hospitals. The first effect of this system was the creation of smugglers and informers, and the harsh way in which it was carried out by Joseph can only be compared to the severity with which Napoleon tried to maintain the continental blockade against England. He certainly succeeded in making his subjects build factories, but they were for the most part established by foreigners, Swiss, French, and English, who must have carried off a good share of the millions which the emperor wanted to keep by force in his dominions.

The legislative work which had been begun by Maria Theresa was continued by Joseph II. He published a civil code which formed the basis of that of Francis II., the code still in use in the Austrian dominions. His penal code bears

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traces of the philosophic ideas of the sovereign. He abolished the cruel punishments for blasphemy and sorcery which had been retained by Maria Theresa. The criminal courts were reorganized, and placed under six courts of appeal—those of Vienna, Prague, Klagenfurt, Friburg in Briesgau, Brünn, and Lemberg (Lwow). Hungary was not included. Besides these, there was also a supreme court, divided into three senates—one for the German provinces, another for those belonging to the crown of Bohemia, and a third for Galicia. The crime of rebellion was alone to be punished by death, and torture was abolished. But this code, which was in some respects so humane, still allowed imprisonment in irons for thirty years, the criminal being chained to the wall of his prison, and includes other penalties, which are in some cases absurd, and in others Draconian in their severity. We may mention two of the punishments invented by Joseph II. Criminals were condemned to be chained in pairs, whatever their rank, and forced to sweep the streets of Vienna, or drag the boats which came up the Danube.

Foreign Policy—The Fürstenbund (1785)—*Revolt of the Netherlands—War with Turkey* (1788).

In his foreign policy, Joseph II. remained true to that system of which Frederick the Great had set the fashion. He used his utmost endeavours to make his kingdom more compact. Although he was strongly interested in his possessions in the Low Countries, he was well aware that they were a source of difficulty to the house of Austria rather than an element of strength, and in 1785 he attempted to make an exchange with Bavaria. He proposed to Charles Theodore, the elector of Bavaria,—the prince whom a few years earlier he had tried to deprive of all his possessions without any compensation—that they should make the following arrangement:—The elector should give up Bavaria, the Upper Palatinate, Neuburg, Sulzbach, and Leuchtenberg to Austria, and should receive in exchange three millions of money and the whole of the

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Austrian Netherlands except Luxemburg and Namur, which towns were to be given to France in order to secure her agreement. Austria would thus have become a homogeneous state, and, absolute mistress of Southern Germany, would have been able more easily to hold in check the greed of Prussia. Frederick defeated all these plans. Under pretence of maintaining the constitution of Germany, he brought about an alliance of the chief German princes, which was called the *Fürstenbund* (23rd July, 1785) and thus secured the future of Prussia. Soon after troubles broke out in Belgium. Tired of the despotic rule of the emperor, which attacked both the liberties of the nation and those religious institutions which were so dear to the Catholic population, the country rose and proclaimed its independence (1789). This Belgian insurrection was not suppressed until after the death of Joseph II.

In his behaviour towards the Turks, the emperor followed the example of Leopold I. and Charles VI. His intimate alliance with Catherine II., the esteem which he professed for that princess, and his own philanthropic ideas, all led to this policy. In an interview with Catherine, at Kherson (1786), he and the empress had formed a plan for the complete expulsion of the Ottomans, and the division of their territory between France, England, Austria, Spain, and Russia. When war broke out between Turkey and Russia, Joseph II. at once took part in it. He marched against the Turks "in order to recover those lands which unfortunate circumstances had separated from his empire." The truth was he was determined not to allow the Russians to be the sole heirs of Turkey. In a letter to the king of Prussia, he announces his intention of *Germanizing* his conquests. It was at this time that the nations in the Balkan Peninsula began to bestir themselves and to dream of their old independence; there were premonitory signs of the Servian revolution, and the first national poet, Dositei Obradovic, greeted the Austrian army enthusiastically. His poem of "Servia Delivered" has

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a frontispiece representing Joseph II. breaking the chains of the southern Slavs.

"Noble sovereign, Joseph the Great!" cries the poet, "extend thy protection over the Servian race. Turn thy beneficent face towards a people who were dear to thy ancestors, to miserable Servia and Bosnia, who suffer trials without number. Glory of the world, illustrious monarch! restore to Bulgaria her boyars, to Servia her heroes of old time, and to Greece her Pindars!" But the hour of regeneration had not yet struck for the Danubian Christians, nor was the Austria of Joseph II. fit to be the instrument of it, for she would have given to them the doubtful benefits of *Germanization.* Joseph made large preparations for war; two hundred and forty-five thousand infantry and thirty-six thousand cavalry were set on foot, but they were scattered over the country from the Dniester to the Adriatic. At first he led the troops himself; but he lost forty-five thousand men from sickness and the attacks of the Turks, and, sick himself, he threw up the command and returned to Vienna in December, 1788. Loudon carried on the war with vigour, captured Belgrade (29th September, 1789) and Shabats, and then pushed on into Bosnia.

Joseph II. did not long survive these triumphs. His generous but ill-balanced mind had suffered much both from the loss of the Netherlands and from the concessions he had had to make to Hungary. He had been obliged to humiliate himself to Pius VI., whom he had formerly defied, in order to get him to recall the Belgians to their allegiance by his exhortations, and to the Hungarians by his act of the 8th of December, 1789, which restored to them their confiscated privileges. He died on the 20th of the following February. It is said that he wished to have these words inscribed on his tomb: "Here lies a prince whose intentions were pure, but who was unsuccessful in all his enterprises." He was only forty-nine at the time of his death.

The word *Josephinism* has remained in the political language of Austria to express those ideas which he endeavoured to

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carry out, but which failed to overcome the historical and religious prejudices of a people wedded to the past. His name is remembered with some degree of popularity on account of the love for his people which was manifest in many of his actions. In one of the villages of Moravia a monument is still standing on the spot where the emperor with his own august hands guided the plough, in order to show the interest he took in agriculture. The peasants whom he freed celebrate his good deeds even in our time, and for many a long year they refused to believe in his death.

Hungary and Bohemia.

The reign of Joseph II. is described by the historians of Hungary and Bohemia as a disastrous time for the two countries. Directly he ascended the throne he began to carry out a series of measures which deeply irritated the Magyars. With his philosophical ideas, the crown of Hungary was to him nothing more than a Gothic bauble, and the privileges of the nation only the miserable remains of an age of barbarism; the political opinions of the Hungarians were as distasteful to him as their customs, and he amused himself with ridiculing the long beards and the soft boots of the great nobles. He never would be crowned. He annoyed the bishops by his laws against convents, while his tyrannical tolerance never succeeded in contenting the Protestants. He refused to unite Galicia to Hungary, though the only claim which Austria had put forth to that province had been the rights of the crown of St. Stephen, nor would he appoint a palatine. He began by concentrating all the business of the country in the Hungarian chancery and the Council of Lieutenancy established at Buda. On the 7th of April, 1784, he ordered that the holy crown should be brought to him in Vienna and placed in the imperial treasury. To confiscate this symbol of Hungarian independence was, in the eyes of the Magyars, an attempt at the suppression of the nation itself, and the affront was deeply resented. Up to this time the official language of the kingdom had been Latin, a

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neutral tongue among the many languages in use in the various parts of Hungary. Joseph believed he was proving his liberal principles in substituting German, and that language took the place of Latin. From May, 1784, to November, 1785, the diets could not protest against this decree, as arbitrary as it was impolitic, because they were no longer convoked; but the *comitats* gave utterance to bitter complaints. Joseph II. soon learned that it is not wise to attack the dearest prejudices of a nation. The edict which introduced a foreign language was the signal for the new birth of Magyar. For some time there had been an Hungarian literature. Among the young nobles who formed the Hungarian Guard of Maria Theresa, more than one, among whom the poet Bessenyi may be especially mentioned, had cultivated national poetry with ardour, forming themselves on French models and adopting French ideas. Collections of Hungarian compositions had been begun, and the attacks of Joseph II., while rousing the spirit of patriotism, had given fresh vigour to this new literature.

Other measures helped to excite the nation. The king ordered a census to be taken which was to form the basis for recruiting the army. This census, which paid no attention to rank or class, and entirely disregarded the *comitats*, caused great irritation, and it was found necessary to send troops to protect the agents who had to carry out the work. It was still worse when Joseph proceeded to meddle with the *comitats* themselves. He suppressed their assemblies and placed an official at their head who was nominated by the government. He divided the land into ten circles, each of which was governed by a captain, *Kreishauptmann*: the name of *Kreishauptmann* is still hated throughout Hungary. These imprudent measures were to some extent atoned for by the liberal reforms which accompanied them, as, for example, the suppression of the feudal courts; but the Hungarians were too much irritated to appreciate the changes justly, and the nobles were also too prejudiced and too ignorant to share those ideas of the sovereign which took land and not the peasant as the basis of all taxation.

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Consequently Joseph's efforts to obtain an accurate survey of the land met with great resistance. At the time of the Turkish campaign the *comitats* refused to supply the king with men or provisions, and that campaign was not sufficiently brilliant to enable him to appeal to them with all the prestige of military glory. The convocation of the diet was demanded on all sides. Some of the *comitats* declared the king's requests illegal; others suppressed the royal orders; and the general discontent was so great that several of them put themselves in communication with the king of Prussia. Joseph, ill and weary of a ten years' struggle, was obliged to yield. By a royal order of the 20th of January, 1790, he withdrew all his reforms, and restored everything to the state in which it was in 1780, except that he maintained religious toleration and all the measures passed in favour of the peasants. Some time afterwards he was forced to send the royal crown back to Pesth.

In Bohemia, as in Hungary, he refused to be crowned, and he insulted the Bohemians in their most cherished national feelings by turning the palace of his predecessors into a barrack. Doubtless the toleration which he granted was a benefit to the country, but all those of his subjects who were not willing to be enrolled among the official sects were severely persecuted. Deists were flogged and exiled into Hungary, and their children were torn from them in order that they might be educated in the religion of the state. The number of those who declared themselves adherents of the Augsburg confession was not more than forty-five thousand. The emperor forbade the higher schools to receive pupils who could not understand German, and substituted German for Latin in the teaching of the faculty of philosophy in the university of Prague. The authority of the court of appeal in that city was limited to Bohemia, and was no longer allowed to extend to Moravia, while Prague was deprived of its title of *Residenzstadt*, that being reserved for Vienna alone. The powers of the diet were considerably diminished, and the emperor forbade the Estates to dispose of the *home* funds or special budget without

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the approval of the court chamber (*Hofkammer*) of Vienna. In 1783, he suppressed the permanent committee of the diet and transferred its authority to the central government. In fact, the only one of their ancient rights which the Estates were allowed to retain was the right to vote the taxes, but the manner in which they were to be raised was taken out of their control. At last, in 1788, Joseph announced that in future the diet was only to deliberate over such matters as might be presented to it by the sovereign, and that it would only be convoked when he judged right that it should meet. The Estates protested, and when a new patent concerning the taxes was published in February, 1789, count Rudolph Chotek, the high chancellor of Bohemia and Austria, refused to sign it, and sent in his resignation.

After so many attacks on its independence and its nationality, it might have been thought that Bohemia, as a separate kingdom and nation, was entirely destroyed, and that she was ready to become a German province of the Austrian empire. But the moment of her deepest humiliation was the very moment of her regeneration. The revival was due in some measure to the general reaction which took place on the death of Joseph II. Some symptoms of this may be detected from the moment of his successor's coronation. "The tyranny of Joseph II.," says count Caspar Sternberg in his Memoirs, "had roused the feeling of nationality which had so long slumbered. The emperor wished to centralize everything, and also to destroy the Bohemian language; but no people will allow the palladium of its existence as a nation to be snatched from it. At the coronation of Leopold, all those who could speak Chekh might be heard using that language in the very corridors of the palace." The Chekhs date the new birth of the sentiment of nationality from the reign of Joseph II. Bohemia owes one single benefit to that prince, the foundation of the Royal Society of Sciences, which continues to flourish in our time, and this society, from the beginning, became the centre of those historical researches which have contributed so largely to the revival of Slavism in Bohemia.

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Leopold II. (1790–1792).

The new sovereign, Leopold II., had been serving his apprenticeship in the art of governing ever since 1765, in the duchy of Tuscany. He had received the well-merited praises of both economists and philosophers for the wisdom of his administration, which was not only paternal but also intelligent. From the moment of his accession a violent reaction against the acts of his predecessor set in, and Leopold yielded to it gracefully. He began by declaring that he considered the provincial diets the pillars of the monarchy, that he would restore their privileges, and that he would labour hard with them to bring the interests of his people into harmony with those of the sovereign. He withdrew those measures of Joseph II. which had most violently offended public feeling, and suspended that system of taxation which made the *communes* responsible to the treasury for the taxes due from each inhabitant; allowed foreign produce to cross the frontiers; and redressed many of the real grievances of Bohemia and Hungary. He also invited the bishops to send in their claims, and appointed a commission to examine into them. He restored to the clergy most of their important rights, especially those of regulating the liturgy as they wished, holding synods with the permission of government, and organizing the management of parishes with state approval. At the same time, he retained those laws which forbade the publication of bulls without the *placetum regium*, which deprived the bishops of their rights to administer diocesan funds, and which placed all ecclesiastics under the control of the ordinary tribunals. His concessions, however, satisfied and disarmed the clergy.

Leopold II. was less fortunate with the revolted Belgians, whom he tried in vain to appease by the most liberal promises. He offered them a full amnesty; promised no longer to place foreigners in public offices, to give the Estates the complete control of the army, and to pass no law without their assent.

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All this was, however, useless, and he was obliged to have recourse to force. An army of thirty thousand men met in the province of Luxemburg and entered the Netherlands. Namur and Brussels were taken, and Leopold added to the honour of his victories by his clemency. But Belgium was only reconquered by Austria in order to become the battle-field of the Austrian struggles against the French Revolution (1790).

Meantime the war with Turkey went on, and the success of Austria began to make England and Prussia anxious. The latter had concentrated an army on the borders of Silesia, and had encouraged the malcontents of the Low Countries. Notwithstanding this, Leopold entered into negociations with Frederick William, when the latter brought forward the most extraordinary proposals on the part of Prussia. He demanded that Austria and Russia should give back to the Porte all the lands conquered between the Danube and the Dniester, and that Austria should restore almost the whole of Galicia to Poland. In compensation, she might take back those frontier lands which had been left to her by the treaty of Pozarevac (Passarowitz), but Prussia was to indemnify herself for her rival's increase of territory in this direction by the acquisition of Thorn and Danzig, which had been taken from Poland. Old Kaunitz rejected these insolent conditions with indignation. On the 27th of June, 1790, a congress met at Reichenbach, at which Prussia, Austria, England, and Holland were represented. The Prussian diplomatist, Herzberg, the inventor of the *Fürstenbund*, again brought forward the claims of Prussia relative to Galicia and the towns of Thorn and Danzig. On this the emperor entered into secret negociations with England, when the court of St. James's demanded that he should give up his conquests, and, in return, promised that England would guarantee his possession of the Netherlands. Leopold, however, made England less exacting by his threat of ceding to France some portion of Belgium, and, finally, the congress agreed to the treaty of Sistova (4th August, 1791). By this treaty Austria had to give up her late conquests, and to promise

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not to help Russia in any war which might arise between her and the Porte, and she only gained Orsova and the Unna district on the borders of Croatia. Thus once more the court of Vienna left the substance for the shadow, and sacrificed territory which would have consolidated her real frontiers, in order to preserve Belgium, a province which was distant, unruly, and the perpetual object of the greed of France.

It would have been impossible for Austria to remain indifferent to the progress of the French Revolution. As emperor, Leopold had to defend the feudal rights of the German princes, which had been suppressed in Alsace, Franche-Comté, and Lorraine by the National Assembly, and as the brother-in-law of Louis XVI., he watched with uneasiness the progress of the democracy and the decay of the royal authority. In July, 1791, he published a circular dated from Padua, calling upon all the sovereigns of Europe to interfere in favour of the king of France against his revolted subjects; and shortly after he had the famous interview with Frederick William II. at Pillnitz (27th August, 1791).

The result of this interview was a convention in which the two sovereigns undertook to employ the most effectual means to place the king of France "in such a position as to establish, with perfect freedom, the bases of a monarchical government which shall maintain the rights of sovereigns and conduce to the welfare of the French nation." On the 7th of February, 1792, Leopold concluded a definitive treaty of alliance with the court of Berlin, and on the 1st of March he died suddenly, leaving to his son Francis II. the inheritance of the most formidable struggle which the Austrain empire has ever had to maintain. On the 20th of the April following, France declared war against the king of Bohemia and Hungary.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

FRANCIS II. (1792–1835)—WARS AGAINST THE REVOLUTION.

Austria in 1792.

IT may not be uninteresting to give a short account, which we shall endeavour to make as complete as possible, of the extent of the dominions and the military resources of Austria at the moment when she was about to take part in the great European war.

"If we omit Tuscany and Modena," says M. Himly, "territories where the younger branches of the family were either already reigning or were expecting to reign, the empire of the Habsburgs covered an extent of 11,600 square leagues (German), and contained about 24,000,000 of inhabitants. It might be divided into two almost equal portions, according to the nature of the territories. The country which more or less closely belonged to the German empire contained a population of more than 10,500,000 on about 86,000 square miles; the provinces outside the empire had a little less than 14,000,000 on nearly 164,000 square miles. Each of these two great divisions contained three groups which were historically and politically distinct. On one side were the two circles of Austria and of Burgundy, and the territories of the crown of Bohemia which were not divided into circles; and on the other the Hungarian, Polish, and Italian possessions of the monarchy.

"The kingdom of St. Stephen—that is to say, Hungary, with

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the kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia, Hungarian Dalmatia, and Transylvania—was reckoned at about 125,800 square miles and at 9,100,000 souls; the kingdom of Bohemia, with Moravia and Silesia, had 4,300,000 inhabitants spread over about 31,000 square miles; Galicia and the Bukovina had 3,300,000 on about 33,200 square miles.

"Milan and Mantua, with the imperial fiefs of Liguria, were reckoned at about 4700 square miles and 1,350,000 inhabitants; and the Austrian Low Countries at 2,000,000 inhabitants on about 10,100 square miles. A sixth group comprised the imperial domains properly so called—that is to say, the circle of Austria and a certain number of unimportant possessions scattered over those of Suabia and the Lower Rhine; these measured about 45,000 square miles and were occupied by 4,300,000 souls.

"The geographers of the eighteenth century divided the German territories of Austria into four groups:—

"1. Lower Austria, or the archduchy of Austria properly so called, which included the lands below the Enns with Vienna, and the lands above the Enns with Linz, to which were attached the Salzkammergut (Hallstadt) and the district of the Inn, which had been annexed in 1779. These provinces were entirely German.

"2. Inner Austria, including the four duchies of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Friuli. The Austrian dominions on the Adriatic, the counties of Gorica and Gradiska, and the districts of Aquileia and Idria, Trieste and Fiume (Rieka), Slav countries with but a slight mixture of Italian colonists, were grouped together in the duchy of Friuli; this being, however, rather a geographical than a political or administrative arrangement.

"3. Upper Austria, including the county of Tyrol (Innsbrück) and the Vorarlberg (Feldkirch). The bishoprics of Trent and Brixen, a few bailiwicks on the Adige and in Austria, and the lordship of Tarasp in the Engadine were united to the Tyrol by ties of vassalage, and the county of

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Hohenembs on Lake Constance, with the lordship of Közuns in the Grisons, belonged to the Vorarlberg.

"4. And lastly, Outer Austria (Vorderœsterreich), which included all the possessions in the west of Germany; Breisgau with its dependencies on the Rhine, Rheinfelden, Säckingen, Laufenberg, and Waldshut; and Austrian Suabia, which was made up of a number of domains scattered between the Upper Danube and the Rhine. The only bit of the ancient possessions belonging to Lorraine which now remained to the house of Habsburg-Lorraine was the small county of Falkenstein on Mount Tonnerre, on the left bank of the Rhine."[1]

In fact, the Austrian empire, in 1792, came next in size to Russia and France. It was somewhat larger than the present Austrian empire, but it was so scattered as to be an easy prey to any enemy. One compact group was formed by Bohemia, Galicia, Hungary, and the hereditary provinces; but Milan and Mantua were separated from them by Venetia; Breisgau and Austrian Suabia were queerly mixed up with the innumerable sovereign states of the Suabian circle, while Belgium was completely isolated from the rest of the Austrian dominions, and was anxious to throw off the foreign yoke. The effects of war were sure to be felt first in these outlying districts.

At this time the Austrian army consisted of two hundred and seventy thousand men. There were seventy-seven infantry regiments, thirty-nine of which were furnished by the German possessions and by those Slav lands which were not included in Hungary, eleven by Hungary and Transylvania, five by the Low Countries, two by Italy, and seventeen by the military frontiers. Garrisons were supplied from two regiments set apart for that purpose; and there were two regiments of artillery. Altogether there were two hundred and twenty thousand foot soldiers. In the cavalry were eleven regiments of heavy horse, sixteen regiments of dragoons and hussars, and eleven regiments of uhlans; fifty thousand horse in all,

[1] Himly, *Histoire de la Formation territoriale des États de l'Europe Centrale*, vol. i. pp. 439–443.

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This army was recruited by conscription, which had been established in all the dominions of Joseph II., except Tyrol, the Low Countries, and Hungary. In case of need Hungary voted the *insurrection*,[1] and raised by means of it considerable levies.

Loss of Belgium—Acquisition of Western Galicia (1791–1795).

The prince who had to play so prominent a part in the coming struggle was twenty-four years of age when he ascended the throne. He had been educated in Tuscany under the patriarchal rule of Leopold, and had afterwards resided at the court of Joseph II., who had endeavoured to instil in him his own ideas of reform. During the short reign of Leopold II., he had seen how the good sense and patriotic feeling of the nation had brought about an inevitable reaction against the excesses of *Josephinism*. A peaceful reign might have given him an opportunity for displaying those respectable and homely virtues which he owed to nature and education; as it was, his prolonged struggle against the Revolution made him in the end gloomy and despotic.

When the war broke out, Francis II. had been crowned both at Buda and at Prague, but had not yet been elected emperor; war was, therefore, declared against the king of Bohemia and Hungary. It is not always easy in this gigantic struggle to separate the military history of Austria from that of her Prussian and German allies. The utmost that can be done is to recall the names of the principal generals, and so try to discover the share taken in the war by the various Austrian nationalities. It is needless to say that success was far rarer than defeat. The French first invaded Belgium, and after the battle of Jemmapes (6th November, 1792) the Austrian Netherlands as far as Luxemburg fell into their hands. The victory of Clerfayt at Neerwinden on the 18th of March, 1793, opened France to the imperialists for a moment, and that

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 233.

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of Wurmser at "the lines of Weissenburg" gave Alsace to them; but they were soon obliged to recross the Rhine. In 1794, the emperor came himself to Belgium, and tried to recall victory to his side, but the battle of Fleurus, on the 26th of June, 1794, definitely secured the Low Countries for France.

The judicial murder of Louis XVI. had been an act of defiance to the kings of Europe in general; the execution of Marie Antoinette was an act of defiance to the house of Austria in particular. But Francis II. had no power either to rescue or to avenge the unfortunate sister of his father. He had been abandoned by the king of Prussia, who signed the treaty of Basle with the French republic in 1796, and all he could do was to seek for some compensation for the loss of the Low Countries in the neighbourhood of the Austrian dominions.

This compensation he found on the side of Poland; by the treaty of St. Petersburg and special agreements with the republic, Austria secured the palatinates of Sandomir and Lublin, together with some portions of those of Cracow, Masovia, Podlachia, and Brest, as far as the junction of the Bug with the Vistula. This territory received the official name of Western Galicia, and was united to Eastern Galicia. The reasons given for this fresh partition of Poland were poor enough. It was argued that Poland had become the home of revolutionary and republican ideas which might prove dangerous to the adjacent countries, and that Austria's first duty was to watch over its own interests, as the aggrandisement of the two neighbouring powers could not be prevented. No pretended ancient right was invoked as at the time of the first partition; ambition alone justified the inglorious conquest. But it was only needful to look at a map to see that the new gain could not be lasting. A wedge had been thrust into the very heart of ancient Poland, to the centre of the lands which Russia and Prussia had set apart for themselves. "Sooner or later," says Himly, "it was quite certain that one or other of these powers must be tempted to round off their possessions

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at the expense of Austria, by applying to her that system of spoliation which had already succeeded so well with regard to Poland." The new territory added about eighteen hundred square miles and eleven hundred thousand inhabitants to Austria, but this was but an insufficient compensation for the loss of the Low Countries.

Loss of Lombardy—Acquisition of Venice and Dalmatia (1797).

Abandoned by Prussia, Austria was not more fortunate in Italy than in Belgium. Bonaparte's victories at Montenotte and Millesimo (April, 1796) led to the conquest of Lombardy and the establishment of the Cisalpine republic. Bonaparte had announced to the Italians that he only made war on the "tyrants who enslaved them." Who could have guessed that one of these tyrants was the future father-in-law of Napoleon I.? The troops of Francis II. made heroic efforts against the republican army, but they were beaten; defeated at Lonato Castiglione, and Bassano (August and September, 1796), Wurmser was obliged to shut himself up in Mantua. The Hungarian general Alvinzy came down from Friuli to his assistance, but suffered great defeats, first at Arcola and then at Rivoli, and Wurmser was obliged to capitulate at Mantua in February, 1797. The road to Vienna lay open to the conqueror. In this position of affairs the aristocratic republic of Venice believed that it could best secure its independence and prevent the spread of revolutionary ideas in its territory by coming to terms with Austria and suddenly attacking the French. This course of action cost the republic its freedom, and led to its being reduced to such a state of servitude as has furnished one of the saddest episodes in contemporary history. After the fall of Mantua the emperor saw that his southern frontiers were in great danger, and he determined to make a desperate effort to save them. His first step was to recall his brother, the archduke Charles, who was considered to be the ablest of the Austrian generals, from the

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army of the Rhine, with which he had been fighting gloriously against Moreau and Jourdan; the inhabitants of Tyrol and of Bohemia were levied *en masse*, and the *insurrection* was voted by the Hungarian nobles. The archduke endeavoured to improve the organization of the Austrian army, and took up his position behind the Tagliamento in order to defend Trieste. But meantime Massena had obtained possession of the Col de Tarvis, over which the main road from Verona to Venice passes, and which forms the key to the passage of the Alps. The first battle between Bonaparte and his able adversary took place on the 16th of March. The archduke doubled back on the Isonzo and tried to drive Massena from the Tarvis, but he was obliged to withdraw to Klagenfurt, and Bonaparte continued his victorious march, sending two bodies of troops to capture Trieste and Idria, while he himself pushed on to Klagenfurt. Meantime Joubert, on the left of the French lines, marched up the Adige and, in spite of all the efforts of Loudon and Kerpen, entered Tyrol by the Pusterthal.

Vienna was now in great danger, but the patriotism of the luxurious city rose to the occasion. All the male population took up arms; the students enrolled themselves and formed a regiment of their own, the fortifications were repaired, and the war, which had hitherto been one only of political principles, became, on the approach of the enemy, a nation's struggle for independence. And with the Viennese patriotism was blended loyalty to the sovereign. Bonaparte soon saw that it would be dangerous to venture into a country which was so deeply roused, while he left Italy behind him in a doubtful condition, and before he had brought about a junction with the armies on the Rhine. On the 31st of March, 1797, he wrote to the archduke Charles from Klagenfurt, proposing peace. He still, however, continued his advance and entered Styria, and it was at Jüdenburg that he received lieutenant field-marshal Bellegarde and major-general Merfeldt, the envoys of the Austrian court, and concluded an armistice. The conditions of peace were discussed in the castle of Gös,

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not far from the small town of Leoben, and there the preliminaries were signed by Bonaparte on behalf of France and the marquis of Gallo on that of Austria.

Austria gave up to France Belgium and her Italian possessions on the right bank of the Oglio, and received in exchange a portion of the Venetian territory on the shores of the Adriatic. Venice obtained Romagna, Bologna, and Ferrara as compensation.

It was while Bonaparte was signing these preliminaries that a movement against France broke out in the republic of Venice, which led in the end to the loss of her independence. On hearing of *les Pâques Veronaises*,[1] the French troops again invaded Venetia and besieged the city of the doges, which, although protected by the sea, was quite incapable of defending itself against generals who possessed not a single vessel. By the 17th of May Venice was occupied by the French, who planted a tree of liberty in her midst, and by the 24th of May the preliminaries of Leoben were ratified.

The Austrian government lost no time in taking possession of the newly acquired territory. The towns of Pirano, Citta Nuova, Parenzo, and Rovigno in Istria were first occupied, and then the islands Cherso, Arbe, and Pago. Austrian troops next entered Zara, and were gladly welcomed by a population that had grown weary of the rule of Venice. Meantime conferences for concluding a definite peace between Austria and the French republic were held at Udine, count Cobenzl being sent there on the 26th of September as Austrian plenipotentiary. It was during these conferences that Bonaparte, who was but little accustomed to control the violence of his temper, is said to have broken in pieces some glasses as he exclaimed, "Thus will I shatter your monarchy!" Peace was signed at the castle of Campo-Formio on the 17th of November, 1797. In it Austria renewed her concessions and

[1] See *Histoire de Napoleon 1er*, par P. Lanfrey, tome i. chaps. vii., viii., edition 1869, Charpentier, where the narrative differs considerably from that in the text.

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recognized the Cisalpine republic. France kept the Ionian Isles and the Venetian possessions in Albania; while Austria received as compensation the whole of Venice with her dependencies. The duke of Modena, who had been deprived of his lands for the benefit of the Cisalpine republic, was to be indemnified for the loss of his duchy by the cession of the Breisgau, which Francis II. gave up to him.

Secret articles were joined to this treaty by which the emperor engaged to help France to obtain possession of the left bank of the Rhine, and for this service he demanded in exchange the help of France to enable him to get the district of Salzburg and that part of Bavaria which lay between the Inn and the Salza and intercepted communication with the Tyrol. La Fayette, who had been a prisoner at Olomouc (Olmutz) ever since 1792, obtained his liberty as one of the consequences of the treaty of Campo-Formio.

On the whole, notwithstanding her defeats, Austria was the gainer by the war. She had held her own against France when Prussia had already abandoned the struggle, and she was less enfeebled by the loss of the Netherlands than strengthened by the addition of Venice and Dalmatia. Her new territories contained sixteen thousand six hundred and twenty-five square miles, and about three million inhabitants. Although the French had destroyed the Venetian fleet before evacuating Venice, the maritime importance of the new acquisition was very great. The Adriatic thus became almost wholly an Austrian sea, and the men of Dalmatia were skilful mariners and brave soldiers. This province, which had formerly been an object of so much desire to the Hungarian kings, now belonged to their successor, who had not even had the trouble of conquering it, and from this time it shared the fate of Austria. Let us briefly recall its history.

We have already seen how this Roman province became part of the kingdom of Croatia after its colonization by the Slavs. As early as the tenth century the Venetians had begun the conquest of the islands and the Dalmatian coast, but it

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was not till the beginning of the fifteenth century that they completed it, the republic of Ragusa being alone able to maintain its independence owing to the protection of the Porte. The interior remained united to Croatia, and eventually fell into the hands of the Turks. Thanks to Venetian colonization, the Slav towns were greatly influenced by Italy, and traces of this influence remain even to the present day. Their aristocratic constitution was modelled on that of Venice; the land was in the hands of a few families; public offices were filled only by Venetians; and the native population was both pillaged and persecuted. A decree of the republic forbade the marriage of Venetians with Slav women.

The administration of the province was entrusted to a *provveditore*, who was always a Venetian senator and who held office for three years. The civil, judicial, and military power was in his hands. He resided at Zara. The country was divided into twenty-two circles (*reggimenti*), which were all governed by Venetian nobles, whose rule was at once servile and corrupt. The army was composed of natives (*gli Schiavoni*, the Slavs), and twenty towns were garrisoned by them, but all the officers were Venetians. Venice did little for public instruction in the conquered land; she was not anxious to develop any independent civilization, and used all her efforts to *Italianize* her Slav subjects. It was, however, only out of hatred to Turkey that the Dalmatians allowed themselves to be attached to Venice, and, in spite of Italian influence, a national literature struggled into existence, though it succeeded in finding a real home only in Ragusa.

Marengo—Treaty of Lunéville (1801).

The work of Austrian diplomacy did not end with the treaty of Campo-Formio. The next business was to settle the affairs of Germany. Three Austrian diplomatists were sent to the congress of Rastadt, one of whom was Metternich, the father of the man who afterwards became the evil genius of Europe. Cobenzl was another. The Rastadt conferences

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made but little progress, and were ended abruptly by the assassination of the French representatives in April, 1799. This strange event has given rise to many conjectures. Those who are anxious to clear Austria at any cost attribute the act to the brutality of the Szekler hussars and their exasperation against the Jacobins. Others believe that the minister Thugut was the instigator. It is true that he caused colonel Barbaczy and captain Burkhardt to be arrested and thrown into prison, but two years afterwards they were set at liberty and the whole affair was quashed. It is probable that Austria only wished to obtain possession of certain papers and had no wish to take the lives of the envoys, but the brutal hussars exceeded the instructions they had received. Another event occurred about the same time, which helped to complicate matters and made the establishment of a definite peace between France and Austria almost impossible. France had sent general Bernadotte as ambassador to Vienna, and his behaviour was little likely to conciliate a population irritated by recent defeat. He took upon himself to prevent the celebration of a military *fête* in the town, and above the balcony of his hotel in the Wallnerstrasse he displayed the tricoloured flag, the flag of that revolutionary party which had beheaded Marie Antoinette. It was torn down by the infuriated populace, whereupon Bernadotte demanded his passports and quitted Austria, and the French asked for an apology which was not granted. In view of the forthcoming struggle, Cobenzl, who had succeeded Thugut as minister of foreign affairs, tried to obtain allies by every possible means. The king of Naples was able to help no one after the victories of Championnet and the institution of the Parthenopian Republic (January, 1799), but Russia could be of more use; and an alliance with her was followed by the appearance of a Russian army in Galicia and Moravia towards the end of 1798. The Directory in vain asked for some explanation of this violation of the laws of neutrality, and on the 12th of March, 1799, declared war on Austria.

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The struggle began at the same moment in Southern Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. The coalition had got together an army of three hundred and sixty thousand men, Piedmont and England having joined Austria, Russia, and Prussia.

We can only mention the principal exploits of the Austrian generals. Kray and Mélas beat the incapable Schérer in Italy at Pastrengo, Verona, and Magnano, and after Suvorov had taken the command of the combined Russian and Austrian troops, he obtained the victories of Cassano, Trebbia, and Novi in the summer of 1799.

The return of Bonaparte to Italy restored victory to the French flag, and the triumphant progress of Mélas was stopped by the battle of Marengo on the 14th of June, 1800. After the capitulation of Alessandria he was forced to retreat as far as the Mincio. In Southern Germany, Kray was defeated by Moreau at Engen, Moeskirch, Biberach, and Memmingen. Tired of the useless struggle, Austria seemed to be now ready for peace, and general Saint-Julien and Talleyrand drew up the sketch of a treaty in Paris in July, 1800, which had the stipulations of Campo-Formio as its basis, only adding a secret agreement that the compensation to Austria which had formerly been guaranteed in Germany should now be taken from Italy.

But Saint-Julien had gone beyond his powers, and Austria, with the support of subsidies from England, continued the war. Mélas and Kray, guilty of having been defeated, were displaced, and their posts were given to Bellegarde and the archduke John. By this time the war had become exceedingly unpopular in Austria, and Thugut, who was the representative of English interests, was obliged to resign, and his post was filled by Cobenzl, who had represented Austria at Leoben. On the 3rd of December, 1800, came the defeat of Hohenlinden, which was a cruel blow to the Austrian army. On that day, it lost four thousand seven hundred dead and wounded, seven thousand prisoners, and eighty cannon; while their allies, the Bavarians, lost five thousand men and twenty-four guns.

The archduke Charles had taken no part in the war since

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his victory over Jourdan at Stockach on the 25th of March, 1799; he now once more took the command, in the hope of saving Austria, but he found only the wreck of the army which he had formerly led to victory. The French had reached Steyer, and were as close to Vienna as they had been when they were at Leoben. Austria had no choice. An armistice was concluded (20th October, 1800), by which Würzburg, Braumau, Küfstein, Peschiera, Legnago, Verona, Ferrara, Ancona, and Mantua were all abandoned to the French, while a line of demarcation was drawn between the two armies which gave them also the whole of the Tyrol, together with some portion of the archduchy of Austria, Styria, and Illyria. Austria also undertook to make peace, whatever might be the decision of her allies.

Cobenzl was sent to Lunéville to settle the terms of the treaty with Joseph Bonaparte. France insisted that the emperor should treat not only on his own behalf, but also for the whole of Germany, and, though he had no right to do this, he was obliged to agree. The conditions of the peace of Lunéville (9th February, 1801) were almost the same as those of the treaty of Campo-Formio. Francis II. gave up to France or to her ally, the Helvetian republic, the county of Falkenstein in Mount Tonnerre, the lordship of Tarasp in the Engadine, and Frickthal, Laufenburg, and Rheinfelden, old possessions of the Habsburg family on the left bank of the Rhine. In exchange, the western boundary of his Venetian territory was moved forward as far as the Adige; but he had to give up Artenau to the duke of Modena-Breisgau. The archduke Ferdinand III. was called upon to exchange his duchy of Tuscany for the new electorate of Salzburg, which had been formed out of the archbishopric of Salzburg, the district of Berchtolsgaden, and some portions of the bishoprics of Passau and Eichstadt. The formation of this new electorate deprived Austria of almost a million subjects.

Thus we see that Francis II. had failed in what was his first duty as emperor, the preservation of the integrity of

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Germany. The dispossessed princes turned their attention to Paris, in the hope of obtaining some compensation for their losses. The prince-bishops, who had been the most zealous supporters that the essentially Catholic Habsburgs possessed in Germany, had disappeared, owing to the secularization of the ecclesiastical states. It is true that Austria had obtained possession of the bishoprics of Trent and Brixen; but for some time past these places had recognized the suzerainty of Tyrol, and the acquisition was one only in name. The position of the Habsburgs in Germany had become extremely precarious, and we shall soon see Francis deciding to add to the pompous but empty title of Roman emperor the new and more real title of emperor of Austria. Before, however, reaching that important event, we must spend a short time in studying the condition of the Austrian dominions during the troublous times of his reign.

Austria after the Peace of Lunéville.

Perhaps the most important result of the long war was that it had led the subjects of Austria, and especially the army, to a keener sense of the unity of the monarchy. The soldiers, who belonged to so many different nations, but who for almost ten years had fought side by side in the Low Countries, Italy, Germany, and the Austrian fatherland (*Gesammtvaterland*), became united in the brotherhood of arms. A body of officers grew up embodying in itself the principle on which the Austrian state rested. A Viennese poet, writing to Radetsky in 1848, says, "It is in your camp that Austria is to be found." This was true almost as early as the year 1800. Austria was at this time before all things a military empire, and the strange assemblage of its divergent peoples was alone kept in stable equilibrium by the army. But for the very reason that it is composed of men belonging to different nations, the Austrian army has never been a Pretorian band, affecting a disdainful superiority over civilians, as was the case in Prussia and in France under Napoleon I. The nobles of the various countries rivalled each other in their

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enthusiastic struggle against the French Revolution. Twice the Magyars "raised the *insurrection*." In 1796 and 1797, both the Tyrolese and the inhabitants of Lower Austria took up arms *en masse;* in 1796, the national militia was organized in Bohemia; in 1800, a regiment of chasseurs was formed in Moravia and Silesia; and in the same year a special legion was organized in Bohemia, under the influence of the archduke Charles.

The direction of military affairs still remained in the hands of the *Hofkriegsrath* at Vienna, composed partly of officers and partly of civilians. In spite of the zeal of its members, the council did but little good, and was indeed a mistake, only serving to prove the impossibility of directing military operations from a government office; during the campaign of 1789, Suvorov refused to communicate his plans to it. In 1801, the emperor appointed the archduke Charles to be its president. In 1802, the military service of the common soldiers, which had hitherto had no limit, was reduced to fourteen years.

Foreign affairs were in the hands of the celebrated Thugut during almost the whole of this stormy period. Kaunitz, who had been at the head of the chancery during three reigns, and who had once had the satisfaction of bringing into alliance the hostile courts of Vienna and Paris, had given in his resignation in 1796. Thugut was born at Linz in 1736. His earliest important employment had been on diplomatic missions to the East and as internuncio at Constantinople, and from the East he had brought back the habit of court intrigue. Sent to Paris at the beginning of the Revolution, he had played an important part in the negociations between Marie Antoinette and Mirabeau. He was violently opposed to the French republic, and his resignation had been made one of the secret conditions of the treaty of Campo-Formio. He retired into private life after the 18th of October, 1800.

Joseph Cobenzl was born at Brussels in 1753, and received his political education in the government of Galicia,

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and in the post of ambassador at the courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg. To his ability it was due that Austria and Russia remained on good terms for sixteen years. He took part in the treaty of Campo-Formio and the negociations of Rastadt, and it was he who persuaded Russia to set on foot her army in 1798. He remained at the head of foreign affairs after the peace of Lunéville down to 1805; but he was an agreeable and clever courtier rather than an able statesman. He must not be confounded with his cousin, John Louis Cobenzl, who was Austrian ambassador in Paris after the peace of Lunéville, and who had more than once to suffer from the insolence of Napoleon.

In the management of home affairs, the struggle still went on between the partisans of *Josephinism* and its adversaries. Under other circumstances the former might have adopted the principles of the French Revolution, for that they had been to some extent adopted in Hungary is proved by the Martinovic conspiracy. In Vienna only one plot against the existing government was discovered. An officer named Franz Hebenstreit was accused of having betrayed the secret of a line of march to the French and Poles, and of having been the author of some seditious songs; he was condemned to death, and his accomplices to various other punishments. Foreign wars prevented almost all attempts at reform. A special department for finance and for Galicia was formed, and a new commission of instruction, but no plan for uniting the administration of the various countries was adopted.

We are enabled to judge of the confusion which prevailed at the time from the following extract from a memorandum addressed to the emperor by count Chotek:—"The reign of your Majesty has been one long list of changes. A special department (*Hofstelle*) has been made of the police; the chamber of accounts, which was founded in 1761, and which was made completely independent in 1782, has been dissolved. The affairs of each country have once more been first treated separately, and responsibility thrown on the local government;

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and now they have again been placed under central control. A new commission of instruction has been established, and the two legislative commissions which formerly existed have been made into one. Since the peace of Campo-Formio a number of other changes have been made. The finances have been withdrawn from the control of the united *Hofstelle*, and count Saurau has been appointed president of the court chamber and minister of finance. The supreme control of justice has been vested in the Austro-Bohemian chancery, and a special department created for Galicia, which includes both justice and political matters. These two changes are evidently a mistake. On the one hand, two new departments are created for provinces whose constitution is the same; and, on the other, a minister is overwhelmed with duties which are absolutely heterogeneous. In 1801, after count Saurau was appointed to a new office, a ministerial board of control for the bank and a secret board of credit were created, and the *Camerale* (finances) was once more joined to the department of political affairs. There was only one minister for the two departments of justice and political affairs; as head of the ministry, he had the control of justice, and, as minister, of the finances; an amount of work which no man could get through. And the administration of the finances was put out of joint at the very moment when their precarious condition demanded central and united control.

"As soon as peace was restored," continues Chotek, "the emperor tried to establish an organization likely to last. He instituted the *Conferenzministerium* as a central point in which all the branches of the administration should meet, and from that time the home, foreign, and military affairs of the monarchy have been conducted in unison. A special document, drawn up by the minister of war, has stated what matters were to be brought before the conference, what were to be submitted to the emperor, what were to be decided by himself, and what were to be brought before the council of war.

In civil affairs it was necessary to bring all government

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officials throughout the country into relations with each other in such a way that each one should immediately depend on the responsible minister. It was necessary to determine the powers of each official, from the village magistrate to the minister, in such a way that it might be impossible for any one of them to overstep the limits of his authority, that each official should know at once what matters he could decide and what must be referred to a higher office, and that in the end the emperor should always be in possession of complete knowledge of important matters without being troubled with useless details.

"This result has not yet been attained. . . . The internal administration has been badly organized. Matters of small importance are continually brought before the notice of the emperor and the conference. The proposals that have been made have gone no further than fragmentary attempts at legislation and temporary measures concerning the finances and other matters. No attempt has been made to organize the departments; to study the wants of the estates as a whole, or the means of satisfying those wants; to improve the condition of the country by trade and commerce, or to found really useful schools. For these matters there has been none of that unity of action for which the *Conferenzministerium* was created. The division of the conferences into two categories—conferences limited to the consideration of internal affairs, and grand conferences—has been opposed to the views of your Majesty, and has led to collisions between the departments." What count Chotek went on to ask for, as popular parliamentary government was not to be had, was such a council of ministers as exists now in all European countries. The reforms he wanted were achieved later on.

Eight years of war could not fail to exhaust the finances of an empire as poor as Austro-Hungary was at that time. The emperor mortgaged his private estates in order to obtain money, and the various provinces and corporations, and even private persons, rivalled each other in their zeal and their sacrifices. All sorts of expedients were had recourse to; the

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quantity of paper money was increased, forced loans were raised, the duties on merchandise were maintained at a height which was absolutely intolerable to trade, and the protective system continued in full force with all its abuses. Internal freedom of trade, which Joseph I. had introduced, was destroyed, and a line of custom-houses was once more established between Hungary and the rest of the Austrian dominions.

The construction of roads was pushed on with great activity, especially in Carniola, Croatia, Bohemia, and Moravia, and a canal was made between the Danube and the Tisza. The emperor was proud of his fondness for agriculture, and founded several special schools for the study of it. He took great pains to develop the rural economy of Galicia, where, it must be owned, Polish neglect had left much to be done, and in 1799 serfdom was abolished; gradually some degree of order was introduced into that province. Many charitable institutions were founded in this reign.

The work of codification, which had been begun in the reign of Maria Theresa, continued, and volumes i., ii., and iii. of the code were published in 1794, 1795, and 1796. Unfortunately Francis II. did nothing for public instruction; he had neither time nor wish to do so. The dread lest the ideas of the French Revolution should make their way into Austria led him to apply to freedom of thought a prohibitive system even more strict than that which weighed so heavily on trade. The censorship of the press was taken out of the hands of the professors, to be placed in those of the police, and a tax on printed matter was introduced. In many ways the reign of Francis II. was the opposite of that of Joseph II. In his horror of liberal ideas, Francis believed that he could not combat them better than by strengthening religious institutions and the influence of the clergy throughout his dominions, and he took every possible means of doing so, although he did not revoke the laws establishing religious toleration. A commission was appointed in 1795 to inquire into the condition of education, but the alterations proposed by it showed but little liberal feeling

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CHAPTER XXV.

FRANCIS II.—WARS AGAINST NAPOLEON TO THE TREATY OF SCHÖNBRUNN (1801–1809).

Francis II., Emperor of Austria (1804).

AFTER the peace of Lunéville, the most important act of the reign of Francis II. was his adoption of the title of emperor of Austria. The house of Habsburg-Lorraine had by this time lost all its German possessions outside the archduchy of Austria, and the authority of the emperor over the German states had become absurdly unreal. In fact, Austria was outside of Germany; all the power she possessed she derived from her own dominions. These were henceforth divided into five principal groups, the Hereditary Provinces, the kingdom of Bohemia, the kingdom of Hungary, Galicia, and Venetia. The three first belonged to the sovereign by hereditary right, or by contracts voluntarily entered into by both parties; the two last had been recently conquered, and were maintained in a state of obedience by force. It seemed as if the old titles of archduke of Austria, of king of Bohemia and of Hungary, had become insufficient for the owner of so many possessions, and Francis II. wished to add to them one which would be more elastic and more capable of impressing Europe and the countries he had recently conquered. The reigning dynasty had long been known by the name of the house of Austria, and though the countries governed by the Habsburgs

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were still far from being a homogeneous whole, they had been definitely grouped round the Austrian dynasty by the Pragmatic Sanction. Notwithstanding their inflexible attachment to the privileges of their nation, the Magyars had accepted the principle of hereditary succession, and an exhausted Bohemia had long, at least in appearance, been pacified. It was on the 11th of August, 1804, that Francis II. took the title of emperor of Austria. On the 18th of the preceding May, the imperial title had been declared hereditary in the family of Napoleon I., and this event had certainly not been without its influence on the decision of Francis. On the 10th of August he assembled a *Staatsconferenz* extraordinary, to which were summoned the archduke Charles, the archduke Joseph as palatine of Hungary, the ministers of state, the chancellors of Bohemia, Austria, Hungary, and Transylvania, the *tavernicus*, or chief minister of finance in Hungary, and the *Kammerpräsident*. He announced his decision to them, and the next day issued a letter-patent to his people, of which the following are the principal passages :—

"Although by the grace of God, and the choice of the electors of the Romano-Germanic empire, we have been raised to such a degree of splendour as leaves us no title to desire, nevertheless our solicitude as ruler of the house and monarchy of Austria induces us to insist on the maintenance of complete equality between our imperial title and hereditary dignity, and those of the other sovereigns and illustrious powers of Europe, in such fashion as befits the ancient splendour of our house and the greatness and independence of our kingdoms and principalities. We have, therefore, been induced, after the example of the imperial court of Russia in the last century, and of the new sovereign of France, to claim for the house of Austria an hereditary imperial title for its own states. For these reasons we have determined, after mature deliberation, to take solemnly for ourselves and our successors, for the whole of our kingdoms and lands, the hereditary title of emperor of Austria after the name of our house. At the same time, we

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declare that each one of our kingdoms, our principalities, and our provinces shall nevertheless preserve its title, constitution, and privileges."

This measure crowned the patient work of the house of Austria, but it made no change in the condition of any of the various provinces. Francis II. and his successor, Ferdinand IV., were both crowned kings of Bohemia and Hungary, and renewed the engagements taken by their predecessors towards the kingdoms of St. Vacslav and St. Stephen; but no Austrian sovereign has ever been crowned as emperor of Austria. The new title was recognized by foreign courts without demur. Francis II. made no attempt to break the ties which attached some of his domains to Germany, and solemnly declared to the German Reichstag that he would not do so. He seems never to have lost the hope of one day ruling Germany, and it was his interest to appear to possess as large a number of German states as possible. The solemn act of the 11th of August, 1804, made but little impression on the people, who had always been accustomed to see the title of emperor joined to that of king on all public documents; but by thus declaring the historical unity of the Austrian dominions, Francis added a corollary to the Pragmatic Sanction, which Charles VI. could not have ventured to hope for in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Francis was thirty-six years old when he took the imperial title. Events had aged him before his time, and he had become timid and suspicious. He knew no science except natural science, no art except music, the only great art which has ever flourished in Austria. He was a complete stranger to all the new ideas of the eighteenth century. His power lay in that patient persistence which is looked upon as the special characteristic of the Habsburgs, and he affected that patriarchal mode of life and that popularity which is sometimes to be found combined with ideas of absolutism and love of tyrannical power. He wished to be the father of his people, but a father who would not willingly allow his children to

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argue with him. He meant his power to be uncontrolled, and the trials which he met with in his life only served to confirm him in his ideas of absolutism. He took for his motto the words "*Justitia regnorum fundamentum*," but he explained their meaning in his own fashion. The only power which rivalled that of the emperor was that bureaucracy which had been made the motive power of all government by Joseph II. The Hungarians preserved their old independence, but Bohemia had not yet awakened from her state of torpor, and the Austrians proper prided themselves on seeing in their emperor absolutism incarnate. "*Es giebt nur ein Kaiserstadt, es giebt nur ein Wien*" ("There is only one imperial city, there is only one Vienna")—this popular saying of the Viennese sufficed to flatter their self-love, just as music sufficed to lull to sleep their indolent minds.

New War against Napoleon—Treaty of Pressburg (1805).

From 1801 to 1805 the direction of foreign affairs was in the hands of the vice-chancellor, Louis Cobenzl. He was a politician of the old school, tricky and courteous, and the young ambassadors who served under him, Stahrenberg in London, Metternich in Dresden, and Stadion in Berlin, were all abler men than himself. From the year 1803 he secured the services of Frederick Genz, the most powerful political writer of Germany, and one of the most formidable of the opponents of the French Revolution. Genz was a Silesian, born after the conquest of that province, and he had studied at the university of Königsburg. Owing to the miserable state of public education, and the antagonism of her divers nationalities, Austria could rarely find the men she needed among her own subjects, but was forced to seek them in foreign lands. This strange state of things has been seen even down to our own day, when Beust was invited to come from Dresden to reconstruct the empire after the battle of Sadowa. Cobenzl's ministry contained no man of mark; the archduke Charles, the victor of Neerwinden and Stockach, was

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the only one of real worth. In 1801, he was made field-marshal and president of the council of war, and introduced some ideas of reform into his own department. He was really popular in Austria, and was the only general who could be opposed to the armies of Napoleon with any chance of success.

Since 1801 the relations between Austria and France had in appearance been cordial, and the Austrian ambassador in Paris had been most attentive to the new emperor. A saying of Cobenzl's was quoted in Vienna: "The monarchs of Europe have in Napoleon a colleague for whom they need not blush." But, in reality, the heir of the revolution could be nothing but the enemy of Austria, and "Buonaparte" inspired in the court and among the nobles a hatred which longed to express itself in a renewal of hostilities. England and Russia, therefore, had no difficulty in drawing Austria into a new alliance to curb the encroachments of France. In case of success she was promised the Po and the Adda as her frontier, the annexation of Salzburg, and the restoration of the right of the second son of the house of Habsburg to reign in Tuscany, while England undertook to pay £1,250,000 for every hundred thousand men under arms; on these conditions Austria furnished three hundred and thirty-five thousand troops. The archduke Charles was opposed to the idea of fighting Napoleon when he was intoxicated by success and had Prussia and Germany ready to help him; he consequently gave in his resignation as president of the high council of war, and his place was filled by general Latour, whom the Viennese called the old War-Drum. Prince Charles of Schwarzenburg was made vice-president, and Mack major-general. Great confidence was felt in the talents of Mack. He was at this time fifty-three years of age, and had fought under Loudon and Lascy. It was true he had not always been successful, having been beaten by Championnet in the kingdom of Naples, when his forces were four times as great as those of his opponent, but he was a clever officer though he was only familiar with the old modes of warfare, and never under-

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stood those of Napoleon. The plan of campaign for 1805 was elaborated in consultation with the Russian general Winzingrode, and was to consist, as in 1799, in simultaneous attacks on Suabia and Italy, three armies acting at once, one in Italy, one in Tyrol, and another in Bavaria. The war was exceedingly popular in Vienna. "It is both touching and consoling," writes Genz to John Müller, "to see the good feeling which animates the whole country; at the present moment our cause is so good, so just, so holy, that no one dare murmur. Each one feels that the present state of things cannot last." The army in Italy was commanded by the archduke Charles, that of Tyrol by the archduke John. The emperor in person led the army in Germany, but he left the general direction of the troops to Mack, who displayed the greatest energy. Austria, however, was deficient in cannon, in horses, and in money, and how Mack led them to the disastrous capitulation of Ulm (20th October, 1805) is well known. It was a terrible catastrophe for Austria. Mack was summoned before the council of war, deprived of his command, and condemned to ten years' imprisonment. "The blow which has fallen on us," writes Genz, "is one of those which break the heart and crush the mind." The emperor took every possible means to encourage his people. In a manifesto of the 28th of October, 1805, he said, "The Austrian monarchy has always risen triumphant from every misfortune that has befallen it in times past; its strength is still unconquered; in the hearts of the brave men for whom I fight the old spirit of patriotism still lives." Negociations were entered into with Prussia, in the hope of obtaining her mediation and perhaps her help. But further defeat awaited Austria. In Italy the archduke Charles had accepted the command of the troops who were to oppose the army of Massena, and with them he fought the glorious but useless battle of Caldiero (30th October, 1805). He was obliged immediately after the fight to march to the help of the threatened German provinces, in order to prevent, if possible, the

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French army in Italy from joining Napoleon in his march on Vienna. Tyrol and Vorarlberg were at the time in the occupation of Austrian troops. The archduke united this force to his own, gave orders that Tyrol should be abandoned, and then retreated towards Carniola and Carinthia. Ney immediately occupied Tyrol. Charles now had twenty-four thousand men under his command, who, in case of need, would weigh heavily in the balance, and when the news of the occupation of Vienna reached him he pushed on into Hungary by way of Styria, and encamped near Koermend, on the very spot where the battle called the battle of St. Gothard had been fought against the Turks in 1664.

The Russian troops under Kutuzov were too weak to be able to protect Vienna. It had early been abandoned and all the art treasures and money belonging to the state sent into Hungary, but the arms and munitions of war had been negligently allowed to remain. On the 3rd of November, 1805, Murat entered the city, and he was soon followed by Napoleon, who established his head-quarters at Schönbrunn, while general Hulin was appointed commandant of Vienna and took up his abode in the palace of Lobkowitz. The Viennese showed an utter want of courage; they not only sent a deputation to Napoleon praying him to spare the city, but actually presented him with a service of plate, a course of action which did not save them, however, from having to pay a heavy fine, besides the usual requisitions of war. This was the first time since the days of Mathias Corvinus that a conqueror had entered Vienna.

Meanwhile, the emperor of Austria had joined the Russian troops of Alexander in Moravia, and had added fifteen thousand Austrians to an army of sixty-two thousand Russians. On the 14th of November, Napoleon left Vienna to meet this army, having with him only seventy thousand men. On the 15th, he reached Znoymo, on the 20th, Brno (Brünn), and on the 2nd of December, 1805, a battle took place near the village of Slavkov, which the Germans call Austerlitz, in which

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he was completely victorious. The allies lost fifteen thousand killed, ten thousand prisoners, two hundred and eighty cannons. The fate of the campaign was decided by this Battle of the Three Emperors, after which Francis II. had an interview with Napoleon near Spaleny Mlyn (Burnt Mill), where the conditions of peace were discussed. "After what I have seen, there is nothing left for me to suffer," said Francis to prince Lichtenstein on his return.

On the 6th of December, hostilities ceased, and the Russians retired by way of Galicia, but in accordance with the terms of the armistice, the French troops continued to occupy all the lands they had invaded, Austria, Tyrol, Venetia, Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria; within Bohemia they were to have the circle of Tabor, together with Brno and Znoymo in Moravia and Pozsony (Pressburg) in Hungary. The Morava (March) and the Hungarian frontier formed the line of demarcation between the two armies. A definitive peace was signed at Pressburg on the 26th of December, 1805. Austria recognized the conquests of France in Holland and Switzerland and the annexation of Genoa, and ceded to the kingdom of Italy Friuli, Istria, Dalmatia with its islands, and the Bocche di Cattaro. A little later, by the explanatory Act of Fontainebleau, she lost the last of her possessions to the west of the Isonzo, when she exchanged those portions of the counties of Gorica and Gradisca which are situated on the right bank of that river for the county of Montefalcone in Istria. The new kingdoms of Bavaria and Würtemberg were aggrandized at the expense of Austria. Bavaria obtained Vorarlberg, the county of Hohenembs, the town of Lindau, and the whole of Tyrol with Brixen and Trent. Austrian Suabia was given to Würtemberg, while Breisgau and the Ortenau were bestowed on the new grand-duke of Baden. One compensation alone, the duchy of Salzburg, fell to Austria for all her sacrifices, and this has remained in her possession ever since. The old bishopric of Würzburg was created an electorate and granted to Ferdinand III. of Tuscany and Salzburg. Altogether the monarchy lost about

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twenty-five thousand four hundred square miles and nearly three millions of inhabitants. She lost Tyrol with its brave and loyal inhabitants and the Vorlände which had assured Austrian influence in Germany; every possession on the Rhine, in the Black Forest, and on the Lower Danube; she no longer touched either Switzerland or Italy, and she ceased to be a maritime power. Besides all this, she had to pay forty millions for the expenses of the war, while she was exhausted by contributions and requisitions. Vienna had suffered much, and the French army had carried off the two thousand cannons and the hundred thousand guns which had been contained in her arsenals.

On the 16th of January, 1806, the emperor Francis returned to his capital. He was enthusiastically received, and the Viennese returned to the luxurious and easy way of life which has always characterized them. To charm their leisure and to console them in their misfortunes, had they not the greatest musicians the world has produced, Haydn and Beethoven, Salieri and Clementi?

Surrender by Francis II. of the title of Roman Emperor (1806).

Austria seemed no longer to have any part to play in German politics. Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden had been formed into a separate league—the Confederation of the Rhine—under French protection. On the 1st of August, 1806, these states announced to the Reichstag at Ratisbon that they looked upon the empire as at an end, and on the 6th, Francis II. formally resigned the empire altogether, and released all the imperial officials from their engagements to him. Thus the sceptre of Charlemagne fell from the hands of the dynasty which had held it without interruption from 1438. Francis most certainly did not give up Germany without regret. Although in his hereditary dominions he ruled over more than fifteen millions of subjects who were not Germans, his education had been entirely German, and for centuries the kings of Bohemia and of Hungary had been accustomed to

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look upon those countries merely as nursery-grounds for soldiers who would help to secure their power in Suabia and along the banks of the Rhine, the Scheldt, and the Po. The duties which they owed to the kingdoms of St. Vacslav and St. Stephen had been sacrificed to their German sympathies and ambitions. Now they found themselves driven out of Germany, and left alone with Bohemia, Hungary, Galicia, and the Hereditary Provinces. Happy would it have been if, ceasing for the future to let go the substance for the shadow, they had known how to arrive at a clear idea of the rights and duties imposed upon them by their new position!

The internal policy of Austria was at this time directed by count Philip Stadion, chancellor of the empire, and the archduke Charles, who had been war minister since the month of February, 1801. Both ministers thought only of a new war against Napoleon. Stadion was a German of Maintz, and continued the old German policy, striving to restore the position of Austria by diplomacy. The archduke set to work to reorganize the army. Genz was Stadion's official publicist; although he was a German and full of German prejudices, he felt that circumstances had changed the destinies of Austria, and that the enfeebled empire could only be restored to vigorous life by altering its centre of gravity. On the 4th of August, 1806, he writes to his friend John Müller, "Vienna ought to cease to be the capital. The German dominions ought to be looked upon as secondary provinces, and the seat of government ought to be removed to the heart of Hungary, and a new constitution drawn up for that country. With Hungary, Bohemia, Galicia, and what remains to us in Germany, we could hold our own against the universe if we wished. We ought to reconquer Fiume and Trieste at any cost, in order to have access to the sea, and the other frontiers should be so strongly fortified that the devil himself could not cross them. If we were to do this, Prussia and Germany would soon be obliged to ask help of us."

But these ideas made no way with the court of Vienna,

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where every effort and every hope turned towards Germany and Italy. It was besides exceedingly difficult for Austria to remain neutral, silent, and disinterested in the presence of Napoleon's ceaseless efforts to secure for himself the lead in Europe. Then again, most of the noble families who surrounded Francis II. had possessed lands in Germany, and their only thought was how to reconquer them. Under these circumstances it was not surprising that Metternich's relations with Napoleon in Paris became exceedingly strained. Austria dared not come to the aid of Prussia and Russia during the disastrous campaign of Jena and Eylau, but Napoleon felt no gratitude for that. He knew too well the hostile intentions of Francis II. "What does your sovereign want?" he had asked bluntly of Metternich at an audience on the 15th of August, 1808. "He wants his envoy to be respected," the diplomatist had answered drily. At the congress of Erfurt, when Vincent, the Austrian general, brought him a letter of congratulation from Francis, he had roughly reminded him that he had been in a position in which he could have utterly destroyed Austria, and that she owed her existence to his mercy. All this irritation was caused by her warlike preparations.

The archduke Charles applied himself energetically to the equipment of the army, while he did all he could to raise the tone of the troops and to fortify the frontier on the side of Germany. He abolished corporal punishment, and organized a territorial militia as a reserve force. This *landwehr* was drilled on holidays, and met in full force once a month (patent of the 12th of May, 1808). The Bohemian diet voted a million and a half of florins for the maintenance of this militia, and the Hungarians were ready to make the necessary sacrifices for it. Measures were taken at the same time to bring about a national rising in the north of Germany, and Tyrol, which had always been devoted to the dynasty, only awaited the signal to throw off the rule of Bavaria. The enthusiasm became great throughout all the provinces of the empire; warlike *fêtes* were held in many places; Arndt, Körner, and other less illustrious

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poets wrote patriotic hymns, which soon became popular. One by the poet Collin was a kind of monarchical Marseillaise: "The throne of the Habsburgs must remain fixed for ever,—Austria shall not perish. Rise, O people; form your battalions! To arms! To the frontiers!" Napoleon's foolish expedition against Spain had helped once more to raise the highest hopes. It was on the 27th of March, 1809, that war was declared against France, and the archduke Charles named generalissimo, with fuller powers than had been granted to any general since the days of Wallenstein or prince Eugène. He commanded an army of two hundred and ninety thousand men, thirty thousand horse, and eight hundred cannons. The *landwehr* and the Hungarian *insurrection* could, according to the most trustworthy calculations, furnish two hundred and twenty-four thousand more, and would thus make a total of more than five hundred thousand.

Campaign of 1809—*Insurrection of Tyrol.*

Again it was decided that Napoleon should be attacked at the same moment by three different armies. The first, under the orders of the archduke Charles, was to march against Bavaria; the second, under the archduke John, was to attack Italy; while the archduke Ferdinand, with thirty-five thousand men, was to invade Poland. Less important bodies of troops were to drive the French from Dalmatia and Istria. Never had Austria set on foot such a force. She represented herself as the champion of the independence of nations. "The freedom of Europe has sought refuge beneath your banner," said the archduke Charles in one of his proclamations. "Soldiers, your victories will break her chains; your German brothers who are now in the ranks of the enemy wait only for their deliverance." There is no evidence that the Chekhs, Slovenes, Hungarians, Croats, Roumanians, and Poles had any great interest in the deliverance of their German brothers; but the archduke only repeated the traditional formulas of his house. All he cared about was to persuade Europe and Germany herself that the destiny of the

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German race was bound up with that of the house of Austria. "We fight for the maintenance of the independence of the Austrian monarchy," said a manifesto addressed to Germany, "to recover that independence and that national honour which belong to her. Our resistance is her last hope of safety; our cause is hers. With Austria Germany has been independent and happy, and only through Austria can she become so again."

The first episode in the war was the insurrection of Tyrol against Bavaria. These rude mountaineers had remained faithfully attached to the house of Austria, and had known how to preserve, during a long series of reigns, their privileges and patriarchal customs. At the time of their annexation to Bavaria, Maximilian Joseph had promised "not to change one iota" of their laws; but a year had scarcely passed before the Bavarian ministers set to work to assimilate the new province of Southern Bavaria, as it was called in official documents, to the rest of the kingdom. On the 1st of May, 1808, the estates of Tyrol were dissolved, the administration of religious matters altered completely, the pastors driven from their churches without reason assigned, and pilgrimages and festivals suppressed. Some of these reforms would have been excellent had they been undertaken under other circumstances and with due precaution; harshly insisted upon by a foreign government, they drove the simple folk to desperation. They had always kept up their old connection with Vienna, and their interests had been bravely maintained there by the Tyrolese Hormayr. In the beginning of 1809, three patriots, Andrew Hofer, Peter Huber, and Nessing, went to Vienna to arrange a plan of insurrection with the archduke John, and on their return the revolt was organized. Innkeepers, pedlars, and labourers were the principal agents, and the secret was kept with admirable resolution. Among the rustic heroes of this struggle three deserve to be specially remembered by the historian—Andrew Hofer, the innkeeper of Passeyer; Joseph Speckbacher; and Joachim Haspinger, the Capuchin. The innkeeper and horse-dealer, Andrew Hofer, was known throughout the whole of Tyrol.

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He had been a member of the diet, and in 1796 he had commanded a body of his countrymen in Italy against the French. The father of seven children, he never hesitated a moment to leave them for the service of his country. Speckbacher had fought in the campaigns of 1797, 1800, and 1805, and possessed real military talent. Haspinger, the Capuchin, who was better known by the name of Father Joachim of the Red Beard, had accompanied the Tyrolese in all their expeditions as their chaplain. He never shed blood himself, but no man knew better how to excite the soldiers to battle and heighten their patriotism by their religious faith.

On the 9th of April, 1809, the Austrian general, Chasteler, crossed the Tyrolese frontier and was received with triumph. On the same day, Hofer called his countrymen to arms, and when Chasteler entered the Pusterthal not a single Bavarian was to be found, Hofer and his peasants having driven every foreign soldier out of the country. A few days later they captured Innsbrück, but their victory was tarnished by the pillage of the houses of the Jews and of the Bavarian officials. The next day three thousand five hundred Frenchmen, commanded by Bisson, surrendered to the rough mountaineers, and seven cannons fell into their hands. Hormayr, who had arrived with the Austrian army, at once restored the old form of government throughout Tyrol. In the south the struggle was harder, and general Baraguay d'Hilliers with eight thousand French troops was able to hold his ground for some time, but finally fell back into Italy before the army of Hofer and the soldiers of Chasteler. By the end of April the whole of Tyrol, with the single exception of the fortress of Kufstein, was in the hands of the Austrians, and this unexpected success filled the Austrian troops with confident hopes which after events by no means justified.

On the 13th of April, Napoleon left Paris, and hastened to meet the archduke Charles, who had entered Bavaria and was marching on Landshut. The Austrian troops stretched from Munich to Ratisbon. By the victory of Abensberg (20th

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April) Napoleon divided them, got possession of Landshut, and crushed the main body at Eggmühl and before Ratisbon (22nd–23rd April). The Austrians fought heroically, but in spite of all their efforts sixty thousand men and a hundred cannons fell into the hands of the enemy. The success obtained in Italy, where Friuli was occupied by Austrian troops, and in Poland, where Warsaw had capitulated to the archduke Ferdinand, could not atone for this terrible defeat.

The archduke Charles was obliged to retreat into Bohemia to reorganize his army, while the archduke Maximilian endeavoured to defend Vienna; but the city was bombarded and forced to surrender. For the second time the French took possession of it (13th May), and the famous proclamation of Napoleon to the Hungarians, of which we must shortly speak, was dated thence.

Aspern and Wagram—Treaty of Schönbrunn (1809).

The fall of Vienna placed the right bank of the Danube, from Linz to the Hungarian frontier, in the hands of the French, while the left bank was guarded by Austrian troops. In order to dislodge the enemy, Napoleon threw bridges across the river near the island of Lobau, and the villages of Aspern and Esslingen were captured by Masséna and Lannes. The archduke Charles awaited the French close by, and on hearing that they had passed the river, he issued an order of the day to his troops which reminds us of that of Nelson at Trafalgar: "To-morrow we must fight; the fate of the monarchy depends on you. I shall do my duty, and I expect the same of the army." He had seventy-three thousand men and three hundred cannons under his command. For two successive days he tried unsuccessfully to force the French back upon the Danube. Napoleon was quite unable to break the Austrian lines, and narrowly escaped being blockaded in the island of Lobau. These two days cost the two armies more than forty thousand killed and wounded, marshal Lannes being among the killed. Victory seemed to

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hesitate between the two adversaries, and Napoleon was obliged to own that he had at last found a rival worthy of him. The battle of Aspern (22nd May, 1809) is looked upon in Austria as the greatest victory gained since the days of Zenta and Kolin. The emperor Francis wrote to the archduke Charles to congratulate "the worthy pillar of the throne, the saviour of his country;" and Napoleon once said, "He who has not seen the Austrians at Aspern has seen nothing."

After the battles of Aspern and Esslingen, Napoleon fortified the island of Lobau and transformed it into a kind of entrenched camp, from whence either bank of the river could be reached at will. Here he awaited the arrival of the archduke John. John had been defeated in Italy and had been forced to take refuge in Hungary, where he was pursued by the troops of Eugène Beauharnais. Driven out of Friuli, he had at first fallen back upon Grätz, and from thence entered Hungary, hoping to join forces with the *insurrection.* Eugène, however, did not follow him into Hungary, but marched to join Napoleon at Vienna, and the archduke John set to work to restore order among his troops in that camp at Körmend which had already sheltered the army of the archduke Charles. The archduke Ferdinand had met with no better fortune in Poland, but had been forced to retreat, abandoning Galicia and taking refuge also in Hungary.

The position of Austria had never before been so bad. The whole of the right bank of the Danube, from the frontiers of Bavaria to the frontiers of Hungary, and the whole of Inner Austria were in the hands of the French; they occupied the towns of Vienna, Salzburg, Linz, Grätz, Ljublanja (Laybach), Klagenfurt, and Trieste. One effort more and the whole empire would be at the mercy of the conqueror. This effort Napoleon made on the 5th of July, when he quitted the island of Lobau with one hundred and fifty thousand men and five hundred cannon. The archduke Charles had an equal number of men and guns, but he dared not dispute the passage of the river, and awaited the French on the heights of Wagram. The

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result of that bloody battle is well known. Aspern was avenged; once more forty thousand dead and wounded were left on the field, and the archduke, forced to abandon his position, retreated into Moravia. When he reached Znoymo (Znaïm) he demanded and obtained an armistice for six weeks, and this, after some hesitation, was ratified by Francis II. The emperor had at first taken refuge in Hungary, and had only joined his army in time to witness the defeat at Wagram. He entrusted the execution of the armistice to the archduke John, whom he also made commander-in-chief, on which the archduke Charles, deeply wounded, resigned. From this time he lived in retirement, only re-entering public life for a moment in 1815. Since the days of Wallenstein and prince Eugène no Austrian general had had so great an influence over the army. The conditions of peace were discussed by Champagny and Metternich at Altenburg, and finally decided at Schönbrunn, where the treaty was signed on the 14th of October. On the following day the fortifications of Vienna, Grätz, Györ (Raab), Klagenfurt, and Brno (Brünn), were all destroyed by Napoleon's order, and it was in vain that the Viennese begged to be allowed to keep the walls which had formerly protected them from the Turks.

By the treaty of Vienna, or rather of Schönbrunn, Francis II. ceded to Bavaria the territory of Salzburg and Berchtolsgaden, the district of the Inn and that of the Hausruck above the Enns, which had always belonged to Austria. He gave up to Napoleon that portion of Gorica which had hitherto remained in his hands, the county of Montefalcone, Trieste, the whole of Carniola, the upper portion of Carinthia (circle of Villach), and all the land on the right bank of the Save from its rise in Carniola to the Turkish frontier, that is to say, the greater part of Croatia, Fiume (Rieka), and Austrian Istria. The Bohemian territory in Lusatia, which was, however, of but small importance, finally became the property of Saxony; Western Galicia went to enlarge the duchy of Warsaw; and the circle of Tarnopol was given up to Russia.

The kingdom thus lost about forty-three thousand square

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miles and three million five hundred thousand subjects. It now contained only twenty-one million of inhabitants and about two hundred thousand square miles of territory. The treaty also contained secret clauses which limited the army to one hundred and fifty thousand, and bound the nation to pay a contribution of eighty-five million francs.

But the most painful sacrifice of all was that of Tyrol. Notwithstanding all the engagements he had entered into with its brave inhabitants, Francis II. was forced to leave that country in the hands of Bavaria. The disappointment of the Tyrolese was bitter. Hofer and his companions had never given up hope; they had held their own against Wrede the Bavarian, and Lefebvre the French general; alone, unaided, sometimes without even news from the capital, they had placed their country in a state of defence, manufactured arms, constructed cannon, and forced the French to abandon Innsbrück. They now resolved to continue the struggle on their own account. But Bavaria was not likely to allow so rich a prize to escape, and thirty thousand French, Bavarians, and Würtembergers entered the valley of the Inn. These were repulsed by the patriots and crushed beneath the rocks which were hurled upon them from the sides of the narrow mountain passes. Tyrol defended itself even more desperately than did Spain, and in August, 1809, Lefebvre was forced to retire into Carinthia, leaving Hofer sole master of the country. He took up his residence in the imperial palace, with the title of commander-in-chief. Never was chief more implicitly obeyed. But on the arrival of troops sent by the viceroy of Italy, he saw that further resistance would be useless, and had retired to his inn at Passeyer, when the news of a victory on the part of the Austrians led him again to take up arms. This time the struggle proved too unequal; the Tyrolese were defeated and their leaders forced to fly or to conceal themselves. Speckbacher and Haspinger succeeded in crossing the frontier. One hundred thousand florins were offered for the head of Hofer. In 1810, he was caught and taken to Mantua, where the com-

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mandant of the fortress was, at the time, that Bisson who had already had an opportunity of testing the military talents of the intrepid soldier in the campaign of the Tyrol. He tried to gain him over to the service of Napoleon. "I remain true to my emperor Francis," was the sole answer of the patriot. He was tried on the charge that "a sabre and two pistols had been found in his house." The majority of his judges condemned him to perpetual imprisonment, but a special order was received from Napoleon, in consequence of which he was shot on the 20th of February. His remains were buried in a garden, whence in 1823 they were carried by some Tyrolese officers to Innsbrück, where they now lie by the side of those of Speckbacher and Haspinger in the church of the Franciscans. The tragic death of Hofer had the curious effect of rousing the sentiment of nationality in Germany. Germans have tried to make the Tyrolese chief their own and look upon him as a national hero. A popular song, "*Zu Mantua in Banden der treue Hofer war*," represents the whole of Germany plunged in grief and despair on the death of Hofer. This is making small account of history. Hofer detested the Bavarians at least as much as he detested the French; and as for the Prussian "heretics," it is probable that he barely knew of their existence.

The heroic death of Hofer did not put an end to the hatred of the conquerors, and Tyrol had to be dismembered before an end could be put to Tyrolese resistance. The Vorarlberg was separated from it; Southern Tyrol was given to Italy, the Pusterthal to Illyria, and the remainder became the spoil of Bavaria. The university of Innsbrück was closed, and the Tyrolese youths were enrolled under the flags of foreign nations.

The French in the Illyrian Provinces.

Napoleon revived the old classical name of Illyrian Provinces for the countries on the shores of the Adriatic, Carinthia, Carniola, Gorica, Istria, and part of Croatia and

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Dalmatia, and here his government was more successful than in Tyrol. These districts belonged to the Slavonic race; the people of the north spoke the Slovenish, those of the south (Croatia and Dalmatia) the Croato-Servian language. The influence of the German dynasty had been less felt here, where the lands were occupied by people more alien to the German race than in the rest of the empire.

On the 15th of October, 1808, Napoleon annexed the ancient republic of Ragusa[1] to Dalmatia; it had been conquered by general Lauriston two years earlier. On the 15th of April, 1811, an imperial decree divided Illyria into six civil provinces and one military: Carinthia (chief town Villach), Carniola (chief town Ljublanja, Laybach), Istria (chief town Trieste), Civil Croatia (chief town Karlovac, Karlstadt), Military Croatia (chief town Karlovac), Dalmatia (chief town Zadar, Zara), and Ragusa (chief town Ragusa). Marmont, duke of Ragusa, took up his residence at Laybach.

[1] The republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) was founded about the seventh century by Italian colonists and Servians. Like the Italian republics, it early became an aristocracy. From the ninth century onwards its manufactures and trade were in a very flourishing condition. The Ragusans learned how to steer their course cleverly between the Servian princes and the Venetians. In the Middle Ages they were obliged to submit to the protectorate of Venice, and afterwards to that of Hungary, and later on they had to pay tribute to the Turks, when they became their neighbours. In the fifteenth century they had agents and consuls along the whole of the Levant, and maintained three hundred ships for trade in distant lands. At that time Ragusa contained about forty thousand inhabitants. The earthquake of 1667 destroyed about five thousand persons and struck a cruel blow at the republic, while the intolerance of her senate towards those merchants who were members of the Greek Church completed her ruin. In order to avoid the dangerous proximity of Venice, the Ragusans ceded the two districts of Klek and Sutorina to the sultan, thus completely separating the republic from Dalmatia. From the fifteenth to the seventeenth century Ragusa was the seat of a school of Slav poetry whose works are still classical. The principal representatives of this school are Mincetic and Darzic, who are lyric poets; John Gundulic, the author of the epic poem, "Osman;" and Palmotic, author of "The Christiade," and "Gjorgjic." Among the learned men she has produced we may mention Banduri, author of the "Imperium Orientale," and the mathematician Boskovic. At the present time, though Ragusa contains only a few thousand inhabitants, she is still one of the literary centres of the southern Slavs.

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The magic name of Illyria excited the most lively enthusiasm among the Slav peoples. Hitherto oppressed by the influence of Germany, they now found themselves for the first time united in a way which they had never dared to hope for under the Austrian government. The national language was encouraged in the schools and the literature of the country began to make progress. "The people," says a Slovene historian, "learned to have a great respect for the exact and speedy justice which was accorded to them by the French courts; public security had never before been so great. The French gendarmes are still remembered kindly by the Slovenes. Taxes were well regulated and collected in a better way; communal liberties were increased. It would take long to relate the good which the French government did to the country. During the four years it lasted, the French language spread through the land with great rapidity, and at Laybach there was hardly an educated man who had not learned French." Charles Nodier, who was appointed librarian at Laybach, edited a polyglot newspaper there, called the *Illyrian Telegraph*. The poet Vodnik translated the grammar of Lhomond into Slovene, and celebrated Napoleon in a well-known ode, "Risen Illyria," in which he records in a poetic form the hopes and aspirations of his native land:—

"Napoleon has said, 'Awake! arise, Illyria!' She wakes, she sighs, 'Who recalls me to the light? O great hero, is it thou who wakest me? Thou reachest to me thy mighty hand; thou liftest me up.

"'Our race shall be glorified, I dare to hope. A miracle shall take place, I dare to prophesy.

"'Napoleon penetrates into the land of the Slovenes, a whole generation springs from the earth.

"'Resting one hand on Gaul, I give the other to Greece that I may save her. At the head of Greece is Corinth; in the centre of Europe is Illyria. Corinth is called the eye of Greece; Illyria shall be the jewel of the whole world."

In Dalmatia also the national language, which had been

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crushed by every possible means by the Venetians, was encouraged by the French government, the official journal being published both in Slav and in Italian; and in many other ways the country was improved. Schools were established, and a great high-road was constructed by marshal Marmont which long bore the name of "Napoleon's Road." It is owing to this French occupation that Austria now owns Ragusa, and that she has always since retained the name of the kingdom of Illyria in her public documents, though that name has no foundation in fact.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

FRANCIS II.—AUSTRIA AFTER THE PEACE OF SCHÖNBRUNN (1809–1815).

Alliance with Napoleon.

THE end of the struggle found Austria a diminished and ruined empire. A policy of patience and wise moderation could alone enable her to recover a sound financial position or to reconstitute her army. During the negociations for the peace of Schönbrunn Francis had appointed Clement Metternich his prime minister, and when Stadion sent in his resignation he made him minister of foreign affairs. Like so many among the public men of Austria, Metternich belonged to a family which had originally nothing to do with Austria. The name of Metternich was taken from a small village in the Rhenish Provinces. One branch of the family had settled in Bohemia in 1630, the period when that country was the gathering-ground and the prey of the German nobles. The father of Clement Metternich had been Austrian minister at the electoral courts on the Rhine. This son, who was born in 1773, had married a grand-daughter of Kaunitz, had entered the diplomatic service early, and had represented Austria in Paris after the peace of Pressburg. He had arranged the campaign of 1809, and, notwithstanding his then want of success, the emperor thought it wise to entrust the direction of affairs to the man who best knew Napoleon.

It was Metternich who negociated the marriage of Napoleon

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with the archduchess Maria Louisa, for he saw in it the best hope of gaining for Austria the alliance of her powerful enemy, and Francis II. found himself obliged to give his daughter to this upstart Cæsar, to the man who had described him in one of his letters as "this skeleton, Francis II., whom the merits of his ancestors have placed upon the throne." The people of Austria bitterly felt the humiliation. An emperor of Austria to give his daughter to the man who owed his crown to the revolution which had beheaded Marie Antoinette! On the evening of the marriage by proxy—at which Napoleon had been represented by the plebeian Berthier—the "Sacrifice of Iphigenia" was acted in the court theatre at Vienna, and the courtiers could not help comparing their sovereign to the cruel Agamemnon and the archduchess to the unfortunate Iphigenia. Maria Louisa's meanness of character has deprived her fate of some portion of the pity which it well deserved. Metternich accompanied the princess to Paris, and was able to obtain for his country better terms for the payment of the war indemnity, and a withdrawal of that humiliating clause of the treaty which reduced the Austrian army to one hundred and fifty thousand men.

The financial situation of Austria was at this time exceedingly grave. The price of food had increased greatly, and the blockade of the continent added to the public misery by depriving people of coffee, sugar, and cotton. From 1793 to 1810 the public debt rose from three hundred and seventy-seven millions to six hundred and fifty-eight millions of florins; it had been found necessary to have recourse to forced loans, and even at times to suspend payment of the salaries of public officials. In September, 1809, a letter patent ordered all men to give up whatever precious metal they possessed in exchange for government bonds and lottery tickets. The issue of paper money increased continually; in 1792 it represented a value of two hundred millions, by 1810 it had risen to a thousand millions. Bank-notes for thirty and even for fifteen kreutzers were in circulation, and, the value of this paper money

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decreasing in proportion to the quantity issued, by the year 1809 a bank-note for four florins was actually worth only one. This depreciation was increased by the bank-notes which came in from the ceded provinces. In order to pay Napoleon the indemnity of eighty-five millions, it had been necessary to melt down the precious vessels of the churches. In 1810, a sinking fund had been created, and a tax of a tenth on all property, real and personal, had been levied. By 1811, the total amount of the bank-notes issued had reached 1,060,798,753 florins, and there was nothing left to the government but bankruptcy. It was on the 20th of February of this year that a patent reduced all notes to one-fifth of their nominal value. This was a terrible catastrophe, and many families were completely ruined by it. A special order of this patent fixed the value of money from 1799 to 1810, taking into consideration the date at which debts had been incurred. Any person who had borrowed one hundred florins, in 1803 had to pay back one hundred and twenty-nine in paper; in 1806, one hundred and forty-eight florins; and in 1809, two hundred and thirty-four florins. In 1811, he had to pay five hundred florins. The diet of Hungary agreed to a reduction of fifty per cent., but refused to accept the *scala*, which, however, was insisted upon by the government. It was only after the peace of 1816 that order was restored to the finances.

The legislative work of the reign of Francis II. was more successful than the financial. The penal code was published on the 3rd of September, 1803, and the civil code on the 1st of July, 1811. Both were animated by the spirit of humanity and justice to which the eighteenth century had given birth. The penal code suppressed confiscation, the galleys, and the *halage*, or dragging of boats, a punishment which had been as harsh as the galleys. It retained the punishments of death by hanging, and imprisonment of three degrees of severity, hard labour, the pillory, and fasting, which is even now sometimes inflicted It did not provide for the appointment of a minister of justice, nor allow prisoners the

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help of advocates; but this penal code is considered one of the best of those in use at the time, and remained in force down to 1852.

The civil code of 1811 was the result of fifty years of labour, and was the completion of what Maria Theresa had begun. On the 1st of January, 1812, it came into use throughout the whole empire, with the exception of Hungary and Transylvania. This code did not do away with all previous legislation like the Code Napoleon. It recognized a special legislation for the Church, for Jews, and for large landed estates; it also recognized the subjection of the peasants. At the same time, it did not recognize serfdom, and admitted that every citizen was capable of enjoying civil rights.

The fact that all the provinces except Hungary were now governed by the same code must have helped to bring about that political unity which had always been the aim of the government. The Magyars, jealous of their independence, refused to adopt it, and were right in so doing in spite of its superiority to the *jus tripartitum*; its adoption would have been the first step towards the absorption of the kingdom of St. Stephen.

Russian Campaign—Reaction against Napoleon—Austria in Alliance with his Enemies (1813).

As long as Napoleon remained at the head of the French empire there could be no peace in Europe; each nation was forced to be either his ally or his enemy. Francis had chosen to be his ally, and it was not long before he was dragged into new wars. He had to submit to the humiliation of helping his son-in-law against Russia, as he had had to submit to the humiliation of giving to him his daughter; he was entirely at the mercy of France. Austria, reduced to the condition of an ordinary continental power, was surrounded on all sides by states which had been formed by the conqueror—Switzerland, the Confederation of the Rhine, Italy, and the grand-duchy of

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Warsaw—all of them creations of Napoleon, and Austria was equally in a state of vassalage. "God and His destroying angel are upon us," wrote Genz. When Radetsky was the head of the staff, he formed a plan for making the permanent army a body in which the whole male populatiou should be trained, as was done in the Prussian *landwehr*, and Metternich had approved of the plan; but count Wallis, president of the Hofkammer, opposed it, saying, "Austria was in so enfeebled a condition that she could not dream of going to war for the next ten years—perhaps not for thirty."

But Metternich and prince Schwarzenberg, his agent in France, were both determined that the most intimate relations should be maintained between the two empires, and consequently, in spite of his wish to remain at peace, Francis was forced to march against his old ally, the czar Alexander. He promised to furnish thirty thousand soldiers and thirty thousand reserves to Napoleon, and, in case of success, was to receive in return some addition to his territory. Considering the position of Austria, these were very good conditions, and put her in a position to come forward as mediator, if circumstances allowed of it. But the nation was discontented with any alliance with Napoleon, and plots were organized to deprive him of the Illyrian Provinces, while English and Prussian agents travelled throughout the land, rousing the people against France.

In the month of May, 1811, Francis II. and his son-in-law met at Dresden. Metternich, who accompanied his master, endeavoured to dissuade Napoleon from an expedition which he saw to be full of danger. All his efforts were useless. The Austrian army assembled at Lemberg (Lwow) under the command of Karl Schwarzenberg, and the reserves were called out in Transylvania. There was but little enthusiasm among the Austrian soldiers for the expedition, and the proclamation of prince Schwarzenberg expresses clearly enough his perplexity: "We are fighting for an object which is common to us and to the other powers. These powers are our allies.

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We are fighting with them, not for them. The army will display that virtue which is the best of all military virtues —that which consists in sacrificing itself in order to fulfil the aim which the sovereign, under existing circumstances, has proposed to himself." The army did fulfil its duty, and marched into the duchy of Warsaw. Reynier's corps had been placed by Napoleon under the command of Schwarzenberg. He penetrated as far as Brzesc in Lithuania, but he neither took part in the expedition against Moscow nor in the disastrous retreat that followed, and, owing to this, was able to bring back his troops almost intact.

It was evidently not the business of Austria to carry on the struggle in which the "grand army" had failed. The war had been unpopular from the beginning; it now became still more so, and Metternich, who was looked upon as the author of it, was loaded with abuse. Public opinion called upon the government to enter into open alliance with Napoleon's enemies. The Russians, obeying the orders of the emperor Alexander, declared that they did not look upon the Austrians as enemies. "We make war," they said, "only against Frenchmen and Poles." A diplomatic agent was even sent to Schwarzenberg to propose that his neutrality should be recognized, and, though he refused this offer, he willingly consented to cross to the left bank of the Vistula.

Great was the excitement in Vienna when it was known that the king of Prussia had left Berlin and entered into open alliance with the enemies of France. The hotel of baron Humboldt, the Prussian ambassador, became the meeting-place of all who rejoiced over the humiliation of France. A large number of emigrant Prussians had found refuge in Vienna, and among them the poet Theodore Körner, the Tyrtæus of Germany, who had become attached to the theatre at Vienna as dramatic poet. Even at the time of the French alliance Körner had composed songs which could not fail to rouse hatred against France, as, for instance, one on the victory of Aspern, which, according to him, was a German

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victory: "*Diese Schlacht hat Deutsches Volk geschlagen*" ("This battle has the German nation fought"). He had addressed most enthusiastic verses to the archduke Charles: "My pride as a German bows down before that German hero who has kindled the spark and the flame on the altar of victory." He invoked the shade of Hofer, the Tyrolese hero, in ardent terms: "They have captured thee, the slaves of the tyrant; but thou hast looked up to heaven as to the place of victory; the path of freedom runs through the bitterness of death." He celebrated the burning of Moscow: "The Phœnix of Russia flung itself into the flames only to come out of them young and glorious; already does St. George brandish his victorious lance."

The emperor Francis II. dared not show sympathy with the passions raging around him, but he proposed that Napoleon should make peace, and offered his mediation, which was accepted. Metternich was becoming anxious about the growth of Russia, which had quite recently annexed Finland and Bessarabia, and also he did not think the time had yet come when Napoleon could be attacked safely. In order that Austria should be able to interfere with any chance of success it was necessary that she should be well armed; seventy thousand men were therefore sent to occupy Bohemia. Schwarzenberg went as ambassador to Paris. He was not to offer Napoleon merely the mediation, but rather, said Metternich, "the *intervention* of an ally who was weary of the war and desired to put an end to it." The meeting of the Corps Législatif in February, 1813, was opened by so arrogant a speech from Napoleon as left but little hope of success from this intervention. Meantime, public feeling grew more and more violent in Vienna, and when the king of Prussia finally declared war against Napoleon, it could no longer be restrained, and the government entered into a secret agreement with him, in consequence of which the Austrian troops in Poland remained neutral and fell back into Galicia. Napoleon tried to persuade Austria to make war against Prussia by offering her Silesia and allowing it to be understood that he would also give back the Illyrian Provinces on demand.

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But his offers were of no use; the marriage between Maria Louisa and Napoleon was the only tie, and that but a frail one, which at this time united France to Austria. When Napoleon quitted Paris he was anxious to find out what was the worth of his Austrian alliance, and sent orders to the auxiliary Austrian troops to march with Poniatowski. These orders received no attention, and the Austrians, who had begun the retreat from the left bank of the Vistula, continued it. Francis, however, would not make up his mind—wanted even to the very end to save appearances to the uttermost—and therefore he obliged the agents of England to quit Austrian territory, and ostentatiously refused even to receive at Vienna the Prussian general, Scharnhorst, who was coming to propose an alliance with Russia and Prussia. Secretly, however, he sent Stadion to the Russian camp. He congratulated Napoleon on the victory at Lützen, but at the same time he levied a special tax, called an anticipatory tax, on all landed property in Galicia, Bohemia, and the Hereditary Provinces, which amounted to twelve times the value of the ordinary tax—say, forty-five million florins. Never did the old adage, "*Si vis pacem para bellum*," receive a more complete application.

The command of the army now assembled in Bohemia was given to Karl Schwarzenberg, and his principal staff-officer was Joseph Radetsky, a man who was to have a prolonged military career. The emperor, accompanied by Metternich himself, set out for Bohemia in order to be near the centre of military operations. On the 3rd of June, they reached Jicin, and Metternich, after an interview with the emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia at the castle of Opocno, went on to Dresden to see Napoleon (28th June). Arrived there, he endeavoured to make the French emperor entertain proposals for a European peace. He demanded that Napoleon should give up the Hanseatic towns, the Illyrian Provinces, the duchy of Warsaw, Spain, and the Rhenish Confederation, and that he should allow the pope to return to Rome. Intoxicated by victory, the conqueror refused to listen to such terms; the utmost that he

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would yield in order to preserve the neutrality of Austria was Illyria; but after Metternich had left he authorized Maret, his minister of foreign affairs, to enter into negociations with Austria, and even to accept proposals for a congress which was to meet at Prague to arrange peace. Meantime, while Metternich was at Dresden, a secret treaty had been signed at Reichenbach by Austria, Prussia, and Russia (27th June).

The conference at Prague did no real work. The armistice which Napoleon had agreed to was only meant to give him time in which to reorganize his army; and while the congress limited itself to empty discussion, the military representatives of Russia, Sweden, and Austria were at Trachenberg in Silesia, agreeing on a plan of operations against him. The general direction of affairs was entrusted to Karl Schwarzenberg. At this time he was in the prime of manhood. He had entered the army at the age of fifteen, and had fought against the Turks under Joseph II., and had shared the campaigns of the Low Countries and the Rhine, and all the wars against France. He well knew the enemy he had to fight, and Napoleon recognized in him a worthy adversary. "You carry the marshal's wand," he said to him one day; "the use of a wand is to beat all who are in the way." "Sire," modestly replied the marshal, "that is what I should hope to do; the power alone is wanting." The choice of Schwarzenberg as leader of the allied army was due to his own military talents, as much as to the wish to show deference to Austria.

Two Austrian armies now took the field, one on the frontier of the Illyrian Provinces, the other on the side of Bavaria. Meantime, after hesitating long, Napoleon had decided to send a courier to Prague bearing the conditions on which he was prepared to make peace. He offered to give up the duchy of Warsaw to Prussia, demanded the increase of Saxony at the expense of Prussia, who was to give up to her all the right bank of the Oder, and agreed to restore to Austria the Illyrian Provinces, with the exception of Istria and Trieste. The courier bearing these proposals arrived at

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Prague on the morning of the 11th of August. On the evening of the 10th, Metternich had placed in the hands of Caulaincourt a note which announced the alliance of Austria with Russia and Prussia against Napoleon, and on the 15th of August the emperor Alexander arrived in Prague, and the French ambassador quitted Bohemia. The Austrian army had an important part to play in the campaign which was thus opened.

Campaign of 1813.

Protected on every side by mountains, Bohemia offered the allied armies a safe meeting-place and a secure base of operations. On the 17th of August, the army under Schwarzenberg marched through the passes of the Erzgebirge into Silesia. The Russian allies were commanded by Barclay de Tolly, whose insubordination caused much difficulty to the generalissimo. "Russians, Prussians, Austrians, you fight only for the freedom of Europe and the independence of your native lands. All for one, one for all! Let this be your battle-cry, and victory must be yours"—thus ran the proclamation of Schwarzenberg, and thus was ushered in the campaign of 1813. Throughout the whole of it the military history of Austria is closely connected with that of France and Germany, and there is no need for us to do more than recall the chief stages of the war—the battle of Leipzig (13th–15th October, 1813); the retreat of Napoleon to the French frontier; the campaign in France; and the taking of Paris in March, 1814.

We shall only describe in detail that part of the war which was fought on the soil of the Austrian empire. At the beginning of the campaign a division of the French army entered Bohemia, and penetrated as far as Kulm, where it was beaten by the allies and forced to recross the frontier. On the 9th of September, by the treaty of Teplitz, the emperor Francis renewed and confirmed the alliance between Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Each of the three powers agreed to maintain a body of one hundred and fifty thousand troops; Prussia was restored to the position she had occupied in 1805, Austria to

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that she had held in 1806; the fate of the grand-duchy of Warsaw was left for future decision. After the defeat of Kulm, Napoleon made a second attempt to enter Bohemia on the 17th of September, but he was repulsed by Schwarzenberg. The two adversaries met again at Leipzig.

The military operations to the south-west of the monarchy had immediate results for Austria. At the beginning of the campaign, the viceroy of Italy took up his quarters at Gorica, his troops being scattered around Trieste, Ljubljana (Laybach), and Villach. Klagenfurt was the head-quarters of Hiller, the Austrian general. Hostilities began on the 18th of August, when the Austrians took Karlovac and Rieka (Fiume) without resistance. As soon as the Croatian shores were reconquered, a division of the army was sent into Dalmatia, while the Austrians at the same time invaded Tyrol by way of the Pusterthal, and Istria was at the same time attacked by the Slav Lazaric, a brave soldier who managed to arm the peasants and to get possession of Pola and Trieste.

In Upper Austria, the Bavarian general Wrede and the Austrian Reuss confronted one another, but nothing serious was done. The king of Bavaria had been invited by the emperors of Austria and Russia to join their alliance, and prince Reuss had been authorized to treat with his adversary; the Bavarians in consequence were of no real assistance to prince Eugène. On the 8th of October, the convention of Ried, which placed the Bavarian army at the service of the allies, was signed by general Wrede, and Eugène found himself forced to retire at every point. On the 29th of September, he abandoned Laybach to the enemy; and before long he was obliged to recross the Isonzo and to abandon the fortified camp at Tarvis (8th October). Fouché, the governor-general of the Illyrian Provinces, took refuge on Venetian territory.

When the news of the treaty entered into by Austria and Bavaria reached Tyrol, it was received with the greatest enthusiasm, and the Austrian troops who arrived at Innsbrück on their way into Italy were welcomed with joy. They continued

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their march southwards, took Trent, and then entered the peninsula. Southern Tyrol was now entirely in the power of the Austrians, and the Tyrolese of Innsbrück, jealous of the happier fate of their fellow-countrymen, rose against the Bavarians and drove them away. The Austrian general, Bellegarde, had great difficulty in restoring order. He had replaced Hiller in the command, and as soon as he could he pushed on the campaign into Italy, while general Tomasic occupied the town of Knin, in Dalmatia, and blockaded Zadar, Spljet (Spalato), and Lesina. Tomasic had the assistance of troops furnished by an English squadron which was cruising in the Adriatic. The native soldiers in the besieged cities of Dalmatia soon laid down their arms, less out of sympathy for Austria than from a wish to make common cause with their Slav compatriots who were attacking them. General Roise at Zadar, after having in vain tried to restore discipline by terror, was obliged to allow his Dalmatians to leave the town, and had himself to capitulate on the 6th of December. The Servian Milutinovic was sent against Ragusa. The French only had possession of the citadel, the rest of the town being in the hands of the inhabitants, who cared nothing for the Austrians and were only desirous of recovering the independence of their ancient republic. They received assistance from Peter Petrovic Niegosh, the celebrated prince or *vladyka* of Montenegro, who hoped to be able to annex the harbour of Cattaro to his little principality. Milutinovic arrived before Ragusa, bombarded the citadel with cannon supplied him by the English, got possession of it, and, as soon as he had the town under the fire of his artillery, displayed the Austrian flag. Thus by the beginning of the year 1814 Austria was mistress of the whole of the coast of the Adriatic. The reannexation of Dalmatia and the Illyrian Provinces and the restitution of Tyrol were to her the most important results of that gigantic struggle which was only to be finally closed on the field of Waterloo.

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Battle of Leipzig (1813)—*The Austrians in Paris.*

Success in Dalmatia had been rendered much more easy by the disasters which befel Napoleon at the beginning of his German campaign. The battle of Leipzig had been gained by the allies under the command of Schwarzenberg, and the French army had been obliged to fall back on the Rhine. All the more credit was due to Schwarzenberg because he had only been able to carry out his plans after a long struggle with the emperor Alexander, the king of Prussia, and the emperor Francis himself. The evening before the battle he wrote to his wife, "When I look out of my window I think that I have before me the greatest general of our time, a very emperor of battles. It seems to me as if my shoulders were far too weak and must give way under the gigantic burden they have to bear. But when I look up to the stars I say to myself that He who directs their course has also traced my path. If it is His will that the just cause shall triumph, His wisdom will enlighten me and strengthen my weakness. Should it be the will of Providence that we should fail, my personal loss will be the smallest of our misfortunes, and, whether we fail or succeed, I have already conquered all self-conceit, and the judgment of the world can bring me neither reward nor punishment."

Quite early in the day Napoleon saw what Schwarzenberg was worth. "It was I," he said to the Austrian Merveldt, who was brought to him as a prisoner—"it was I who called the attention of your sovereign to Schwarzenberg. Does he wish to beat me? Truly, he is going the right way to work;" and he sent Merveldt back to propose an armistice. The Austrians were to fall back into Bohemia, the Prussians and Russians to retire behind the Oder, and the French behind the Saale; Saxony was to remain neutral. But it was too late. Francis refused to listen to these conditions, and his audacity was justified by victory. After the battle was over he sent Schwarzenberg the grand cross of the order of Maria Theresa. The field-marshal presented his commander's cross to Radetsky,

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saying, "Loudon wore this, but I could not give it to any one more worthy of it." The diplomatist who had brought about the coalition was not forgotten in the distribution of imperial favours. On the 20th of October, 1813, Metternich received the title of hereditary prince. Among the Austrian officers who especially distinguished themselves on the memorable days of the battle of Leipzig, the generals Nostitz and Bianchi ought to be mentioned, as well as Stephen Szechenyi, a young Hungarian who was afterwards known as the Great Magyar. The Austrian army lost four hundred and thirty-five officers and fifteen thousand four hundred and eighteen men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, being a third of the total loss of the allies, which amounted to forty-seven thousand men.

The Austrian troops also took part in the battle of Hanau, when, with the help of the Bavarians, they tried to cut off the retreat of Napoleon. The coalition was gradually joined by the countries belonging to the Federation of the Rhine, Würtemberg and Hesse-Darmstadt, and on the 5th of December Francis II. entered the town of Frankfort, where, twenty years before, he had received the imperial crown. There Schwarzenberg established his head-quarters.

The army of the allies was now on the borders of Fr[redacted] Metternich thought that the humiliation of Napoleon ought not to be carried too far, and tried to enter into negociations from Frankfort. He sent for Saint-Aignan, who was French minister at the court of Weimar, and dictated to him the terms on which a treaty might be arranged. France was to give up Holland, Italy, and Switzerland, and was to accept the natural frontiers of the Pyrenees, Alps, and Rhine as her boundaries.

On the 14th of November, Saint-Aignan carried these proposals to Paris. Napoleon would return no decided answer, and proposed that a co[redacted]ce should meet at Mannheim. This the allies refused, and emboldened by the success which met them on all sides, especially in Spain and Holland, the march on Paris was decided upon in a council of war presided over by Francis II. Still, even when the first battles of the campaign

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in France were being fought, Caulaincourt and Metternich continued their negociations. On the 5th of February, 1814, a conference was opened at Châtillon-sur-Seine, where the allies demanded that France should return to what had been her limits in 1790. Napoleon was intoxicated at the moment by the temporary triumphs of Champaubert (10th February), Montmirail (11th February), and Vauxchamp (14th February), and endeavoured to enter into direct negociation with Francis, offering to divide with him the empire of Europe. He thought victory had once more returned to his banner. "I am nearer to Vienna than they are to Paris," he exclaimed in his infatuation. But on the 1st of March a treaty was signed at Chaumont by the representatives of the allies — Metternich, Nesselrode, Hardenberg, and Castlereagh—by virtue of which the allies undertook not to lay down arms until peace and the balance of power in Europe had been established on a firm basis. This treaty was to last twenty years. It stipulated that each of the continental powers was to furnish fifty thousand men, while England should contribute five millions sterling. None of the powers signing the treaty was to make peace on its own account. It was on the 19th of March that the congress of Châtillon broke up without coming to any conclusion, and Schwarzenberg, without troubling himself further about Napoleon, decided to march directly on Paris. On the 30th, the allies entered the French capital. Their success was due to the wise temerity of Schwarzenberg. Napoleon once said to Koller, the Austrian who accompanied him to the island of Elba, "An ordinary general would have been anxious about his return, and troubled as to how he should keep up his line of communication; a good general could do nothing but just what Schwarzenberg did. I knew he was capable of doing it, but I believed that he would wait to ask the consent of the sovereigns, and would thus lose the favourable moment." Blücher confirmed the judgment of Napoleon when, years later, during a visit to Carlsbad, he drank to "the hero who, in spite of the presence of three

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kings, led us to victory." All the courts of Europe loaded the happy conqueror of Paris with distinctions. The city of London voted him a sword of honour, the university of Oxford made him a doctor of civil law, Bohemia erected a statue to him, and the emperor of Austria granted him permission to quarter the arms of the house of Austria with his own.

Francis II. did not enter Paris at the same time as his two allies, but he gave them full powers to arrange the position of his son-in-law and his daughter, and did not allow his feelings as a father to interfere with reasons of state. He reached Paris on the 15th of April. On the 11th had already been signed the treaty of Fontainebleau, which gave Parma, Piacenza, and Guastella to Maria Louisa, and the isle of Elba to Napoleon. The daughter of the Cæsars did not go into exile with her husband. After an interview with her father and the emperor Alexander, she returned to Austria, accompanied by her son, the king of Rome, who was henceforth known by the name of the duke of Reichstadt. Little interest attaches to Maria Louisa; she was not true to her husband even during his lifetime. When she passed through Innsbrück on her way to Austria, the Tyrolese received the daughter of their emperor with an enthusiasm she little deserved. She retired to Schönbrunn, and died at Vienna in 1847.

In Italy, the two kings who had been created by Napoleon —Eugène at Rome and Murat at Naples—were unable to unite for the defence of their thrones against the coalition. Whilst Eugène fought the Austrian troops under Bellegarde on the Adige, Murat tried to obtain possession of Rome, Bologna, and the whole of Central Italy. The English and Austrians got hold of Tuscany. Bellegarde marched into Milan, and by the 12th of June the treaty of Paris was able to restore to the Austrian monarchy the whole country from the Po to the Ticino. Austria was consequently in a position to decide the fate of the peninsula, and did so by placing the old rulers on the thrones of the various states—Francis IV. in Modena

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and Reggio, Ferdinand in Tuscany, Ferdinand IV. in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The history of Austrian rule in Italy is tolerably well known, and is not included in the scheme of this work.

The Congress of Vienna (1814–1815).

On the 2nd of May, 1814, Louis XVIII. entered Paris and the war was at an end. Schwarzenberg laid down his command and the work of diplomacy began. It was not an easy matter to settle the division of the spoils of conquest. It had been agreed, for example, that the grand-duchy of Warsaw should be shared among the three monarchs, but the emperor Alexander wanted the whole of Poland, and now objected to this arrangement. He had gained the king of Prussia over to his views by promising that he should have Saxony, whose king had been taken prisoner after the battle of Leipzig. Metternich showed great perseverance and ability in his defence of his sovereign's interests, and at last succeeded in gaining the agreement of the allies that peace should first of all be made with France, and that all other questions should be postponed to the decision of a congress which was to meet at Vienna. The choice of Vienna as the place of meeting was an act of homage to the leading part which had been played by Austria in the coalition, and also to the military talents of the generalissimo. On the 30th of May, the peace was signed with dismembered France. On the 14th of June, another treaty was signed by Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, by which the Low Countries, which had long ceased to belong to Austria, were annexed to Holland. Before this date Francis II. had returned to his own kingdom, and had made a solemn entry into his capital. Never had Austrian monarch descended so low to raise himself again so high! Twice he had seen the enemy in the very heart of his country; twice he had left as a fugitive that capital to which he now came as a conqueror and the arbiter of the peace of Europe, with Austria again in possession of almost the whole of her

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ancient frontier. The allies had promised to her the restitution of Lombardy, Venice, Southern Tyrol, and Dalmatia, and the last-mentioned province was, in fact, already in the hands of her troops. On the 7th of June, Francis had signed a secret treaty with Bavaria, which restored to him Northern Tyrol, Vorarlberg, and Salzburg, together with the districts of the Inn and Hausruck, on condition that he should in some way indemnify Bavaria. The return of the Habsburgs was hailed with delight by the Tyrolese, but at Milan and in Ragusa again discontent broke out. The old capital of the Cisalpine republic and of the kingdom of Italy, and the maritime republic which had enjoyed centuries of prosperity and independence, could not resign themselves to becoming merely chief towns in Austrian provinces.

With the exception of those countries which had been the subject of the secret treaty with Bavaria, Austria had already obtained possession of all her old dominions before the congress met. She had nothing more to do but to make a formal renunciation of the Low Countries and of the *Vorlände* in the Breisgau and Suabia.

In the month of September, the crowned heads met at Vienna. The kings of Würtemberg, Denmark, Bavaria, and Prussia, and the emperor of Russia all attended the congress; business, however, went on but slowly, as most of the time was given up to *fêtes*. The saying of the prince de Ligne is well known—"*Le congrès ne marche pas, il danse.*"[1] The first anniversary of the battle of Leipzig was celebrated by a gigantic review, at which Alexander paid solemn homage to the military skill of Schwarzenberg. "'Tis to you, after God," said he, "that we owe our success."

The preliminary arrangements were not easy. Poland, which was coveted by many, gave rise to more than one disagreement; and Metternich, though he was supported by Castlereagh and Talleyrand, had to overcome a good deal of opposition on

[1] An untranslatable play on the two senses of *marcher*—to walk and to advance.

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the part of the representatives of the other powers. Finally, however, the congress was officially opened on the 1st of November, with Metternich as its president and Talleyrand as secretary. It was never a real congress, but rather a series of meetings or committees where questions which were specially interesting to particular countries were discussed by the representatives of those countries. The subjects of discussion were not only the results of the great struggle which had shaken the whole of Europe, but general questions, such as the navigation of the rivers of Central Europe, the slave-trade, and the pirates of the Mediterranean. The congress was divided into a number of sections, and was treated as if it were a European tribunal, before which all who had suffered in the revolution came to demand redress for their injuries. The order of the Knights of St. John appealed to it for the restitution of the island of Malta, which they had lost twenty years before, and all the tiny German princes urged upon it their claims to sovereign power.

The greatest stumbling-block was the Polish question, and more than once it threatened to break up the assembly. Russia had taken possession of the grand-duchy of Warsaw and treated it as a conquered country. At one moment it seemed as if Metternich must break off negociations and declare war with the help of Bavaria; but at last Nesselrode worked out a plan which seemed to satisfy every one, and which divided Poland almost as she is now. Another difficulty was caused by the ambition of Prussia, which was fast becoming a most formidable neighbour to Austria, and whose king insisted on the possession of Saxony. In consequence of this, a defensive alliance was secretly entered into by Austria, England, and France. The situation was indeed very difficult, but a way was at last found out of it by the formation of a committee of five, made up of the representatives of Austria, France, England, Prussia, and Russia, who were to settle all disputed points, and this committee became the real congress. Here we see the beginning of that system of the five great

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powers which directed the destiny of Europe up to the time when, in the presence of German supremacy, "Europe has ceased to exist." This committee persuaded Prussia to give up her claims to Saxony (except to Torgau), and arranged the final partition of Poland.

It was on the 7th of March, in the midst of all the negociations and *fêtes*, that news reached Vienna that Napoleon had landed on the coast of Provence. Metternich and the emperor immediately gave orders that the troops should march towards France. On the very evening that the news arrived, a comedy, entitled "The Interrupted Dance," was being played at the court theatre. A few days later, the congress publicly declared that Napoleon Bonaparte, having violated all law, was an enemy to the public peace, and was placed under the ban of the nations.

On the 25th of March, the allies renewed the treaty of Chaumont, and declared themselves resolved to carry on the war until Napoleon should be deprived of all power to do harm. The plan of the campaign was drawn up at the house of Schwarzenberg, and the sovereigns of Russia and Prussia and Wellington took part in the deliberations. Three great armies were formed—one in the Low Countries, of English, Prussians, and Dutch, who were under the command of Wellington and Blücher; another on the Rhine, of Austrians, Russians, and Germans, commanded by Schwarzenberg; while a third, composed of Austrians, marched to meet Murat in Italy. Maria Louisa remained at Schönbrunn while the allies were on their way to fight her husband, and the war in no wise interrupted the negociations of the congress. It was on the 3rd of April that the act deciding on the final partition of Poland was signed. The constitution of Germany was drawn up during the month of May, and on the 11th of June the sittings of the congress terminated.

The war began in Italy in the month of April, when Joachim Murat advanced as far as the valley of the Po, but he was defeated at Rimini, at Ancona, and finally at

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Torentino, by the imperial troops. He fled to Naples; but the Austrians pursued him, and he was forced to take refuge in France (25th May). On the Rhine there was not much for the Austrians to do. They entered Alsace, blockaded and took Huningue, and held in check near Strasburg the small army of Rapp. On the 30th of June, the allied monarchs took up their quarters at Haguenau, where they received a deputation from the French chambers, headed by Lafayette. He was told that no steps towards peace could be taken until Napoleon was given up to the allies. The main body of Schwarzenberg's army marched to Paris and entered the city without resistance. No Austrian fought at Waterloo. Once more the three allies found themselves in Paris, and it was during this second visit that Alexander proposed that Holy Alliance the idea of which is said to have been inspired by Madame de Krudener[1] (26th September). The second treaty of Paris was signed on the 20th of November, 1815. By it France was required to pay an indemnity of seven hundred millions of francs, and to submit to the occupation of her eastern provinces by one hundred and fifty thousand men.

Austria after the Treaty of Vienna.

What were the results of so many battles and so much diplomacy? No Austrian monarch had ever passed through such a series of reverses and triumphs as Francis II. Four times had he been obliged to accept a humiliating peace from the hands of the conqueror. Twice he had seen him enter his capital. He had lost one after another the Austrian Low Countries, the lands in Suabia, and the duchy of Milan; he had

[1] "In this period of mystical fervour the idea of the Holy Alliance . . . was formulated by Alexander in the act of the 26th of September, 1815. . . . This act was submitted to Madame Krudener for revision, who adopted it with enthusiasm, but who had not inspired it" ("Nouvelle Biographie Universelle"). Madame Krudener—Julie de Wietinghoff, Baronne de Krudener, born at Riga 1764, died 1824. Russian romance writer and mystic. Married Baron de Krudener, ambassador first at Venice, then at Copenhagen.

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received as compensation Venice, Dalmatia, Salzburg, and Western Galicia; then again he had lost all these possessions; he had had to sacrifice the Hereditary Provinces, the faithful Tyrol, Istria, which secured the possession of the Adriatic, Trieste, Gorica, half of Carinthia, Carniola, and part of Croatia; and he had had to lay down that imperial crown which had been for centuries the ornament and the glory of his house. After the treaty of Vienna, he found himself at the head of an empire vigorous, compact, and with better boundaries than the Austria of the days before the revolution had ever possessed, with an army and a diplomatic corps which excited the envy of Europe. He had the hegemony in both Germany and Italy. The younger branches of his family had been restored to their thrones in Tuscany and Modena. And the empress Maria Louisa was to have the investiture of Parma, Guastella, and Piacenza for her life. In Germany, he had recovered all the lands of which Bavaria had deprived Austria, with the exception of Berchtolsgaden, which remained part of the new kingdom. The Low Countries, Suabia, the Breisgau, Switzerland, and Western Galicia, which he had been forced to abandon, had always been troublesome possessions. To sum up briefly, instead of the twenty-four millions of inhabitants, spread over 266,000 square miles between the North Sea and the Danube, which Austria had possessed in 1792, in 1815 she had twenty-eight millions, dwelling on a compact space of 277,637 square miles. Every portion of the empire was contiguous, excepting at one corner, where the Turkish district of Klek and the Sutorina interrupted the coast line of its Dalmatian possessions. The empire of Austria now included five kingdoms of various origin—Bohemia; Hungary; Galicia; Illyria, which was made up of Illyrian Provinces speaking the Slovene tongue, but was in no real sense a kingdom; and the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, whose symbol was the iron crown of Lombardy.

Francis II. declined the proposals of those who wished him to accept once more the imperial crown in Germany, but

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he by no means wished to give up his position as leader of the German world. Modern Germany may be said to have been made by Austria; the final construction of the German states had taken place in Vienna; and, in exchange for these services, Metternich claimed that his sovereign should be president of the diet at Frankfort, and had his claim allowed. But in order that the supremacy of Austria should be maintained in Germany, it was necessary that the largest possible number of her German subjects should belong to the German confederation; Francis therefore declared that every one of his provinces which had at any time belonged to the German empire now formed part of that confederation. Amongst these provinces the only ones which were purely German were Austria, Salzburg, the Northern Tyrol, and the Vorarlberg, which countries contained at most some three or four millions of Germans. In order, therefore, to make up the number needful to maintain the position of Francis, to these were added the kingdom of Bohemia, of whose population two-thirds were Slavs; Moravia, with four-fifths of hers Slavs; Styria, whose people were half of them Slovenes; Carinthia, Carniola, Gorica, and Gradiska, which were entirely Slovene; Istria and Trieste, half Slovene, half Italian; the Tyrol, Italian; Austrian Silesia, half Slav; and the Polish duchies of Osviecim (Auschwitz) and Zator in Galicia. By the help of this diplomatic fiction Austria forced six or seven millions of pseudo-Germans into the German confederation, and from the point of view of numbers could make a good show at Frankfort.

But it was not long before she had to regret that she had ever sought her centre of gravity outside her own boundaries. From this time, to justify her claim to be a German power, she had to try harder than ever to Germanize her people, and in so doing to place every possible hindrance in the way of the development of their natural genius and political freedom. And when, in the end, a more fortunate rival had driven Austria out of the German confederation, German ambition still laid claim to those lands which had so long been

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represented as part of the empire, and to which she was accustomed to consider she had an absolute right.

The consolidation of her territory was not the only result of the twenty years' war which Austria had had to wage. She had strengthened her internal organization by the creation of an army such as had never been known to Joseph II. or Maria Theresa. There had been developed in this army a spirit of discipline and a brotherhood in arms which had mastered, drawn together, and inspired with the same feelings soldiers from countries the most unlike—Germans, Slavs, and Magyars. This army was able to save the empire on more than one occasion, and to enforce the obedience which comes from fear on all sorts of subjects, as well as to spread ideas of fidelity to a flag and to the monarchical principle which have given Austria new vigour. But in spite of this, the government has been unable to stifle the aspirations of the various states towards liberal and national development, or to refuse the gradual restoration of those historical rights which, though they may be ignored by the sovereigns, are sure to be some day claimed by the nations.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

FRANCIS II. AND METTERNICH (1815–1835).

Metternich.

THE treaties of 1815 seemed to have put an end to the era of revolutions. The years which followed were years of steady reaction, in which the European sovereigns, who had been so fortunate as to save their crowns and their dominions from the hands of France, united in one common effort to resist the ideas of 1789.

Amongst the princes who set to work to bring back their subjects to the sound doctrine of the old mode of government, no one laboured with greater zeal than Francis II., and he found a worthy auxiliary in Metternich. The mind of Francis was commonplace, and his character mean; he could not understand great things, and attached extreme importance to trivial ones; he had a passion for writing useless documents, and a mania for holding audiences. His ambition, as he loved to say himself, was to be a good Aulic counsellor. Fond of games and chamber-concerts, in which he liked to take part himself, "he was always," says M. Springer, "on the look-out for some one among his courtiers who would be of use as a member of a quartette, and a good musician would be received at court even if his character were infamous." He was envious of any one like the archduke Charles and Radetsky, who had deserved the popular favour by their services. Once, in a fit of suspicious jealousy, he even went so far as to have the private drawers of the archduke broken open. His suspicious character, moreover,

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made him cruel. In 1820, when there was a riot among the students at Prague, and it was found impossible to discover the authors of it, the emperor forced every student who had had bad marks from the professors to enter the army. One consequence of his theories of absolutism was a harsh selfishness, which led him to look upon his people and provinces as private property, of which he could dispose as he pleased; but, like some of his predecessors, he knew how to clothe his despotism with patriarchal forms, which charmed simple folk, and easily gave occasion to flattery. Instead of a representative system and assemblies duly consulted, an inquisitorial police was the link between the sovereign and the nation. Like Louis XV., he was fond of scandal, both as a means of amusement and an instrument of government. In his eyes there was no surer support to monarchical power than Catholicism; he believed that Josephinism in shaking religion could not fail to destroy monarchy. The speech the emperor made to the professors of the Gymnasium at Laybach, in 1821, has been often quoted: "Keep yourselves to what is old, for that is good; if our ancestors have proved it to be good, why should we not do as they did? New ideas are now coming forward, of which I do not, nor ever shall, approve. Mistrust these ideas and keep to the positive. I have no need of learned men; I want faithful subjects. Be such; that is your duty. He who would serve me must do what I command. He who cannot do this, or who comes full of new ideas, may go his way. If he does not go, I shall send him." He said one day to the French ambassador, "My peoples are foreigners to one another; so much the better. They will not catch the same illnesses at the same time. In France, when you are attacked by fever, you all catch it on the same day. I send Hungarians to Italy, and Italians to Hungary, and each one looks after his neighbour. They do not understand one another, they hate one another, but their antipathy gives birth to order, and their mutual hatred secures the general peace."

With principles such as these the emperor was sure to leave

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nothing undone to keep foreign ideas and science out of the empire. The censorship of the press was ruthlessly enforced, and literature was treated as an enemy. It is true that some remarkable men had been taken into the service of Austria; Genz, for instance—a person, however, of but low morality, whose great idea was to live "furiously well"—Frederick Schlegel, and Adam Müller; but their works as publicists were intended for foreigners, and remained almost unknown to the subjects of the empire. The few men of ability there were, and they were very few, were looked upon with suspicion. Only one man succeeded in obtaining the entire confidence of the sovereign, and that was Metternich. The time of war was over, and Francis had no longer any need of his generals, but the precarious state of Europe still assured the diplomatist who had negociated the treaties of Vienna the first place in the councils of his sovereign. It is true that Metternich had nothing to do with the internal government of the empire, but his foreign policy had, certainly, considerable influence on the home policy of Austria. Metternich was born in 1773, at Coblentz. He did not come to live in Vienna till the year 1809. He knew very little of the history of the odd medley of states over which his sovereign ruled, and cared less about those difficulties of administration which were the natural results of the constitution of the empire; completely a man of the eighteenth century, he despised history, and never guessed what germs of revolution were fermenting in the confused elements floating around him. His high position and continued prosperity he owed less to his talents than to the tenacity of his ambition and a fortunate chain of circumstances. The military success of Austria in 1813 and 1815 was ascribed to him, and he was credited with results which were really owing to the sword of Schwarzenberg. The two monarchs whose foreign policy he directed were too feeble to be able to do without him, and he knew better than any one how to flatter his master. "These two men," says the German historian Springer, "were the complements of each other. Metternich knew nothing

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about the details of government, and never interfered in them; the emperor, on the contrary, attached the greatest importance to them. The emperor had entered into an engagement with the princes of Europe to maintain order, and aimed at carrying out this engagement by maintaining in his own empire a state of perfect tranquillity. Metternich insisted on the passive obedience of all Austrian subjects in order to be able to employ the whole power of the empire abroad. For the former, absolutism was a matter of sentiment; for the latter, of reason. They gradually came to substitute their personal interests for the good of the state, and to believe that the state was satisfied when they were, and in time to look upon a political conspirator as no better than a parricide. Neither of them had the slightest feeling of responsibility as stewards of the national wealth." It has been said, in excuse for the absolutism of Metternich, that his dread of parliamentary government was not so much due to hatred of liberty, as to a fear of arousing the feeling of nationality in the various parts of the empire.

We must add that Metternich's devotion to his sovereign was not altogether disinterested. He was not above receiving gifts from foreign princes, and managed the public funds in such a fashion as showed that he believed no account could ever be required of him. His gallantries more than once scandalized the good town of Vienna, that luxurious and corrupt city in which, according to the saying of a contemporary, the life of the inhabitants "resembled that of hibernating animals."

Austria at the Head of the Reaction in Europe—Meetings of Congress.

Even immediately after the congress of Vienna it was very easy for any one to see that Europe, after her twenty-five years of conflict, had not reached the Golden Age which had been hoped for. The internal condition of Austria was far from being prosperous, and the splendid *fêtes* which took place during the congress could make no one forget for a moment the exhausted condition of the country or the misery of its

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inhabitants. The government, for whom the people had made so many sacrifices, rewarded them by stifling their growing wish for liberty and a free constitution; and, in order to maintain in the eyes of Europe the position which it had acquired by the success of its armies, the cabinet at Vienna turned all its attention to the maintenance of the various states in a condition of complete subjection.

Metternich and his sovereign set to work to manage the police of the whole of Europe. It seemed to them that every revolution which broke out in foreign lands must threaten the peace of Austria, for by its German, Italian, and Polish possessions their country was especially exposed to the contagion of liberal ideas. As early as the year 1815, the Italians began that covert war of conspiracy and secret societies which ended, after so many years of painful struggle, in the regeneration of their land; while in Germany, generous spirits, especially among the students, began to demand intellectual freedom and constitutional government. In August, 1819, the sovereigns of Austria and Prussia met in a congress at Carlsbad, and determined to keep down Germany, and to put an end to all dangerous manifestations. In 1820, the king of Naples having been obliged to give way to a military insurrection, and to grant a constitution to his subjects, a congress was opened, first at Troppau (1820), and then at Laybach (1821), to consider the best means of suppressing the revolutionary spirit in Italy; and this time Austria and Prussia were joined by Russia. Thus, notwithstanding the protests of England and France, the three cabinets of Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin took upon themselves to settle the destinies of Europe. The king of Naples was summoned before the congress at Laybach, and an Austrian army, commanded by the Baron de Frimont, entered the kingdom of Naples and brought the liberals to reason. Shortly after, a similar rising in Piedmont was put down by the Austrian general Bubna. An army of occupation remained in Italy. It was about this time that the amiable and gentle Silvio Pellico was thrown into the prison

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of Spielberg, convicted of patriotism. His book, "I miei Prigioni," translated a hundred times and read throughout Europe, remains to this day as the accusation of oppressed Italy against Austrian rule.

Francis II. rewarded his minister by granting him the title of chancellor of the kingdom (1821). "Europe," says a contemporary, "praises, envies, or curses the power of Austria, but no one thinks of the Austrian people. They think only of the prince and his minister." "Now you see what a revolution is, if it is taken in time," Metternich once joyfully exclaimed to the emperor of Russia. He thought that all the affairs of Europe would henceforth be managed by congresses, at which Austria would of course take the lead and decide the fate of the nations. The congress of Verona (1822) was especially directed against the revolution in Spain, and this time the France of the Restoration became the instrument of Austrian policy, and gained the honour of being the executioner of the decrees of the Holy Alliance against Spain. This congress also decided that the Austrians should evacuate Piedmont, and should maintain only a small garrison in the kingdom of Naples. In both these states the reaction had been terrible, and Austria had become an object of horror to the Italians. The cry, "*Fuori i tedeschi*" ("Away with the Germans!") became the watchword of the patriots. These "Germans" were for the most part Magyars, Slovenes, Servians, Poles, and Chekhs, the unconscious instruments of a policy of oppression of which they also were the victims.

The Eastern Question (1820–1829).

The friendly relations of Austria and Russia, attested by so many instances of joint action, was soon, however, to receive a rude shock from the Eastern question, that question which seems likely to prove the despair of diplomatists. General attention had been attracted to Greece by the first beginning of the Hellenic insurrection. The former struggles of Austria against the Porte, her close neighbourhood to Turkey, and the

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race-affinities of her inhabitants, all seemed to point to her as the protectress of the Turkish Christians and the future possessor of any Christian province which might be separated from Turkey. The successor to the kings of Hungary could bring forward claims on Bosnia and Bulgaria which were at least as good as those which she had succeeded in enforcing in the case of Galicia. But, unfortunately for Austria, she had been too much occupied with western affairs for the last century or two to take proper care of her interests in the east, or to carry out the policy which her geographical position seemed to impose upon her. Joseph II. had announced "that he was going to avenge humanity, and purge the earth of the barbarians who had so long been its scourge." But he died before he could carry out this dream, and whilst Austria had been absorbed by her struggles against the French revolution, the influence of Russia had gradually spread over the peninsula, among her Slav kinsfolk and her brethren of the Orthodox faith.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century (1804–1815), the Servians had risen against the Turks, driven them out, and formed an independent principality on the borders of Hungary. The Greeks—both those dwelling in ancient Hellas, and those who were scattered along the coasts of the Ægean Sea and the banks of the Danube—next began to dream of the enfranchisement of their race. Metternich and his master felt that they were not strong enough to carry out the plans of Joseph II., and were well aware they could not attack Turkey unless they first of all abandoned that guardianship of the peace of Europe to which they laid claim. Besides, they were in the habit of looking upon all nations who dared to think of freedom as their enemies, and as such would have willingly fought against the Greeks. But their great difficulty was how to help the sultan without wounding the feelings of the czar Alexander, who had imbibed humanitarian ideas and was favourable to Greece. At the congress of Laybach, Metternich had taken great pains to show the czar how dangerous it would prove to

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Europe should the revolutionists all make common cause together.

On the 29th of March, 1821, the official gazette of Vienna ostentatiously announced that the emperor Alexander by no means approved of the enterprise of prince Upsilanti, that he had caused his name to be struck off from the lists of the Russian army, and that he had given instructions to his ambassador at Constantinople to disown all sympathy with projects intended to disturb the peace of the Ottoman empire. An occasion soon offered for the Viennese cabinet to show what were the sentiments that animated it towards Turkey and the Greeks. Upsilanti crossed the frontier of Transylvania; he was arrested and thrown into prison, and most of the boyars who had been his accomplices were confined within the limits of their own estates (August, 1821). Diplomatic relations between Russia and the Porte were soon afterwards interrupted, the Porte accusing the cabinet at St. Petersburg of favouring the rebels. Metternich and his master were able to see nothing in the Greeks but subjects who had revolted against their lawful sovereign, but the cause of the Hellenes found enthusiastic champions even among bigoted legitimists, men who were influenced by their classical education, and many of whom thought that Austria might have covered herself with glory had she taken part in the expulsion of the Turks, liberated the oppressed peoples, and created a strong maritime power on the shores of the Mediterranean.

Metternich, however, would have nothing to do with such projects, though he dare not publicly avow the real reason for his policy, which was a dread of Russia. He once owned that "the Greek insurrection had been the most disagreeable incident of his whole tenure of office." The emperor Alexander had had entire confidence in the Austrian alliance; he thought his services to Austria in Italian affairs had deserved gratitude, and was most cruelly disappointed when he discovered his mistake. He complained bitterly of the ingratitude of his allay. "Austria," says a Russian despatch, "is the last power

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from whom Russia could have expected what she has received. Restored to his throne in a great measure by the efforts of the emperor Alexander and the Russian army, the emperor Francis had accepted immense benefits from the magnanimity of his greatest ally." The mistaken policy of Austria at this period brought her neither honour nor profit.

Anxious for peace, Metternich's first effort was to enter into an understanding with England, and in 1821, when on a visit to Hanover, he met Castlereagh and secured his co-operation. England was to use all her influence at St. Petersburg, and Austria hers at Constantinople, to restore moderation to men's minds. At first Alexander seemed to yield to the influence of Metternich, and the Greek delegates who presented themselves at the congress of Verona were not received. In 1823, the two sovereigns met at Lemberg, and about the same time Metternich had an interview with Nesselrode. Unfortunately, however, for Metternich's wishes, the Greeks gained ground, and Alexander, in spite of the influence of the Austrian minister, would neither sacrifice the interests of Russia nor give up his romantic and humanitarian ideas. In 1824, a conference was held at St. Petersburg whose object was the pacification of Greece, but though Austria took part in it, all she did was to retard business and delay any definite decision. The death of Alexander I. (1st December, 1825) made no change in the position of affairs, Nicholas showing himself disposed to settle the questions of the Danubian Provinces and the alteration of boundaries in a friendly way with Turkey. At one time Austrian diplomacy seemed as if it were about to succeed in putting an end to the disturbance. "The hopes of that faction which is the enemy of public peace are destroyed." Exclaimed the *Augsburg Gazette*, "All princes ought to unite to crush the revolution under whatsoever form it may present itself; they ought to give up all temporary advantages and hold firm to the Holy Alliance. Every statesman who shall abandon that course is an enemy of both thrones and nations. The greatest statesman of Europe, the man whose wise counsels

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have so often secured peace, who has always remained equal to every occasion, who has never been tempted to leave the right way by the attacks of his enemies, has once more defeated the hopes of the Liberals."

But at the very moment when Metternich received or even, perhaps, dictated this praise, and when he believed himself the master of all Europe, he was completely tricked by Russia and England. A protocol was signed in London on the 4th of April, 1826, in which these two powers took upon themselves to put an end to the Greek revolution, and in the following July they were joined by France. England had already recognized the Greeks as belligerents, and even the cabinet of Vienna had been obliged to admit that they had the right to capture Austrian vessels carrying contraband of war. Austria had been punished for her ambiguous attitude by the loss her commerce had sustained in the Levant, Greek corsairs attacking her merchant-vessels in preference to all others, and in the year 1826 capturing as many as two hundred of them.

The battle of Navarino (1827) struck the last blow to the chancellor's hopes. Europe made common cause with the revolutionists, and at last (April, 1828) war broke out between Russia and Turkey. It caused immense terror in Vienna, where every one was convinced—as Genz wrote to Lord Stanhope—that the czar would march right up to Constantinople. Austria was without financial resources, and her generals, grown old in times of peace, were quite incapable of managing a campaign. France showed herself hostile, Charles X. saying, "If the emperor Nicholas attacks Austria, I shall hold myself in readiness and act according to circumstances; but if Austria begins the attack, I shall at once march against her." Fortunately for her, Russia met with greater difficulties between the Danube and the Balkans than had been expected. The war lasted for nearly two years, and ended in the treaty of Adrianople (15th September, 1829), which recognized the independence of Greece, placed the Danubian Provinces under the influence of Russia, and left in her hands the mouths of the

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Danube, with the control over the commerce of the river which such a position implies.

Polish, Italian, and German Affairs.

The defeat of Turkey was a great misfortune for Austria. The credit of the Viennese cabinet was shaken, and its influence over Europe seriously diminished. Even diplomatists began openly to blame the narrowness of view which led Francis, Metternich, and their ministers to declare themselves the friends of any sovereign who announced himself the enemy of modern ideas, such as duke Charles of Brunswick and Don Miguel of Portugal. When the constitution was declared in Lisbon in 1821, the Austrian ambassador refused to illuminate his house, for even on the distant shores of the Atlantic, a constitution seemed a danger to Francis II. The establishment of parliamentary government in France had been looked upon with grave uneasiness, and the minds of Austrian reactionaries had been disturbed by the feeble echoes of parliamentary eloquence. When, therefore, the news of the revolution of 1830 reached Vienna, the terror it inspired may be imagined. If Austria had been provided at the time with money and soldiers, war might have broken out; as it was, she had to make the best of a bad bargain and to recognize the government of Louis Philippe. Next came the revolutions of Brussels and Warsaw. Austria had grown indifferent to the fate of the Low Countries, but events in Poland touched her interests more closely. Not long before, at the congress of Vienna, Metternich had protested against the cession of the grand-duchy of Warsaw to Russia. That secret hatred of Russia, which had been nourished ever since the Turkish war, was far from being appeased, and when disturbances broke out in Galicia, Hungary in alarm declared her future compromised by the development of the Muscovite nation and called for an armed intervention in favour of Poland. The Slavs also were excited by the idea of a war between their brother Slavs; while the Germans

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themselves, some from their Liberal opinions and others from their religious convictions, were favourable to the revolution. The action of the Austrian cabinet was as blundering in the Polish question as it had been mean in regard to the Eastern question. Francis placed a body of troops on the Galician frontier to prevent the insurgents from entering Austrian territory, and he forbade the exportation of arms into Poland (25th December, 1830), but he allowed his minister to continue to reside at Warsaw, although Prussia, with more strict observance of diplomatic forms, recalled hers. He did not announce his intention of interfering, as he had done in Italy and Spain, against the rebels, and Genz was allowed to express sentiments of generous sympathy with them in the *Augsburg Gazette*. In the political circles of Vienna the placing of an Austrian archduke on the throne of Poland was urgently discussed, and when the struggle was at its height Metternich offered his mediation, only to meet with refusal on the part of Russia.

Meanwhile affairs in Italy demanded instant attention. The Legations and the Marches had already thrown off the papal authority, and in the first days of February, 1831, the inhabitants of Modena and Parma rose against their Austrian rulers. Austria had no money with which to make war; her finances were in so wretched a condition that the relative value of paper-money to coin, which had been one to five, in 1831 fell to one to ten. Francis, however, dare not leave Italy alone; he was always in fear lest the revolution should spread to Lombardy and Venetia, and these fertile provinces were his best sources of revenue, producing each year from fifty-seven to fifty-eight million of francs. The Austrian troops therefore entered Modena and Parma, and proceeded to occupy the Legations, but these they were obliged to abandon in consequence of the protestations of France. The following year a new insurrection broke out there, and the papal government asked the Austrians to return. France immediately replied by the occupation of Ancona, and it was in vain that Metternich complained that France had violated the rights of nations.

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Thus Austria was always making a wrong choice, clutching hold of Italy, which detested and would have nothing to do with her, and leaving Poland to her fate—Poland, which would have accepted her rule with enthusiasm had the heir of the Jagellons of Bohemia and Hungary only been wise enough to arouse memories of the past and the ancient alliance of the three kingdoms, and had he at the same time appealed to the Catholic sentiments of the Poles.

Austrian influence still remained strong in Germany, but the revolutionary spirit of the time found its best ally in the multiplicity of principalities and powers which divided the land. Metternich often groaned over the feebleness of governments which allowed their people to impose laws upon them, and on the errors of nations which were carried away by the example of the revolution of July, "out of a spirit of imitation, copying events which had taken place in foreign countries, whose history and character were quite different from those of their German fatherland." Those rulers who found themselves called upon to make humiliating concessions gladly turned for assistance to the powerful chancellor, and he, by the help of the Austrian ambassadors, was able to exercise over them the authority of a guardian. Springer cleverly says, "The cabinets of Vienna treated all the neighbouring states as if they were an esplanade, on which no one might build, lest the fortress should suffer." Meanwhile, the three northern courts were drawn more closely together by fresh congresses, similar to those held at Laybach and Troppau. The king of Prussia and the emperor Nicholas met Francis II. in Bohemia, and a treaty, signed on the 15th of March, 1834, confirmed the alliance—perhaps it would be nearer the truth to say the conspiracy—of the three sovereigns. No political refugee was to find shelter within the three kingdoms, and each state undertook to deliver up all proscribed persons. Thus did the three powers take precautions against the wind of liberty which blew towards them from France. If the French government should prove unable to suppress revolutionary plots

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against foreign countries contrived on French territory, the three monarchs reserved to themselves the right to interfere. On the occasion of this declaration, the duke de Broglio sent a dry and dignified despatch, to which Metternich made a miserable reply. If war had really broken out at this time, Austria would have cut but a sorry figure. She was in great financial straits, and, notwithstanding all the efforts of Francis and his minister to stifle every sign of political life among the people, grave problems were debated in the very centre of the empire.

Austria had paid dearly for the glorious position of arbitress of Europe and restorer of legitimate sovereignty. The patent issued in 1811 had practically proclaimed the bankruptcy of the government, and the issue of forty-five millions of *Anticipationscheine* in 1813 had not succeeded in raising the value of her paper-money. Stadion had been chosen to reorganize the finances, and he found a difficult task before him. The cost of the war of 1815 had been met by a loan of fifty millions, but this had brought the state scarcely more than forty millions. Taxation was exceedingly heavy. It is true that Austria had received nearly fifty millions of florins as a war indemnity, but England had demanded payment of the various subsidies which she had advanced since the beginning of hostilities, and that sum had risen, from 1792 to 1814, to £11,051,547. A new loan was needed to pay off this debt, which the Austrian statesmen would have gladly forgotten. Stadion elaborated a plan which was to cure everything. No more paper-money was to be forced into circulation, and a National Bank of Austria was to be established, which was to administer a sinking fund, supplied by the war indemnity. But the notes of this bank were refused, and fell into the hands of stock-jobbers; and other expedients had to be tried, and new loans raised to pay old ones. It was at this time that the famous banking-houses of Vienna, the Barings, Laboucheres, Parishes, and, above all, the Rothschilds, took their rise and began to dictate to every European capital. As has been justly remarked, Vienna

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became the centre of a financial aristocracy which administered the whole European public debt as if it were its estate.

Hungary never lent herself willingly to any rational system of taxation, and down to the year 1827, custom-houses were to be found along the frontiers of every province in the monarchy, and the prohibitive system paralyzed all industries. From an economical point of view, the most important event of the reign of Francis II. was the establishment of the Austrian Lloyd at Trieste, which has become an important marine navigation company.

We have already said something of the system of repression which weighed upon every one. An inquisitorial police watched over the lives of the citizens, and the censorship of the press interfered with every expression of opinion. Liberty of conscience was subject to most annoying restrictions; public education was placed entirely in the hands of the clergy, and no one was allowed to study in a foreign university; and the central government persisted in refusing to recognize the political powers of the diets. And yet, in spite of all this, public opinion was working its way towards freedom with irresistible energy.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

HUNGARY AND THE SLAV COUNTRIES (1790–1835).

Hungary from 1790–1815.

AT the time of the death of Joseph II. Hungary was in a state of violent disturbance. The *comitat* of Pesth proclaimed that the rule of the Habsburgs was at an end, and others threatened to do the same unless the national liberties were restored by the new sovereign. All united in demanding the convocation of the diet in order that the long-suppressed wishes of the people might be heard. The revolutionary wind which had passed over France had been felt even by the Magyars, but there was this great difference in its effect upon France and upon Hungary—in France, ideas of equality had guided the revolution; in Hungary, the great nobles and the squirearchy who formed the only political element claimed, under the name of liberties, privileges which were for the most part absolutely opposed to the ideas of the Revolution of 1789. "Some of the *comitats*," says M. Sayous, "declared that it was not the peasants who had any reason to complain of the conduct of their lords, but rather the lords of the serfs, and that instead of passing laws to make serfdom less harsh, a return to the strict rules of ancient times was needed. Others dogmatically declared that Providence had willed that there should always be kings, nobles, and serfs." Among the late reforms only one had found favour in the eyes of the Magyars, and that was toleration towards Protestants, and the reason of

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this was to be found in the fact that the small landowners of Hungary were themselves to a large extent Protestant; yet a democratic party was gradually coming into existence which appealed to the masses.

It was under such circumstances that Leopold II. determined to convoke the diet. A preliminary meeting was held in the castle of Buda. "O blessed day, day of resurrection!" cries the poet Baroti. "I hear the old language, the old costumes rejoice my eyes." And Peczely, another poet, says, "We swear that so long as the blood of Attila flows in our veins, so long as the name of Magyar remains, this day shall be blessed in our memories." As was sure to be the case, the nobles had a majority in both chambers. Grave recriminations were to be heard the moment the session opened. Some of the orators accused the king of treason; others claimed an independent position for Hungary as regarded foreign affairs, and demanded that a Magyar ambassador should be sent to Constantinople. They even went so far as to ask that only Magyar regiments should be quartered within the national frontiers in time of peace, and that they should be commanded solely by native officers.

Leopold II. took refuge behind the Pragmatic Sanction, and refused to recognize any other contract between himself and Hungary; but he ended by getting himself crowned on the 15th of November, 1790. He restored the office of palatine; but the diet chose his son, the young archduke Alexander, for the post, and it was evident that the office was now nothing more than a name, and that there was but small chance of the young archduke maintaining the rights of the kingdom against his father. These various concessions, however, were enough to fill the Magyars with delight after the harsh reign of Joseph II. "My beautiful Fatherland," sang Peczely, "thou hast a king whom the whole universe envies thee!" The laws which were adopted by the diet sum up well the wishes of the country. The coronation of the sovereign must take place at latest within six months after his

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accession; the crown of St. Stephen must always remain at Buda; the king must from time to time reside in the country; Hungarian affairs must be settled with the help of Hungarian counsellors alone; the laws of the other states were not to be applied to Hungary; the diet must be summoned at least every three years, and it alone must possess legislative power, manage the finances of the country, and levy troops. These important measures were completed by a law for liberty of conscience more liberal even than that of Joseph II.

The question of the amelioration of the condition of the lower classes, the peasants, serfs, Servians of the Banat, and citizens of free cities, was more difficult to settle. The nobles were little inclined to deprive themselves of any of their privileges, and in this matter it was Leopold who represented liberal ideas. The diet granted the peasants the right of changing their residence, but refused the abolition of corporal punishment. The inhabitants of the towns were most of them of foreign origin, and had always been looked upon with suspicion; they had adopted the principles of the French Revolution, in the hope of obtaining by means of them access to public employment and real representation in the diet, and the king tried to reconcile their interests with those of the nobles. He also protected the Servians, and allowed them to meet in congress for the discussion of Servian interests; established a Servian chancery, in spite of the objections of some of the Magyars, who dreaded the dismemberment of the kingdom; and recognized the Orthodox Greek Church. Death carried off Leopold II. when he was at the height of his popularity.

When France declared war against Francis II. the Magyar nobles showed themselves quite ready to support their sovereign; they asked for nothing better than to fight the revolutionary democrats of Paris. Francis was crowned very soon after his accession, and was able to obtain both men and money from the diet; but before long, the reactionary measures carried by Thugut his minister, lost him all the

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popularity which had greeted him at the beginning of his reign. The censorship of the press, the employment of spies, and the persecution of the Protestants—a persecution, however, in which the Hungarian Catholics themselves took an active part—all helped to create discontent.

The policy of the court being thus reactionary, the Magyar Jacobins tended to become the representatives of the sentiment of nationality. Adherents of the French Revolution multiplied in the land, and some of them—as, for example, Martinovics, Hajnóczy, Laczkovics, and Szentmariai, who was the author of a political catechism for the spread of French doctrines—were arrested, and were found to have numerous accomplices. Fifty citizens accused of high treason were thrown into the fortress of Buda. It was difficult to prove the existence of any plot, but the writings of the accused showed, at any rate, that they held opinions hostile to monarchy and aristocracy; one among them, Bacsany by name, had even translated the "Marseillaise." They were brought to Vienna to be tried; but the Hungarians protested, and they had to be sent back to Buda, where, however, the trial was so conducted that their condemnation was certain. Five of them were put to death on the scaffold (20th of May, 1795), and the others were imprisoned in the fortress of Kufstein in Tyrol. Many of their publications were burned by the executioner, and among them the translation of the "Marseillaise." Bacsany was among the prisoners who were sent to Kufstein, and there the translator of the revolutionary hymn atoned for his imprudence by nine years of captivity.

Meanwhile Hungary was taking its part in the wars against France, and important posts in the Austrian army were held by Magyar nobles, among whom Austria found some of her best generals, as, for instance, Alvinzy. In 1796, the diet voted all that was asked for—50,000 soldiers, 20,000 oxen, and 2,400,000 measures of corn with which to feed them. Her poets encouraged their countrymen during the war, and compared the soldiers to the warriors of Hunyadi and Arpad. By the

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time that the peace of Campo-Formio was signed, Hungary had lost more than 100,000 men and 30 millions of florins.

In the campaigns which followed history mentions among the Hungarians the names of Kray, Jach, Ott, Palffy, Splenyi, Haddik, and Esterhazy. The Hungarian generals covered themselves with glory, but their land, deprived of men and money, and badly cultivated, was reduced to a state of terrible misery. Foreign affairs had made men forget the true interests of the kingdom, and the diet of 1796 had only busied itself with questions concerning subsidies and soldiers.

The diet of 1802 found things in a most critical state. It ought to have been its first duty to reform the system of customs throughout the land, as they interfered most seriously with the economical interests of the people. But quite another question occupied the Austrian government. It asked that the army should be maintained in complete fighting order in time of peace, and that a supplementary vote of one million florins should be granted. The troops furnished by Hungary were composed of two bodies, the regiments and the *insurrection*, a body of cavalry raised among the nobles at the outbreak of a war. The government wished to strengthen the regular army at the expense of the *insurrection*, and wanted the assembly to give up for the future the right of voting the contingent. It failed in this, but it obtained six thousand recruits a year in time of peace, and twelve thousand in time of war, the time of service being settled at twelve years, and it also secured two millions for the war budget. The same diet tried in vain to have Dalmatia annexed to Hungary. All the debates of this period which bear upon the privileges of the nobles, especially in the matter of taxation and the game laws, show how a selfish aristocracy clung obstinately to its privileges, and how little it had been affected by the ideas of equality which had spread from France over the rest of Europe. This selfishness of the governing classes proved of the greatest help to the kings when they sought to keep the nobles in check by the aid of the peasants and citizens. While steering its

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course carefully as regarded the diet, the government still continued its Germanizing policy. It granted a considerable yearly payment to the German theatre at Pesth. But the Hungarians also built a theatre, and opened a national museum; and their national poets, Csokonai, Verseghy, Berzsenyi, and, above all, the immortal Kisfaludy, showed that the Magyar tongue could be adapted to the noblest forms of European poetry, and thus secured the future of the national language.

The most important event of 1802, after the convocation of the diet, was the creation of the official title of emperor of Austria. In spite of the assurances of Francis that he meant to make no change in the position of his various kingdoms, the Hungarians felt themselves injured by the new title, as implying that the kingdom of St. Stephen was in future to hold a place subordinate to the empire. Notwithstanding this, however, their old spirit of loyalty prevailed, and when, after the capitulation of Ulm, Napoleon appeared before the gates of Vienna, there was no sacrifice they were not ready to make. Napoleon was the representative of victorious revolution, and the Magyar nobles were ready to prove their fidelity to the hereditary dynasty in the face of all his successes. "This is the moment of thy true greatness, O Magyar," sang the poet Berszenyi. ". . . Thy arm in battle has the strength of a giant. Go! show that thou hast the soul of Zrinyi; imitate him in what was his highest claim to glory—his death." But the diet would not consent to the levy *en masse* which was called for by the government, and it asked for some new concessions in favour of the national language, among others, permission to the *comitats* to correspond with the central government in Magyar. Before long the frontiers of Hungary lay open to the enemy; Napoleon was in Vienna, and French troops upon the banks of the Raab. The palatine Joseph thought that he ought not to draw down on the country all the horrors of an invasion; he therefore retired to Buda-Pesth, and sent the holy crown to Munkacz, leaving general Palffy at Pozsony (Pressburg), with orders to obtain the consent of the French to the neutrality

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of Hungary. Davoust agreed to this willingly, and contented himself with occupying Pressburg, without taxing its inhabitants with either contributions or requisitions. It has been proved by the letters of Napoleon at this time that he caused an inquiry to be made into the grievances of the Hungarians against the Austrian government, hoping to make use of them to his own advantage.

The diet of 1807 was given up entirely to questions of internal government, every means being taken to obtain the resources that were needed for the future war. It was proposed to settle once for all what number of troops should be permanently kept up, and that an extraordinary tax should be granted for military needs. The lower chamber refused a permanent grant of troops, and maintained the right of Hungary to raise soldiers only when she wished, and as many as she wished. The chamber of nobles was more conciliatory, and disposed to make greater sacrifices of money. It granted one-sixth of the revenues of nobles, merchants, and citizens, and one per cent. on the value of all immovable property. There was a hard struggle over the question of the permanent levies, the diet being most unwilling to give up the right of determining from time to time the number of the armed force. It was usual, when the contingent had been voted, for it to be divided among the towns and the *comitats*, and the troops were got together in a somewhat unsystematic and arbitrary fashion. After prolonged debate, twelve thousand conscripts and a sum of twenty thousand florins for the encouragement of voluntary enlistment were granted by the assembly. The great orator, Paul Nagy, appeared for the first time at this debate, and spoke noble words in defence of the national independence and the Magyar tongue. In spite of the court, the diet energetically defended the autonomy of Hungary within her own borders.

In order to conciliate the Magyars, Francis II. determined to have the new empress, Maria Louisa, his third wife, whom he had just married, crowned queen of Hungary. The cere-

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mony always excites great enthusiasm among the Hungarians, and the dynasty has not failed to turn this enthusiasm to its own advantage. At the same time a strong feeling of indignation had been roused among the Magyar nobles by the war in Spain, during which both royal rights and national sentiments had been held so cheap by Napoleon.

During the campaign of 1809 the diet added twenty thousand conscripts to the twelve thousand already voted, and decreed the *insurrection*. The nation was called to arms by the poets Verseghy and Kisfaludy. Enormous sacrifices were made by some of the nobles, prince Esterhazy supplying two hundred horses to the army, and the archbishop of Kalocsa one hundred and twenty. The popular enthusiasm increased when the empress-queen and the young archduke, heir to the throne, left Vienna, which was threatened by the enemy, and took refuge in the imperial castle at Buda. Napoleon, who never understood popular feeling in Hungary, believed the moment had now come to strike a heavy blow at Austria by separating Hungary from her. From his head-quarters at Schönbrunn he addressed a proclamation to the Hungarians which was immediately spread throughout the kingdom. It was translated by the poet Bacsanyi, who, during his imprisonment at Kufstein, had become acquainted with Maret, then ambassador from the French republic, who had been arrested by the Austrians. Maret, now duke of Bassano and one of Napoleon's ministers, came across his old companion in captivity in Vienna, and no doubt obtained his aid in the composition of the original as well as in the translation.

"Hungarians!" ran the proclamation, "it is the emperor of Austria, and not the king of Hungary, who has declared war against me. Your constant maintenance of a defensive position, and the measures passed by your last diet, testify sufficiently to your desire for peace. The moment has come in which you may recover your independence. I offer you peace, the integrity of your land, your freedom, and your constitution, either as it now exists or with such modifications as you may

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think either the demands of the age or the welfare of your countrymen render advisable. I want nothing from you. I only desire to see your nation free and independent. Your union with Austria has been your misfortune. Your blood has been shed for her in far distant lands, and your dearest interests have been continually sacrificed to those of the Hereditary Provinces. You form the finest portion of her empire, and you are only treated as a province that can be used as the instrument of passions to which you are strangers.

"You have national customs and a national language; you pride yourselves on your ancient and illustrious origin. Take again your position as a nation. Choose a king for yourselves who shall reign for you alone, who shall dwell in your midst, who shall be surrounded only by your citizens and your soldiers. Hungarians, this is what all Europe who is watching you demands, and what I join her in asking of you. A lasting peace, commercial relations, and a secured independence are the rewards that await you if you will be worthy of your ancestors and of yourselves. You will not refuse these offers, so liberal and so generous; you will no longer shed your blood for feeble princes, who have always been the slaves of corrupt ministers and in the pay of England. . . . Assemble in your national diets on the field of Rakos, as your ancestors did before you, and then let me know your decision."

But notwithstanding the skill with which it was drawn up, this proclamation made but little impression in Hungary. The *insurrection* rose in arms, met at Raab (Györ), and then took up its position in an entrenched camp, under the command of the archduke John. It was badly equipped and armed, and the valour of the Hungarian cavalry was of little use among the inequalities of a boggy soil and against the terrible fire of the French artillery. Györ was taken, and the Austrians did not spare their raillery against the fine gentlemen who allowed themselves to be beaten on the soil of their native land. After this defeat, the government demanded forty thousand more men from Hungary, and voluntary

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enlistment soon supplied the number, which went to reinforce the army of the archduke Charles. Besides this, the country had to suffer from the requisitions as well as the military excesses of the French, whose memory is by no means popular in the country of the Magyars. By the treaty of Vienna some parts of Croatia were detached from Hungary, and this loss increased the popular resentment.

The Hungarians had never been sparing of their lives in the cause of Austria, but they would have nothing to do with those miserable schemes by which the government at Vienna believed itself able to remedy the bad state of its finances. The emperor, supported by his lieutenant, the palatine Joseph, had recourse to all kinds of violent measures. The recalcitrant deputies were summoned *ad audiendum verbum regium*, and one of them, Joseph Dessewffy, was excluded from the diet. In the end, however, they were obliged to yield to force. The Hungarians were, indeed, had always been, but ill rewarded by Austria for their fidelity, but they nevertheless furnished a numerous and brave contingent to the campaign of 1813–1814. They fought, but it was not with the old enthusiasm, and poets and publicists no longer celebrated the great duel against the Tyrant of Europe nor the victories of the Austrian army.

"We are happy in the victories of your majesty," said an address to Francis; "they will give you time to think of the welfare of your subjects. Up to this time dread of the enemy has made all our wishes of no effect." Hungary had fought rather for the dynasty than for her own independence; she had put off the consideration of all questions touching her own essential interests, and now greeted the peace with joy, in the hope that at last the sovereign would be able to busy himself with the affairs of his faithful Magyars—a dream, however, which was of but short duration.

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Development of Public Spirit in Hungary—The Diet of 1825—*Szechenyi, Deak, Kossuth.*

After the year 1815, Francis II. for some time refused to convoke the diet. While poets such as Kölcsey and Alexander and Charles Kisfaludy were recalling the memory of the ancient glories of the nation, the Viennese government was doing its best to stifle political sentiment by a strict censure of the press. But though there was no diet to interfere with its plans, the *comitats* proved a hindrance. That of Bars, for instance, gave utterance to a strong protest. "We have no doubt," it said, "that this rigorous censure which weighs down our literature appears of great use to his majesty. That ignorance of all contemporary events which we owe to it doubtless renders the exercise of power more easy. We only ask if manly minds can put up with such repression. In what way have we sinned? Why must the fountains of civilization be closed to us? Why are we to be cut off from the society of our fellow-men?"

In the face of an adversary so tenacious of its rights as was the Hungarian aristocracy, the convocation of the diet could not be indefinitely postponed. The royal chancery at Pesth was powerless to govern without the aid of the country as represented in the diet, and the archduke Joseph, who had been palatine for so many years, had himself felt the influence of the Magyar ideas of self-government. Austria wanted soldiers for the occupation of Italy, and in order to obtain them the king first tried to disarm the opposition of the Hungarians by flattery. After a military review, which took place in 1820, he made a speech in which occurred the following words, which have since become famous: "Totus mundus stultizat et, relictis antiquis suis legibus, constitutiones imaginarias quærit. Vos constitutionem a majoribus acceptam illæsam habetis; amatis illam et ego illam amo et conservabo et ad Hæredes transmittam." But this declaration did not have much effect. The *comitats* refused to pay the taxes or to

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raise the soldiers. The sovereign then replaced the *Fo Ispan* (Obergespann) by royal administrators; but it was of no use, the body of the *comitats* resisted, and all the public officers gave in their resignation. The magistrates refused to take any steps to carry out the prosecutions for treason which were ordered by the government of Vienna; and it was at last evident that the royal authority could not be maintained except by means of the national parliament. The diet of 1825–1829 marks, accordingly, an important stage in the constitutional history of Hungary. It met at Pozsony on the 11th of September, 1825. The king's speech contained a sort of apology, and he undertook once more to preserve the constitution, and to transmit it intact to his successors. In order to please the people he again made use of the ceremony which has always had so great an effect on the Hungarian mind, and had his fourth wife, Charlotte of Bavaria, crowned queen. Among the deputies in the diet of 1825 might be seen in the upper chamber Szechenyi, who had been named by his countrymen the Great Magyar; and in the lower house, Paul Nagy, whose stormy eloquence had been heard in earlier assemblies, and also a young advocate from the *comitat* of Zala, named Francis Deak. The debates were very noisy, and the court probably found the chambers less docile than it expected. Time was taken up by a series of recriminations against the violent actions of government, the misdeeds of royal officials, the attempts against public liberty, and the long delay in summoning the national representatives. These *gravamina* were made in speeches full of wordy eloquence, and in the doubtful Latin which was still used in the Magyar assemblies. The emperor had to listen to some harsh truths, some violent speakers going so far as to declare the house of Habsburg the hereditary enemies of Hungary. He was obliged to promise satisfaction to the *gravamina*, and to declare that he had never had any intention of violating the constitution. The Hungarians demanded that certain territories, such as Dalmatia, which, in virtue of historical rights, made part of their kingdom,

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should be united to it again; but their wishes were not attended to. The financial measures of 1811 and 1816 were also made the subjects of furious debate.

One of the most important results of this diet was the development of the Magyar language and literature. Szechenyi used the national tongue in debate, and subscribed sixty thousand florins towards the foundation of the Hungarian academy. A national theatre was before long built at Pesth. No less able as a writer than eloquent as an orator, Szechenyi undertook to make economic truths known to his countrymen, and his book on "Credit" marks an epoch in the study of the science. The old Magyar world was at last shaken by the breath of modern ideas, and the years which followed 1830 were marked by the construction of several important public works; the bridge at Pesth and the tunnel at Buda were made, and the course of the river Tisza was regulated.

Francis II. had his successor, the archduke Ferdinand, crowned in his lifetime, in the hope of attaching the Hungarians more strongly to the dynasty. After the revolution of July he wanted to be able to dispose of the whole strength of Hungary, and convoked a diet in order to obtain new levies of troops. It granted him twenty thousand men, but they were only to be raised in case the monarchy should be directly attacked. The diet of 1833 had some grave questions to solve; the subjects under discussion were not now only the relative position of the crown and the aristocracy, the taxes, and the constitution, but also the emancipation of the peasant class, and the economical transformation of the country.

The Magyar nobles had often made generous sacrifices in the defence of their own interests, but they had always shown most deplorable selfishness as regarded the condition of the peasants, and had thus given the Austrian government plenty of opportunity to play the part of the peasants' friend. Peasant wars had more than once devastated the provinces, and even as late as 1831, at the time of the great outbreak of cholera, the peasants in the *comitat* of Saros had put some of

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the lords to death, accusing them of having poisoned the wells. The emperor now invited the diet to discuss a measure of agrarian reform, the basis of which had been drawn up by himself. The upper chamber, however, would have nothing to do with its liberal concessions, while the lower chamber went even beyond the sovereign in the reforms they proposed. The debate was a long one, for the nobles of Hungary had no wish to repeat the doings of the French constituent assembly on the 4th of August, 1789.[1] Eloquent speeches were made in the lower chamber by Deak, Balogh, and Kolczey, on liberty and the dignity of man, but it was not until after two years of discussion that the following reforms were carried. The peasants were no longer to be tried before the seigneurial courts in which the lord was at the same time judge and party to the action; they were no longer to be arrested at his command; they were to have the right to leave their land and to sell their interest in it, or to become complete owners of it by an arrangement with the lord, without, however, completely putting an end to the feudal tie; and they were no longer to bear the sole cost of the diets, which, up to this date, they had had to do. This latter was the first step towards equality of taxation—an equality which had always been especially repugnant to the old Magyar spirit. It was looked upon as a great event when Szechenyi was able to insist that nobles should be obliged to pay the same toll as every one else on crossing the new bridge of Buda-Pesth. The supreme judge of the kingdom, Cziraki, declared with tears that nothing should ever induce him to cross a bridge which was to him the symbol of the ruin of the old national constitution.

The Magyar language first entered into parliamentary life in the diet of 1833, the lower chamber obliging the upper to carry on all its correspondence with them in it. Louis Kossuth, a young advocate, edited a Gazette of the diet in Magyar, and published it secretly, in order to avoid the official censorship of the press, getting it distributed by the officials in the various

[1] See Carlyle's *French Revolution*, bk. vi. chap. ii.

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comitats, in spite of every hindrance. This paper interested the whole land in the parliamentary debates, so that the most distant frontiers shared in the political discussions which took place in Pressburg. The affairs of Poland were the subject of debate in some of the meetings of the assembly. The revolution of Warsaw had been unsuccessful, but it had roused much sympathy in Hungary, and some of the Polish refugees who had taken shelter in France did their best to persuade the Hungarians to interfere on their behalf. Violent speeches were made in the diet, and one orator went so far as to reproach the government for having employed Hungarian subjects in the oppression of Italian patriots. All the tact and all the popularity of the palatine Joseph were needed to prevent an open rupture. There is no doubt that the revolution of Warsaw, in 1830, to some extent prepared the way for that of Pesth in 1848.

Revival of the Slavs—Bohemia—Kollar.

Certainly from the year 1825 to that of 1835 no other portion of the empire presents so interesting a study for the historian as Hungary, with its parliamentary and provincial institutions, its eloquent debaters, and its endless struggles between retrograde and liberal ideas. But the life of a people is not to be found only in their official manifestations; sometimes it spends itself in the development of private opinions which lead in the end to sudden explosions. The first thirty years of the nineteenth century were not less fruitful for the Slavs of Austria than for the Magyars, and the changes which occurred among them, though they involved moral development only, deserve our serious attention.

In Bohemia the diet had been convoked by Leopold II. immediately after his accession, and its members had presented a long memorandum to him in which their grievances were enumerated, and he was asked to recall all measures passed in the two preceding reigns which infringed either the rights of the kingdom or the institutions of the

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Church. Among others, they demanded the restoration of their right to take part in legislation, of which they had been deprived in 1627 by the new constitution of Ferdinand II. Leopold yielded on some points of detail, but on none which really affected the authority of the central power, and he refused to modify in the smallest particular the state of things previous to 1765, when Joseph II. had been first associated in the government. The diet only recovered the right of levying the taxes, of arranging the mode in which they should be collected, and of discussing laws proposed to them by the king. The permanent committee was also restored, but with much enfeebled powers. The crown of St. Vacslav was sent back to Prague, and the emperor paid homage to the historical traditions of the country by having himself crowned with it. His successors Francis I. and Ferdinand IV. followed his example. The present emperor and Joseph II. are the only two kings who have broken through this ancient custom.

But the efforts of the diet to recover their old privileges were only feeble signs of that intellectual movement which at the end of the eighteenth century prepared the way for the revival of national life in Bohemia.

In the seventeenth century a voice here and there had been raised, even among the Jesuits, to protest against the persecution of the Chekh nation and language. One of the Jesuits named Balbin was the author of a curious work called "*Dissertatio Apologetica Linguæ Slovenicæ.*" He pointed out the danger lest his nation should disappear, as formerly the Slavs of the Elbe had disappeared, swallowed up by the ocean of Germans. "St. Vacslav, patron of Bohemia," he cries, "leave us not to perish, us and our descendants! Restore their ancient glory to the Chekhs. Should we perish, thou wilt look in vain from the hands of strangers for the honours which thy Bohemian land has paid to thee during so many centuries." The "*Dissertatio Apologetica*" remained unpublished down to the year 1775, when it was brought out by the learned Pelcel on the eve of the accession of Joseph II. A year

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before Count Kinsky, one of the few remaining representatives of the old native aristocracy, had demanded the maintenance and development of the national language in a pamphlet written in German. In 1784, the Royal Society of Prague was founded. Painstaking historians such as Pelcel, Dobner, and Prochazka, set themselves to work to study the early history of Bohemia, and this study could not fail to bring Slav questions prominently forward among the learned; archæology led to studies in philology, and it became no longer possible to treat with contempt a language which was found to possess a curious interest of its own, a rich literature, and a close connection with that wide family of Slav tongues which spread from the Adriatic to the Arctic Ocean. In 1793, a Chair of the Chekh Language was founded in the university of Prague, where so shortly before Joseph II. had ordered all teaching should be carried on in German. The great linguist Dobrovsky (1753–1829) by his travels and his writings laid the foundation of Slav comparative philology. Hitherto Chekh had been treated as a dead language; now young poets restored it once more to life, and made it the organ of their patriotic aspirations. In 1818, thanks to the generosity of the counts of Sternberg, the Chekh Museum was founded at Prague, and excited much sympahetic interest by its curious collections.

Archives and libraries were eagerly examined, and the discovery of such poems of the Middle Ages as "The Judgment of Libusa" and "The Manuscript of Kralove-Dvor" was received with enthusiasm. The authenticity of these poems has been doubted. This is not the right place in which to discuss such a question; but one thing at least is certain—whether true or false, they are a complete expression of the popular opinions of the time, and have exercised considerable influence on the Bohemians.[1] "It would be disgraceful in us to go for justice to the Germans," said the "Judgment of Libusa;" "among us justice is determined by the laws which our fathers

[1] See M. Leger's *Chants Héroiques et Chansones Populaires des Slaves de Bohéme.*

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of old brought into these lands." "The foreigner has entered into our heritage by force, and orders us about in a foreign tongue, and the things that he does in his foreign land from morning till night, those things he forces our wives and our children to do," says "The Manuscript of Kralove-Dvor." Most assuredly if these poems are either forged or falsified, the forger was a man of genius, and even if they are condemned by impartial science they still deserve the gratitude of Chekh patriots. From this time forward some new publication appeared every year, and the progress made by the nation surpassed even the hopes of those by whom it had most been furthered.

Bohemia was well aware that, alone, she was too feeble to hold her own at the same time against both Austria and Germany; but she could help to form a union of the Slav peoples which might hope to do so. It was true that the Slav language was only spoken by some five or six millions of men, but these men could claim relationship with Russians, Poles, and Croatian-Servians, who all spoke languages akin to theirs. The union of the Slavs (*Slovanska Vzajemnost*) became the motto of the thoughtful patriots, and added greatly to their power. It was celebrated by the poet Kollar in a well-known pamphlet, and in the fine poem which he dedicated to his race under the name of "Slavy Dcera, the Daughter of Slava," or the Daughter of Glory (1824). "We have been born to a new life," sings Kollar, "we have entered on a wide desert which Heaven has not yet made fertile. The Romance and the Teutonic nations walk along a beaten path, while we follow with slow and lingering steps. But we are a young race, we know what has been done by others, while they are ignorant of what we are to be in the annals of humanity. We do not desire a victory which shall fall from the skies without the work of our hands or the sweat of our brows." Elsewhere he recalls the memory of the fate of the Slavs of the Elbe. "It lies yonder; I see it through my tears, that wide land which was once the cradle and is now the tomb of a great nation. . . . From the sources of the Elbe to the Baltic sounded a fine and noble language.

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Why is it not to be heard any longer there? Shame on thee, Germany! Thou who art envious and grasping! Thou hast caused torrents of our blood to be shed, and now thou continuest to pour forth floods of calumny, hoping to drown in them our memories of the days of old. Only he who knows how to respect the liberty of other men deserves liberty himself. He who can keep slaves in irons is himself a slave."

Again, he takes shame to Bohemia that she should have allowed herself to be invaded and colonised by the Germans. "Who is this young and beautiful girl who runs along the fields? Very poor must she be to wear a dress patched about with divers colours. It is our own Bohemia, dotted over with foreign colonies." Then he summons the Slavs to enter into a definite alliance. "Let there be no more discord! Russians, Servians, Chekhs, and Poles, unite! Let other nations raise their thrones on crumbling or on solid ground; you, my brothers, you shall raise your arch on the ancient ruins of a melancholy past. From Athos to Pomerania, from the fields of Silesia to the plain of Kosovo, from Constantinople to the Volga, everywhere where the Slav tongue may be heard, rejoice and embrace, happy in your immense Fatherland, the home of the Slavs. Believe me, my brothers, we have all which goes to make the durability of a great nation. Continents and oceans lie at our feet, gold and silver, strong and vigorous hands, and a rich and powerful language—we possess all but concord and liberty." And then, still pursuing his dream of unity, he sketches a fine image of the land of the Slavs: "I have said to you a hundred times, and I say to you again to-day, O scattered Slavs, be a whole, and no longer scattered groups! Be a whole or nothing! Ah! how have I thought at times, when my mind was sore perplexed, if our Slav nations were but gold and silver and copper I would mould them into one statue. Of Russia I would make the hands, of Poland the body, of the Chekhs the arms and the head, and of the Servians the feet, and the smaller nations, the Wends, the Lusatians, Silesians, Croats, and the Slovaks should be the vestments and the weapons. And

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Europe should bow down before this image, whose head should touch the clouds, and whose steps should reach across the world."

A whole school of patriot poets grew up round Kollar; Celakovsky, author of "Russian Echoes" and "The Rose with a Hundred Leaves;" Hanka, and Vocel. In 1837, Safarik, a Slovak, wrote a great work on Slav antiquities, and Palacky, a Moravian, who was appointed historiographer of the kingdom of Bohemia, began a history of his adopted country, which is one of the most remarkable books of our time, and has taken more than half a century to complete. Thanks to the talents and patriotism of this chosen body of her sons, Bohemia has not only recovered her old feeling of nationality, but has also been able to place herself at the head of all the Slav peoples in the empire, while the southern Slavs have not been slow in following her example.

The Southern Slavs—Ljudevit Gaj—Panslavism.

We have already seen with what enthusiasm the Slovene Vodnik greeted the awakening of Illyria at the time of the French occupation, but the revival of the sense of nationality among the southern Slavs was destined to come, not from the action of the French, but from that of the Croats. The impulse was given by the revolution in Servia; Croatia was deeply moved by it, and the writings of the first literary men of the new principality, the Karadjitches and the Obradovitches, met with a sympathetic echo among the Croatians. In 1826, a Servian Literary Society (*Matitsa*) had been founded by the Servians of Hungary, and soon after Zagreb (Agram), the capital of Croatia, made an effort in the same direction. Up to this time the diversity of dialect in the various provinces had proved an obstacle to the union of their literature, but now an eminent publicist, Louis Gaj, undertook to form an harmonious whole out of the scattered literary forces of Illyria. He began by publishing two newspapers, the one called *The Croat Gazette*, and the other *The Croat, Dalmatian, and*

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Slavonian Dawn (1835). His motto was, "A people without nationality is a body without bones." He proposed that instead of the local names of Servians, Croats, Slovenes, and Dalmatians, should be substituted the common denomination of Illyrians, a name which had been brought back into use by Napoleon. In the following year, he called his two papers *The Illyrian Gazette* and *The Illyrian Dawn.* "Europe," he said in poetical language, "leans upon a triangular lyre. This lyre is Illyria. It stretches from Villach to Varna and Scutari, and the cords of this lyre are Carinthia, Gorica, and Istria, Carniola, Styria, Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Ragusa, Bosnia, Montenegro, Herzegovina, Servia, Bulgaria, and Southern Hungary. These cords are not in tune together. What we desire is to make them sound in harmony." *Illyrism*, which was at first received with enthusiasm, soon met with violent opposition, first from the Hungarians, who did not wish to see the Slavs escape from Magyar tutelage, and next from the Servians, who feared lest their traditions and their hopes should be absorbed in those of the Croats. The movement gradually changed its character, and the very name has now disappeared; but it has left among the southern Slavs a strong feeling of their literary solidarity. It had also given a fruitful impulse to intellectual effort; the ancient monuments of Ragusa and the early efforts of the Servian muse became the objects of study, and a school of poetry arose, less brilliant perhaps than that of Prague, but not less patriotic. Stanko Vraz and Preradovic are the best representatives of this school. The literary movement spread from the Croats to their neighbours the Slovenes, and Vodnik found worthy successors in Presern and Koseski. About the same time Bleiweis founded political journalism in Ljublanja.

Thus at the two extremities of the empire the Slavs awoke and claimed their share of the sunshine, ready to fight for it here against the Magyars and there against the Germans. Though they were separated both by their history and their geographical position, they had learned to recognize their

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solidarity, and from the thought of it gathered strength for the struggle which they had to face.

In western Europe we often talk of Panslavism, and we picture to ourselves the Russians as constantly occupied in endeavouring to obtain influence over the Slavs by means of political or literary emissaries. This idea is absolutely false. The Slavs have watched the growth and progress of Russia with natural interest. Reduced themselves to a most precarious existence, they have sometimes hoped that the great Northern nation would not remain indifferent to their fate; they have rejoiced in its progress and have found in it some consolation for their own misfortunes. Isolated and feeble, they have founded their hopes on memories of the ancient union of their race or on dreams of its future. But these hopes do not date from our century; they were uttered long ago by Slavs of all the various nations. As early as the seventeenth century Krizanic, a Croat priest, went to beg for the protection of the czar Alexis Mikhaïlovitch for his people, and made himself the interpreter of their needs. "The Slavs of the Baltic, of Poland, Silesia, Bohemia, and Moravia," he says in a curious work, "have fallen into a miserable state of serfdom. They have Germanized themselves until they are neither Slavs nor Germans. The peoples of the Danube have lost their national language, and there is no Slav sovereign except in Russia. It is thou, therefore, O great czar, who oughtest to watch over the Slavs, and, like a good father, take care of thy scattered children. . . . God has given us thee, O czar, that thou mayest come to the help of the Slavs of the Danube, the Poles, and the Chekhs, to make them see the oppression and humiliation which weigh them down. Thou alone canst teach them how to avenge their nation and shake off the German yoke which crushes them. The Slavs of the Danube can do nothing of themselves; a force outside themselves is needed to raise them once more on their feet, and to make them to be counted once more among the nations."

Many other Slavs besides Krizanic, both before and after his

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time, have praised the greatness and the unity of their race, and in their dreams of a united kingdom of the Slavs, the Illyrians of Zagreb and the Chekhs of Prague only returned once more to their old traditions. Their German and Magyar enemies pretend that these dreams were not spontaneous, but prompted from outside. This is a pure calumny. The Slav movement of which we have traced the principal phases was absolutely original, and the Russians, far from having helped it, remained for a long time quite unaffected by it. What the Slavs want above all things, and what they dream of to-day, is to reach the full development of their national life and to obtain complete recognition of all their ancient rights. If they appeal to the greatness of their race, it is only by so doing to oppose moral force to the greed of their neighbours. They have no idea of throwing themselves into the arms of Russia. Despair alone could lead them to such an extremity.

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CHAPTER XXIX.

FERDINAND IV.—AUSTRIA ON THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION (1835–1848).

The Staats-conferenz.

FRANCIS died on the 2nd of March, 1835. He was regretted by the people of Vienna. The memory of the many trials they had passed through together and the genial manner of the sovereign had attached them to his person. In the provinces a report was spread that he had acquired a gigantic fortune, and that he had left the whole of it to his subjects. The opening of his will was, consequently, awaited with the greatest impatience. The following lines, which deserve quotation, were found in it: "To my subjects I bequeath my love. I hope to be able to pray for them. I beg them to show to my lawful successor all that fidelity and devotion which they have shown to me. I thank all those public officials who have served me well." Louis XIV. might have spoken these words. Ferdinand IV., the successor of Francis, was but ill fitted to bear the heavy burden of the monarchy. He was very delicate and subject to attacks of epilepsy, and was hardly capable of ruling himself. When he was well he possessed neither a clear mind nor a firm will, and he found even the royal signature a piece of hard work. Metternich retained all his influence. According to his partisans, Francis II. had recommended him to his son as the best of his ministers. "Do not meddle with the foundations of the political edifice,

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alter nothing; have full confidence in prince Metternich, my best friend and most faithful adviser. Undertake nothing without him." But Metternich could not take upon himself to govern instead of the real sovereign, and it was soon needful to organize a kind of regency. The czar Nicholas urgently advised this measure during a visit which he paid to Teplitz, in September, 1835. A council of regency was consequently formed of Clam Martinitz, who was the emperor's aide-de-camp and head of the military department of the council of state, Metternich, minister of foreign affairs, Kolovrat, and the archdukes Louis and Francis-Charles; these formed the Staats-conferenz and were the real organs of executive power. Their exact position was never determined; chosen to govern until the monarch should be restored to health, the regency was always looked upon as a temporary arrangement; but, in fact, they exercised full power up to the time of Ferdinand's abdication. Their government has been accused of great want of unity and a curious insensibility to the real wishes of the nationalities, and there is no doubt most of the mistakes of this period were due to them.

There were, however, a few liberal measures passed at the beginning of this reign. On the accession of Ferdinand an amnesty was granted to all political prisoners. A consul was established in Servia, in spite of the fact that the young principality owed its existence to an insurrection against legal authority, and a treaty of navigation was entered into with Greece, which was in the same position. Diplomatic relations with Portugal were also resumed. At the same time the cabinet of Vienna supported the Carlists in Spain against the Christinos, and even sent them some small help in money. The alliance between the three Northern powers still continued, the conduct of Austria towards Poland sufficiently proving its existence.

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Polish Affairs—Occupation of Cracow—The Gälician Massacres (1846).

By the treaties of 1815 the town of Cracow had been constituted an independent republic; it had since become the centre of conspiracy to the Polish patriots, and was looked upon with suspicion by all the three Northern powers. In 1831, the Russians had taken possession of it in order to deprive the insurgents of one of their chief bases of operations, but they had been obliged to evacuate it on the representations of Austria, and the town remained the centre of disturbance and the refuge of all the revolutionary Poles. At last the three powers determined to interfere; in the first instance they contented themselves with demanding the expulsion of all who had taken any part in the revolution of 1830, but in 1836 they resolved to occupy the town. This time it was Austria who undertook to reduce the republic to order, and she did so in spite of the repeated protests of both England and France. This was the first step towards the final occupation.

Meantime the Poles of Galicia had begun to feel the influence of those ideas of nationality and of revenge which had been spread by refugees from the other districts of Poland. The sympathies of the whole of liberal Europe had been enlisted on the side of this oppressed race, and it would have been difficult for Austria openly to have opposed these efforts towards liberty on the part of Galicia. It was, however, found possible to paralyse them by tactics similar to those which had so often been successfully applied to Hungary—by making use of the conflicting elements of society in the disturbed districts. The Polish *szlachta*, harsher towards the peasants than even the Magyar nobility, had excited the intense hatred of the people by the mode in which it had treated them and the ignorance in which it had kept them. The government had also largely contributed to the increase of ill-feeling between the classes by its opposition to all agrarian reform, and its practice of making the nobles its recruiting officers and its collectors of

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taxes, while it left the task of redressing what abuses were redressed to its own officials. It must also not be forgotten that in the greater part of Galicia the peasants were not Poles. In the whole of the eastern portion of the province most of them are Ruthenians, and these men had far more to suffer from the Galician magnates than the Polish peasants. They were members of the Uniate Greek Church, and often had to suffer from the fanaticism of their masters, who made them pay a tax for permission to worship in their churches, or farmed these buildings to Jews. Stadion, who was governor of Galicia, knew of these grievances, and had taken careful note of them.

The Galician nobles could not remain ignorant of the claims which were to be raised against them, and in the diet which met in 1843 at Lwow (Lemberg), though it was very far from being a liberal diet, they had asked to be allowed to consider the condition of the peasants. But the Austrian government refused; it was by no means anxious to put an end to a state of things which allowed it to apply the old maxim, *Divide ut imperes.*

Soon everything was prepared for a Polish rising in Galicia and the duchy of Poznan, and on February 28, 1846, the Austrian government announced that a plot had been discovered, of which Cracow was the centre. Upon this the Austrian general Collin proceeded to occupy the town with about one thousand men and three cannons. For two days the town seemed quiet, but on the 31st the people rose, the senate and other officials of the republic resigned their authority, and the Austrian troops were attacked by the Poles and forced to retreat. On the 2nd of March, however, colonel Benedek hastened from Lwow, and, with the help of the peasants, beat the revolutionary committee and recovered the town. Thus did Benedek, "the Falcon of the Vistula," begin a career which was to end at Sadowa. The brief success of the people of Cracow caused great terror at Vienna; arrests took place all over the empire, and especially in Galicia, and

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these prompt measures put a stop to the insurrection, which otherwise would soon, no doubt, have reached Russian Poland. The peasants were not inclined to take the side of their lords, and either denounced them to government or themselves captured them and delivered them up to the authorities. A regular peasant war broke out, and the *circle* of Tarnow was wasted by murder, pillage, and conflagration. It has been asserted that the Austrian government encouraged the murderers by rewards, and that men employed in the custom-houses and in the offices of the tax-collectors joined the peasants, who declared that they pillaged and killed by order of the emperor. Ferdinand of Este, a man of high position, told the wife of a Pole who had been assassinated "that the death of her husband had been a mistake; it had been intended that his brother should be killed." It was at this time that the poet Ujejski wrote the hymn which is still popular in Poland, "*Z Dymem Pozarow*": "This song rises to Thee, O Lord, with the smoke of our burning homes, with the blood of our brothers; it is a bitter cry, a groan from out of the depths. Such prayers make the hair grow white; the crown of thorns has pierced our heads. O Lord! Lord! what is this that time has brought us? The mother is killed by her son, the brother by the brother. Amongst us there are many Cains. But, nevertheless, O Lord, these men are innocent; they have been led on by demons. Oh, punish the hand, and not the sword that is blind!"

The peasants believed that the emperor would relieve them henceforth from all their obligations to their lords, as the reward of their devotion to him. Their hopes were but partially fulfilled by the patent of April 13th, which abolished compulsory cartage and forced labour during harvest, and decreed that the peasants were in future to bring their grievances before the captains of *circles*. It was in vain that the nobles protested against these changes, which had been made without consulting them.

The town of Cracow remained in the hands of the Aus-

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trians. The foreign powers were told that its occupation was a temporary measure for military purposes; that the Austrian troops only remained there to enable the little republic to establish a regular government. But before long Austria took permanent possession of it, with the consent of Russia and Prussia, and the government officials in those districts where the peasant war had been carried on with most energy were promoted. The Polish gentry were filled with despair, and some of them, as is proved by a curious pamphlet, "The Letter of a Polish Gentleman to Count Metternich," even thought of throwing themselves into the arms of Panslavism. France and England protested in vain. Austria was thus the first to violate the treaties of 1815, of which for the last thirty years she had been the self-constituted and intolerant guardian. This territory is the only land acquired by Austria between the Congress of Vienna and the Congress of Berlin; it comprises about twenty-two square miles and 160,000 inhabitants. The annexation of Cracow served to render closer than ever the union of the three powers who were parties to it, and other events soon helped to prove how close this union was. For example, in 1832, when the king of the Belgians offered the command of his army to the Polish general Skrzyniecki, the courts of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, together recalled their ambassadors from Brussels.

Yet in the time of Ferdinand, as in the time of Francis, it was hard for Austria and Russia to agree about the Eastern question. The Porte, enfeebled as it was at this time by the success of its rebellious vassal, Mehemet Ali, seemed as if it might more easily become the prey of Russia than of Austria, whose Eastern policy had always been so blundering. Metternich determined, unhappily, to assist the sultan against Mehemet Ali, and, as a result of a conference held at Vienna, persuaded the representative of the czar, Buteniev, to sign a collective note of the European powers undertaking to support Turkey. Buteniev believed himself secure of the czar's approval, but instead Nicholas was much irritated, disavowed his am-

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bassador, and proceeded to treat directly with England (July 15, 1840), without consulting Austria, who was obliged to follow the lead of the two powers. They were soon joined by Prussia. The peaceful France of the days of Louis Philippe was excluded from the European concert. Mehemet Ali was forced to restore the greater part of his conquests, and Syria was taken from him by the help of the Austrian squadron, Austria now for the first time taking rank among the maritime powers of Europe. In the month of July following, the treaty was signed which forebade entrance into the Straits of Dardanelles to all ships of war unauthorized by the sultan.

Progress of Public Opinion—The Bohemian Diet—Havlicek.

Poland and the East provided the only two questions of importance which mark the foreign policy of Ferdinand IV. The whole interest of his reign lies in the increasing rapidity with which ideas of liberty and nationality spread among the different races in the Austrian empire, and in the more or less manifest excitement of the public mind, which was sure to land the government in the midst of a revolution directly any great event should suddenly shake Europe.

The various diets could not be regarded as much more than mere exponents of official opinion. In Galicia they were cowed; in some of the provinces, such as Upper Austria, Moravia, Silesia, and Carinthia, they were silent; yet in Lower Austria, Bohemia, and, above all, Hungary, they began to manifest liberal tendencies even under the Gothic and feudal forms which they still preserved.

In the diet of Lower Austria the citizens were not even represented; their only right was that of giving their assent, standing, to the voting of the taxes. But, nevertheless, the new ideas which had invaded the capital had their influence on the decisions of that assembly. It showed a certain amount of independence on economic questions; vigorously demanded that the diet should have some share in the

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government, and blamed Francis II. for having reigned without its help. Among the Tyrolese, on the contrary, clerical and ultramontane ideas still prevailed; public education was almost entirely in the hands of the priests, and the popular mind was occupied by missions and miracles. In 1837, the Jesuits were recalled by the diet to this province, which they had never dared to enter since the preceding century. The Tyrolese obstinately refused to allow railways in their land.

In Bohemia the earlier debates in the diet gave evidence of but little public energy. The Estates met on the 13th of April, 1835, and their first act was to vote a monument to Francis II. They gradually, however, set to work to restore the old parliamentary forms, which had strangely fallen into disuse since the time of Joseph II., and the assembly busied itself with reducing its privileges into an authoritative form, in order to find out what belonged to them as a whole, and what belonged to the permanent committee (*Landesauschuss*, *Zemsky Vybor*), which had become an organ of mere government. These attempts at independence were reprimanded by the emperor, who expressed his displeasure at them on the 15th of October, 1842. New taxes were levied on the country by the *Landesauschuss* and the government, without the help of the diet, and a serious dispute arose between Vienna and Prague. The high burgrave of the kingdom, count Chotek, was dismissed, and his post left vacant. In the hope of his being better able to restrain the turbulent nobles, the archduke Stephen, son of the palatine Joseph, was placed at the head of Bohemia; but the officials who were sent to assist him were foreigners, and they were received with violent protests. The Estates demanded the restoration of all the privileges secured to the diet in 1627, and thus proclaimed the continuity of the old rights which had been lost sight of since the end of the preceding century. Unhappily, the claims of the Chekh nobles were limited by a narrow spirit of caste; they were selfish and jealous, defended their feudal privileges to the uttermost, and showed but little desire to admit the townspeople to their deliberations. Only

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four royal towns were represented in the diet, which contained fourteen bishops, one hundred and fifty-one lords, forty-three knights, and only seven citizens. Still their disputes with the sovereign prove that public opinion had made some progress. In 1847, the leaders of the opposition in Bohemia determined to come to an understanding with the diets of the other German provinces, and with that of Hungary. When the year 1848 came, all the *desiderata* of the diet were limited to demands for the representation of towns in the parliament, and the use of the Chekh language in the higher schools. The assembly had grown almost powerless, because it was composed of the privileged classes alone, and did not rest on the main body of the people. But beneath this worn-out parliament there was the people, who in the last half-century had made gigantic progress, and who had made a successful beginning in the direction of intellectual and moral emancipation before attempting to emancipate themselves politically.

The new literary life of Bohemia, during the first forty years of this century, had taken almost entirely the direction of poetry and archæology. But in a state like Austria, based on historical rights, it was impossible but that the study of history should have considerable influence on men's minds. When they read the treaties concluded between the kingdom and the princes of the house of Habsburg, patriots could not help asking what had become of the various stipulations. The events of the Thirty Years' War recalled the memory of rebellions, prompted by generous motives, and stifled in blood. The Hussite wars reminded them of a great epoch of moral and intellectual development, of the abolition of liberty of conscience, and of the religious heroism which for the space of half a century had made a small people into a great nation. The study of the national language and its ancient literature caused a fatal reaction against Austrian Germanism.

The citizen class now began to take a pride in cultivating the language it had formerly despised, and generous minds found a wide field of action in national life, since political life

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had no existence for them. Some few members of the aristocracy joined the movement. The spirit of association, applied to purely literary matters, spread with astonishing rapidity. The *Matitsa Ceska* (Society of Popular Literature) became the centre of literary reform. It was founded in 1831 with fifteen members; by 1846 it had sixteen hundred and sixty-seven. But the press is the real organ of political life, and down to 1840 Bohemia had only possessed literary newspapers. In 1846, Charles Havlicek, a man of great talent, began to edit the *Official Gazette* of Prague. He united to sincere patriotism a keen and biting wit, which occasionally recalls that of Voltaire and Heinrich Heine. He well understood that his country, in order to get on, must learn to do without the governing classes and the feudal system, of which the ruins still remained. He appealed directly to the townspeople and peasants. When he first arrived in Prague there was only one political paper, and that was in the hands of government. But Havlicek found means to plead the cause of his native land. He chose as the constant subject of his articles a country whose fate resembled in more than one particular that of Bohemia; he painted in lively colours the woes of Ireland, and her struggles with England for self-government. He was understood by the whole of Bohemia, and the word "Repeal" became the watchword of the patriots. Havlicek's position in Prague was much the same as that of Kossuth in Pesth and Ljudevit Gaj at Zagreb.

The agitation which began in Prague spread as far as Moravia, and even to the Slovaks of Hungary. It was not only a political, but also a social and religious movement. The patriots interested themselves less about the privileges of the nobles than the wants of the peasants, who had so faithfully guarded the treasures of the national language and popular poetry, and they were the apostles of all measures which had for their aim the amelioration of the condition of the people. At the same time the memory of the Thirty Years' War or of the Hussite War alone sufficed to make them

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hostile to the spirit of religious intolerance which still prevailed in Vienna in official circles.

Public Opinion in Hungary—The Magyars and Slavism.

There are two opposite tendencies to be noticed in the history of modern Hungary; one the real and generous patriotism which animates the Magyars and leads them to make the greatest sacrifices for the maintenance of their natural and acquired rights; and the other the blind egotism which prevents them from recognizing the same rights in others. This double aspect of their character explains both their triumphs and their reverses.

By the end of 1825 public opinion had made great progress in Hungary. Since the national language had acquired the right to be spoken on the tribune, eloquent orators had become numerous. The opposition was far bolder in its attacks on government than was the case either at Vienna or Prague. Wesselenyi, Deak, Szechenyi, Bœthy, Kossuth, Eötvö, and Teléki, rivalled the political speakers of London and Paris, and these eminent men added a real knowledge of the wants of the nation to their ardent patriotism. The session of 1836 was one of the most remarkable; in it the opposition vigorously attacked the government for its attempts to place hindrances in the way of popular education. "In future the nation must depend upon itself alone," cried Deak and Beszeredy. "We have the right and we have the power," added the latter, "to work out the salvation of our country for ourselves." When the diet was closed, Kossuth undertook to supply public opinion with a regular account of all the deliberations of the various *comitats*, and for this he and some of his friends were arrested and thrown into prison. The Royal Table, the supreme court of justice, sided with the conservative government, but liberal ideas gained ground daily among the young nobles, some among whom went so far as to declare themselves republicans.

When the diet met again in 1840, the government

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offered to set free the political prisoners in return for some concessions from the opposition. Deak, who from this time began to be called "the Wise," refused the offer in a noble speech. "Our duty to our country," he said, "is greater and holier than our sympathies for our friends. Liberty gained at such a price would be more painful to them than all their sufferings." An amnesty was temporarily concluded between the parties. Government obtained the soldiers it wanted, and agreed that the Magyar language should be introduced into financial and church matters, and used in all communications with the court. The diet also gave its final consent to the measures for the redemption of land by the peasants which had been introduced in the previous assembly. After 1840 democratic ideas gained ground rapidly. Kossuth started the *Pesth Gazette* (*Pesti-Hirlap*), which advocated the doctrines of equality in eloquent terms; and in some of the *comitats* something very like revolutionary clubs began to spring up. And yet social progress was slow; and the law for taxing all citizens alike, which was proposed to the diet in 1843, notwithstanding all the efforts of Szechenzi, failed to pass.

It was now that Alexander Petöfi, a young poet born among the people, began to publish his ardent odes, inspired by an intense love for his country and an unbridled passion for liberty. "In times of old, Hungary was a sea in which were extinguished the stars which fell from the north, the east, and the south. The glory of Hungary is like the comet which disappears, and at the end of centuries returns shining and terrible." Another poet, Vörösmarty, who was more of a conservative than Petöfi, exclaims in his famous "*Szozat*" ("The Appeal"), "My people wishes for either life or death; it has suffered for a thousand years, and if death must come it will be buried in a land bathed in blood." Arany, Kisfaludy, and others also roused patriotic feeling by their poems on the past history of Hungary.

"We must form the nation anew out of fresh elements," wrote Kossuth in his paper; and yet, strangely enough, one of

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the strongest complaints against the government among the patriots was the progress of Slavism among the Croats and Slovaks; their selfishness led them to blame in others the very aspirations which they honoured among themselves. It was they who, together with the Polish refugees and the Germans, invented the red spectre of Panslavism in order to supply themselves with a reason for fighting it, and for persecuting their Servian, Slovak, and Croat fellow-countrymen. It was by no means the interest of Austria to create a state of things which might turn to the advantage of Russia; and yet, with the possibility before it of a struggle with the Magyars, it could not lend its aid to crush the peoples who simply claimed a right to exist. Nothing, however, could have been less wise than the efforts of government to thwart liberty, trade, and commerce among the Hungarians. At one time they hoped to put an end to Hungarian obstinacy by attacking the freedom of the country at its very source, the institution of the *comitats*. The *föispan*, or chief count, was often a great noble, who, away for part of the year, appointed an *alispan*, or administrator, to act for him during his absence. The chancellor, Apponyi, replaced these *foispanak* dwelling in the country by royal officials. But this attack on the ancient privilege of self-government roused the greatest irritation throughout the land; the new officials were compared to the captains of Austrian circles (*Kreis-Hauptmänner*) and to French prefects, and such language was considered the height of abuse in the parliament of Pozsony (Pressburg). But the comparison was unjust, for these administrators possessed unlimited power, and did not depend on responsible ministers as do the French prefects. Some among them were guilty of acts of unjustifiable violence. The task of the new officials was made extremely difficult by the obstinate patriotism and the love of legality which has always characterized the Hungarians. Deak, at Zala, was one of the first to organize a resistance to them. Following ancient precedent, he wrote to all the *comitats* of the kingdom, and got them to vote that the appointment of these

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royal commissioners was illegal, and that the diet should decide what should be done about them before proceeding to any other business.

The diet of 1847 opened in tolerable quiet, although Kossuth, in spite of government opposition, had been elected at Pesth. The emperor and his family were present at the first debate, and showed an affection for the Magyar language which touched the hearts of the patriots. The palatine Joseph had died recently in the enjoyment of great popularity, and his son Stephen was now chosen palatine in his stead. The debate on the speech from the throne gave rise to animated discussion. The opposition was anxious first of all to secure the autonomy of the *comitats* by depriving the crown of its power of appointing the royal administrators; the upper chamber wished to treat the king more courteously. It was finally decided that there should be no reply to the king's speech. While Kossuth inflamed men's minds by his eloquence, Szechenyi did his best to keep his countrymen in the paths of law and moderation.

The opposition programme drawn up by Deak, who had received from his countrymen the name of "the Wise," clearly describes the position of the kingdom towards the rest of the empire.

"Hungary," says this remarkable document, "is a free country, independent in its whole system of legislation and administration; it is subordinate to no other country. We have no wish to oppose the interests of our country to the unity of the monarchy or the security of its existence. But we consider that it is contrary to law and justice that the interests of Hungary should be made subordinate to those of any country whatsoever. . . . We will never consent that they shall be sacrificed to the unity of the system of government. . . . Our constitutional life is a treasure which we cannot sacrifice either to foreign interests or to material advantages, howsoever great. Our first duty is to preserve and strengthen it. We are convinced that if the Hereditary Provinces were

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now in the enjoyment of their ancient freedom, or if, in obedience to the needs of the time and of justice, they could take their place among constitutional governments, our interests and theirs, which are now so often divided, and even at times opposed, would be found to agree more easily. . . . The monarchy, growing in both material and intellectual strength, would be able to resist more surely those storms which time and the course of events may some day bring."

Men's minds were also passionately excited about the language to be used by government. A bill was submitted for the royal sanction containing the following proposals:— Magyar shall in future be the official language of the kingdom; documents written in any other shall not be legal. In the Slav *comitats* of Pozega, Virovitica, and Syrmia, Latin shall be tolerated for the next six years; Croatia must use Magyar in all its communications with the central government; and this language shall be taught in all schools throughout the kingdom. Hungarian publicists meant to imitate the example of France, which had made the dialect of the capital take the place of patois and of all the provincial dialects; but they forgot that Magyar was not yet so cultivated a language as French, and that those who spoke it were only a minority in the kingdom. The French of Paris had only had to absorb and master similar dialects, just as Castilian has overcome other dialects in Spain and Tuscan in Italy. Such alien languages as survived, as the Basque, Bas-Breton, and the German of Alsace, were only spoken by minorities. Besides, France was a country where centralization had long prevailed, where provincial autonomy had long ceased, and where, finally, the French revolution had come to fuse the various historical elements into one whole. The example of France was, therefore, scarcely to the point.

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The Races in Hungary.

The moment has now come in which we may usefully recall how Hungary had been formed, and what elements were grouped around the Magyars hostile to their supremacy.

Croatia had been annexed to Hungary for many centuries, but formed no integral part of it. With the provinces of Slavonia and Dalmatia, it looked upon itself as a threefold kingdom (*Trojjedina Kraljevina*), whose capital was Zagreb (Agram). But, in fact, Dalmatia was a separate province, since Austria had captured it from the Venetians, and had always refused to give it up either to the Hungarians or to the Croats. At the head of Croatia and Slavonia there was a high official called the *ban*, who was a viceroy invested with civil and military power, and with the right of summoning the diet or general assembly. This was composed by the *orders* of the *comitats* of Croatia (Varazdin, Krizevac, and Zagreb) and the delegates of the three Slavonian *comitats* of whom we have already spoken. In its turn this diet sent into Hungary one deputy to the Table of Magnates and two to the Table of Estates. The four free towns of Croatia were also represented in the Table of Estates, and a certain number of Croat and Slavonian magnates had seats in their own right in the upper house. The diet of Agram reserved to itself the right of sanctioning the laws voted at Pressburg. The link which united Croatia to Hungary was ill-defined. Hungary looked upon Croatia as a conquered land, but Croatia considered that no tie but a personal one bound her to Hungary, and she never forgot that the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI. had been voted by Croatia before it was voted by Hungary. As long as Latin had been the language in use between the two states there had been no antagonism; but the struggle began the moment that the Magyars tried to force the Magyar language into use, and the Croats, throwing off Latin, succeeded in creating an independent literature of their own. We have already seen what were the character and influence of this literature.

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The Illyrian or Jougo-Slav movement could not but be disagreeable to the Magyars, but they made a great mistake when they opposed it, pretending to see in it the hand of Russia, and denouncing it as the work of a Panslavist moveement which had no existence in reality. They paid dearly for their blindness.

The grievances of the Servians were still more serious than those of the Croats. In 1792, the Magyars had had the Illyrian chancery done away with, and the Servians, looked upon with suspicion, were deprived of all political employment, and only allowed to occupy public positions in the camp or in monasteries. The emancipation of their relatives who had risen against the Turks under Milosh Obrenovitch, and had formed themselves into an independent principality, had helped to rouse their patriotism, and as early as 1826 they had founded a literary society at Pesth called the *Matitsa*, which served as a model for a number of similar institutions in the Slav countries.

The military frontier was chiefly inhabited by Slavs and Roumanians who were subject, as we have already seen, to a separate form of government, and were ready, either out of an instinct of military obedience to the claims of the dynasty, or out of a feeling of patriotism, to join in the demands of their Slav or Roumanian fellow-countrymen.

In the northern *comitats* the Slovaks had long been treated as if they were Helots. "*Toth ember nem ember*" ("The Slovak man is not a man"), said the Magyar proverb. But the Slovaks could not remain indifferent to the movement which stirred Bohemia. Two of its best writers, Safarik, the author of "Slav Antiquities," and Kollar, the poet of Panslavism, were both Slovaks. They hoped to be able to create a national literature apart from that of Bohemia. Stur, Hodza, and Urban, all men of ability, were at the head of the movement, which claimed a place for their race among civilized nations, and from the year 1843 they sent up their claims to the courts of Vienna with energy, but with no effect. Their neighbours,

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the Ruthenians, or Little Russians, began also to awake under the influence of the Slav movement.

Ever since its re-annexation in 1699 the principality of Transylvania had been governed directly from Vienna, but had had a diet of its own which sat at Kolosvar (Klausenburg). There was a Transylvanian chancery at Vienna and a *Gubernium regium* at Szeben (Hermannstadt). In this province, as in all the rest of the kingdom of St. Stephen, with the exception of Croatia and the purely Magyar lands, the majority of the nation was crushed by the ruling minority. The Hungarians who numbered 500,000, the Szeklers who were 170,000, and the Saxons who were 300,000, were all represented in the diet, where the 1,250,000 Wallachians had not a single representative; but the time was not far off when these Wallachians were to claim their political rights. In 1834, the Magyar deputies in the diet of Transylvania uttered words bolder perhaps even than those used by their colleagues at Pozsony. "We are here as the representatives of a free people!" exclaimed Charles Huszar. "Who is above us? No one. In front of us there is the sovereign, but above us, I repeat, there is no one." Wesselenyi himself undertook to print a report of the stormy discussions, in defiance of the censorship of the press. The emperor Ferdinand dissolved the assembly angrily, while the Hungarians, on their side, continued their demand that the principality should be reunited to the mother-country from which it had been so long separated. There was no want of pretexts for a quarrel; the slightest breath of revolution would suffice to kindle the flames of discord in the Magyar Orszag.

Public Opinion in Vienna.

In Vienna also liberal opinions began to be heard; popular education had made progress, in spite of all the hindrances put in its way by government; bureaucracy had become the object of hatred to the people, and all the internal miseries of the empire were attributed to it. Metternich, too, was growing old, and since the difficulties in the East had

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shown himself weary of his post. Down to 1830, Vienna had been a luxurious and indolent city, devoting itself to music and sensual pleasure—the Capua of the mind, as it had been called by the Viennese poet, Grillparzer. But gradually the minds of the people had been awakened, in spite of the detestable system of education which prevailed even in the higher schools, the sole result of which was to teach boys how to read Latin but indifferently. The number of distinguished men produced by Austria during this period is certainly very small; a Karajan, a Ferdinand Wolf, Hammer-Purgstall the orientalist, and a few doctors. Palacky and Safarik cannot be counted in the list because, though they occasionally wrote in German, they belong to the race of the Slavs and are completely Slav in feeling. In literature, properly so called, with the exception of a few Viennese song-writers who composed in the dialect of the capital, only three names can be quoted —Grillparzer, the author of "Die Ahnfrau," who belonged to the romantic school without knowing it; the lyric poet Anthony Auersperg, better known as Anastasius Grün; and the elegant writer Lenau. But not one among them can be considered a man of genius. In his "Walks of a Viennese Poet," Anastasius Grün gave the emperor some wise though useless advice. He says, "Open thy heart to thy people. Give them weapons bright and steel-pointed, the right to speak and to write freely; give them gold pure and unalloyed, liberty under the protection of law. Thy people would become as rich as the soil of Austria had it only liberty."

In 1847, the Academy of Sciences at Vienna was founded by Ferdinand; it is now one of the most flourishing in Europe. In order to gain some literary credit for Austria in foreign countries, the government supported the *Viennese Literary Review* ("*Wiener Jahrbücher der Literatur*"), the only publication which never had to complain of the censors, and that because it was edited in great measure by them. Up to 1848, the censorship of the press was the greatest scourge to the country; its power had never been defined by any law.

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The contraband sale of books, however, proved an antidote to it, and was largely carried on, prohibition only exciting public curiosity, and calling attention to the forbidden fruit. Pamphlets introduced in this way made up for the silence of the press. It was quite evident to any attentive observer that the people which had been so long kept down would rise at the first opportunity, and must commit grave mistakes when first they were called upon to enjoy the liberty of which they had been so long deprived.

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CHAPTER XXX.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848.

Fall of Metternich—The First Austrian Constitution.

No country has so tangled a history to offer us of any period of its existence as Austria during the years 1848–49. In a united country revolution has but one centre towards which all the provincial movements gravitate; but here we have to follow popular risings in Vienna, Venice, Pesth, Prague, Zagreb (Agram), and Lwów (Lemberg), all at the same time. Within this empire three great races felt simultaneously the sudden shock, and rushed towards liberty by three different and opposite paths, and their various interests and old rivalries led to conflicts among themselves, which rendered their generous efforts of no avail and for a long time destroyed their hopes.

If ever sovereign was unfit to hold his own against the passions of the populace, assuredly Ferdinand IV., surnamed the Beneficent, was he. The news of the 24th of February struck him and his councillors like a thunder-clap. Austria was not now, as in 1830, separated from revolutionary France by a reactionary Germany. The German princes, either affected by the current or overwhelmed by it, were granting constitutions on all sides to their subjects, whether those subjects were in revolt or not, and the new ideas which came from Paris were passed on to Vienna by Germany herself.

On the 11th of March, an address was presented in the diet of Lower Austria which demanded the immediate publi-

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cation of the budget; the convocation at regular intervals of an assembly composed, not only of the privileged orders, but of representatives of all classes of the community; the liberty of the press; the publicity of courts of justice; and new municipal and communal institutions. Two days later the students of the university went in procession to carry this petition to the Estates, and the troops tried to disperse them in vain. The crowd, with cries of "Down with Metternich!" burned the house of the man who had so long controlled the destinies of the empire, and the diet itself demanded the dismissal of the chancellor. He quitted the town in a washerwoman's cart and fled to England.

"The last beam of the old system has given way; or, to speak more respectfully of so experienced a statesman, prince Metternich has been compelled to retire from a contest which he can no longer wage with the world, or even with the public opinion of the pacific inhabitants of Lower Austria. . . .

"Indeed, whilst the changes and perils of the most extraordinary half-century in the history of mankind have rolled to and fro upon the tides of time, the spectacle of that old man, whose reign commenced when our fathers were still young men, seated in immutable decrepitude at his wonted seat, seemed the sole remaining thing of an age that is past, and was itself the empire in the eyes of a younger race. That, too, is gone—the oldest minister of the oldest court has been driven from office—even the cabinet of Austria must be renewed. . . : After forty years of this unlimited sway he leaves an empire by so much in arrear of the rest of Europe—impoverished in its finances—divided in its provinces—and not obscurely threatened in its most important possessions. . . ." (The *Times*, Monday, March 21, 1848. First leader.)

The emperor found himself obliged to authorize the arming of the students, and their formation into a regiment, and the establishment of the national guard. He invited the various provinces of the empire to send delegates to Vienna on the following 3rd of July, and announced the suppression of the

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censorship of the press and the publication of a liberal press law; but at the same time he ordered a state of siege to be proclaimed by Windischgrätz. His promises of reform were believed, and Vienna was illuminated. Kolovrat was named president of the council, and count Ficquelmont minister of the interior. On the 1st of April, Ficquelmont became head of the cabinet. Little confidence was felt in this pupil of Metternich, but he seemed to be in earnest in playing his part as a reforming minister, and it was he who prepared the constitution which was published on the following 25th of April. It was mainly copied from the Belgian Charter, and it paid no attention to the peculiar construction of the Austrian empire, and the conflict between the various historical rights and nationalities. It left out Lombardy and Hungary, and established two houses—a senate composed of the princes of the royal family, members nominated for life by the sovereign, and the owners of large landed estates; and a lower house, or chamber of deputies, which was to contain three hundred and eighty-three elected members. This constitution also secured what have been called the three necessary liberties—liberty of conscience, liberty of the press, and the right of public meeting. It paid no attention to the various races, nor to the engagements so lately entered into by the emperor with Bohemia (8th of April). This charter was proclaimed with great pomp, but it did not succeed in calming the distrust which was felt towards Ficquelmont; a popular rising on the 4th of May obliged him to give in his resignation, and he was replaced by Pillersdorf. This minister drew up an electoral law, which carefully excluded all the working-classes. Public excitement increased in Vienna, and the emperor seemed inclined to give way, for on the 16th of May he agreed to the establishment of one chamber to be elected by universal suffrage. The next day, however, he left Vienna and fled to Innsbrück. The inhabitants of the capital were both surprised and puzzled by this flight of the sovereign; they were still too much influenced by old ideas

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about the monarchy to venture to possess themselves of the administrative. Besides, the various nationalities which made up the empire were not willing to follow the lead of the capital like the people of most other countries. There were a few barricades erected and a few lives lost, but on the whole the emperor's rule may be said to have remained unquestioned.

Pillersdorf remained at his post, and the archduke John was empowered to form a ministry at Vienna. He chose one of slightly more liberal opinions than the preceding one, having Doblhoff as minister of the interior, and Alexander Bach as minister of justice. By the beginning of July, the delegates from the states which were to be represented in the parliament began to arrive; but, meantime, events had occurred in the provinces which left no doubt that this assembly was not destined to play an important part or to restore peace to Austria, now shaken to her very foundations.

Concessions to Bohemia—Palacky and the Frankfort Parliament.

In Bohemia the revolution broke out two days earlier than in Vienna. The signal had been given by a liberal club, which bore the significant name of Repeal. A meeting was held on the 11th of March, in the Baths of St. Vacslav, when a petition was drawn up which demanded that Moravia and Silesia should be united to Bohemia under one administration, that the position of the peasants should be improved, and also public education. These were very moderate demands, but the news of the rising in Vienna soon made the Bohemian patriots bolder. The Chekh students formed themselves into a regiment; a committee which called itself the Petition Committee sat continually, and national life developed in all manner of ways with unexpected vigour. Soon a second petition was drawn up, which called for the reconstitution of the kingdom of Bohemia, with one single and central diet meeting at Prague, the appointment of a responsible ministry for the country of St. Vacslav, and the recognition of equal rights (*gleich-berechtigung*) for the Bohemian

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and German races. A deputation went to Vienna to represent the wishes of the Chekhs, and was not unfavourably received. The question of the annexation of Moravia and Silesia was adjourned to the meeting of the central parliament, but the government guaranteed the equality of the two races, promised to convoke a diet for the kingdom based on universal suffrage, and offered to pass a certain number of laws giving them control over their own affairs (April 8th). A national committee was appointed to prepare these measures of reform; but the autonomy of Bohemia, however restricted, by no means pleased the Germans at Vienna, who meant to remain at the head of the empire, nor the Hungarians, who were at constant variance with the Slavs and terrified by the mere idea of Panslavism. Still less did it satisfy the Germans within Bohemia, who maintained that the kingdom belonged to Germany by virtue of the treaty of Vienna and ancient right, and who looked forward to its forming one of the columns of their great German empire. The committee of fifty, which met at Frankfort, to prepare for the convocation of the German parliament, had invited Palacky to take part in their deliberations, and the national historian replied by a celebrated letter which clearly explains the situation of Bohemia and Austria as regarded the new Germany.

"The aim which you propose to yourselves," said Palacky, "is the substitution of a federation of peoples for the old federation of princes, to unite the German nation in a real union, to strengthen the sentiment of German nationality, to secure the greatness of Germany within and without. I honour your efforts and the feelings by which you are inspired, but at the same time I cannot share them. I am not a German, or at least I do not feel as if I were one, and, assuredly, you have no wish that I should join you merely as a supernumerary, with neither opinion nor wish of my own. . . . I am a Chekh, of Slav origin, and whatever I am worth is at the service of my country. It is true that my nation is small, but from the beginning it has possessed an historical individuality. Its princes have acted in concert with the German princes, but the people

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itself has never been considered German. . . . Besides, you wish to enfeeble Austria for ever, to make it impossible for her to exist as an independent nation. Now, the maintenance of the integrity and the development of Austria is of vast importance, not only to my people, but to the whole of Europe, to civilization, and the human race."

The Germans have never forgiven the Chekh historian for declaring that he did not belong to their race. Pillersdorf was either less Austrian in feeling than Palacky or else understood the interests of the monarchy differently, for he gave orders that the elections for the parliament at Frankfort should be proceeded with. The Bohemian Germans wished to obey, the Chekhs energetically refused; hence arose disputes which led to grave disturbances and to an acute crisis between the two races who unequally divided Bohemia between them.

The Slav Congress at Prague.

When the Austrian constitution was published on the 25th of April, popular irritation rose to its height, for no reference was made in it to the engagements entered into by the government with Bohemia only a few days before. On the flight of the emperor to Innsbrück, the Chekhs, not wishing to obey his ministers, had appointed a sort of provisional government, a "Lieutenant's Council," to aid the imperial lieutenant, count Leo Thun; and when Leo Thun summoned the diet of the kingdom, some of the most illustrious of the patriots joined together in convoking a Slav congress at Prague. It was the counterpart of the German parliament at Frankfort. The Slavs from all parts of the monarchy met there for the first time in common action. The proclamation of the committee was signed, among others, by Safarik, Mathias Thun, Rieger, Miklosich, and Lubomirski, and ran as follows: "Brothers, who has not looked on the past history of our race with sorrow? Who does not know that our sufferings have been the result of the ignorance in which we have all remained, of our quarrels, and of our scattered position? After centuries of misery we have

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at last become aware of our unity, our responsibility for each other." The congress was divided into three sections—the Chekh (Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovak territory), the Polish-Ruthenian, and the Croats and Servians. What are the relations of the Slavs of Austria among themselves? What are their relations with the Germans, the Magyars, and the Slavs under Turkish rule? What ought to be their attitude towards other nations and towards the parliament of Frankfort? On what conditions would it be possible to form Austria into a Federal State? Ought the decisions of the German congress at Frankfort to be accepted by the Slav countries of Austria?—such were the questions which the congress had to consider.

It was also proposed to address a manifesto to the nations of Europe which should make them acquainted with the opinions of a race which had been hitherto too little considered, and which was known almost entirely in foreign lands through the calumnies of its enemies. The number of Chekh, Moravian, and Slovak delegates was two hundred and thirty-seven; of Poles and Ruthenians forty-one; of Croats and Servians forty-two. Unfortunately, while the congress was occupied with its peaceable discussions a riot broke out at Prague. The cause of this riot has always remained unknown, and the Hungarians, who were anxious, at any cost, to bring about the failure of the congress, have been accused of having excited it. However that may be, shots were exchanged between the students and the soldiers on the 12th of June; the wife of prince Windischgratz, the military commandant, was killed in her own house; barricades were raised, and the *commando*, firmly established in the higher part of the town, in which stands the well-known fortress of Prague (Hradšehín or Hradčany), bombarded the lower town, which surrendered at discretion. The congress was dissolved and Prague proclaimed to be in a state of siege. Councils of war sat continually, and the diet of the kingdom was not convoked. Very soon after this the elections for the assembly at Vienna took place, and the Germans in Bohemia sent as their repre-

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sentatives those amongst their compatriots who were known to be most opposed to Slav interests. They were thinking more of a greater Germany than of Austria, and seemed to consider every effort of the Chekhs to arrive at political freedom as directed against themselves. On their side the Chekhs elected those among their fellow-citizens who had taken the largest part in the national movement. They reached Vienna, determined to claim constitutional liberty, to preserve the integrity of the empire, which was threatened alike by Germans and Hungarians, and to obtain the widest powers of self-government possible for their native land. The Germans of Bohemia, on the contrary, turned their eyes towards Frankfort, and would have willingly given up one half the kingdom to the Hungarians if by so doing they could have secured a dominant position in the other.

Galicia and Italy.

Galicia had not remained unaffected by the revolution in March. The Poles of Lwów (Lemberg) had quite early sent in their demands to government. They did not ask to be separated from Austria; they were willing to remain united to the monarchy; but they asked that unpopular officials should be dismissed, that the secret police should be suppressed, that the administration should be carried on by natives, and that the Polish regiments should not be required to leave Galicia. The Galician nobles dared do nothing, restrained as they were by their fears both of Russia and of the peasants. But the minds of the people were excited by political refugees who had returned to the country; a kind of provisional government was formed in Cracow, and on the 26th of April an insurrection broke out, to be quickly put down by a bombardment. A few days before, Stadion, who was the governor, had proclaimed the final suppression of all forced labour, and had thus deprived the nobles of the credit of a measure which they had, however, had the good sense to propose; and by granting the wishes of the Ruthenians, who had demanded that their nation should

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be put upon an equality with the Polish nation and the clergy of the Uniate Greek Church made equal to those of the Catholic Church, he cleverly put a stop to the complaints of the Poles, and made the Austrian government take up the position of arbitrator, a position which doubled both its moral and material power in the old Polish province. From this time Galicia gave Austria no more trouble.

Before passing on to Hungary, let us briefly recall the events which had taken place in Italy. Milan had risen on the 19th of March; it had been abandoned by Radetzky on the 22nd. The Austrians had been also driven out of Venice, Brescia, and Bergamo. On the 6th of April, Charles Albert, king of Piedmont, had declared war on Ferdinand IV. After an able campaign, Radetsky had reoccupied Lombardy (August 3–10). "Austria is to be found in thy camp alone," said the Viennese poet Grillparzer to Radetsky in his celebrated verses. "We others are but lonely ruins." A long series of wars was needed before these lonely ruins could be restored to that condition of apparent union in which for more than half a century they had been held by the force of absolute power.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION.

The First Hungarian Ministry—The 15th of March—The Croats and Servians.

As early as the 3rd of March Kossuth had persuaded the chamber of deputies at Pozsony (Pressburg) to vote an address demanding the appointment of a responsible ministry. The upper chamber was more timid, and had refused to join in this vote; but the news of the disturbances in Vienna emboldened men's minds, and on the 15th the address was sent up to Vienna. In it a whole series of radical measures were proposed—the reform of public education, religious equality, trial by jury, the liberty of the press, annual convocation of the diet, union of Transylvania with Hungary, participation of the nobles in the taxes, and the abolition of forced labour and of all other feudal dues on payment of compensation by government to those who would suffer from this law. But whilst these resolutions were being passed at Pozsony an event took place at Pesth which may be considered the first symptom of the Hungarian revolution. A number of young men, among whom were the well-known poet Petöfi, the novelist Jokai, and Vasvary the stormy and popular speaker, got possession of a printing-press, and, in defiance of the censorship of the press, had the famous programme of the 15th of March printed. This programme was divided into twelve sections, and demanded the greater number

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of those liberal measures which had just been voted at Pozsony; but besides these it also asked that the diet should meet annually at Pesth, that the ministers should reside in that town, that a national guard and an Hungarian bank should be established, and that all political prisoners should be set at liberty. The emperor-king yielded to the demand of the diet, and the palatine called upon count Bathyany to form the first Hungarian ministry. He made Kossuth minister of finance, Eötvös minister of public education, Szechenyi of public works, and Deak of justice. At the same time the diet passed a new electoral law on the base of a limited suffrage, the number of the electors being raised to one million two hundred thousand.

Up to this time nothing had occurred which seemed to show any wish on the part of the Hungarians to break with the government. When Ferdinand came to close the sitting of parliament on the 16th of April, he was enthusiastically received. But, unfortunately, although the majority of the Magyars were content with the dynasty, the non-Magyar races were far from being satisfied with their position. The Croats and Servians were greatly irritated by the laws concerning the Hungarian language; and the Servians also demanded that they should be released from the inferior position in which they had hitherto been kept. As early as the 8th of April they had sent a deputation to the diet, where they had in vain claimed their recognition as a nation, and the right of being admitted to public employment, and to hold synods or national congresses.

There was the same excitement at Zagreb (Agram) as at Pesth. The diet there had drawn up a programme giving the people so much self-government that only the army, finance, and foreign affairs were left in the hands of the central government. It demanded that Croat troops only should be quartered in the country, and that an archbishopric and a supreme court should be granted to Croatia. It consented to send deputies to the two chambers of the Hungarian diet, but stipulated that the laws voted at Pesth should only become

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binding upon Croatia after they had been ratified by the diet at Zagreb.

Jelacic, the new *ban*, was devoted both to the Slav cause and to the dynasty, and immediately after his installation he had declared his intention of defending the Croat nationality energetically. As regarded Hungary, Croatia already posessed an ancient organization more or less definitely defined, and the Servians now set to work to form one. In an assembly which was held at Karlovci (Karlowitz) on the 13th of May, they voted the re-establishment of the offices of patriarch and *voïévode*, the formation of the Servians into an independent nation, and their union with Croatia. On hearing of these measures, the Hungarian ministry collected troops against those whom they looked upon as rebels, and dismissed Jelacic, though he had had nothing to do with these measures.

On the 30th of May, the diet of Transylvania met at Kolosvar (Klausenburg) and voted the union of that principality with Hungary; but even here an unrecognized race was about to claim its rights. Hitherto the fate of the principality had been decided by the Magyars, the Szeklers, and the Saxons; but now the long-oppressed Roumanians raised their voices, and in a large assembly held at Blasin (Blasendorf, Balasfalva), they also drew up a list of their demands. These included their recognition as a race, religious equality, the suppression of all offensive expressions against the Roumanians contained in the Hungarian laws, and the adjournment of the vote of union with Hungary until they should be represented in the diet. But the Magyars refused to listen to these just demands, and they were harshly rejected.

Jelacic.

The Servians were the first to begin the struggle. After coming to an understanding with Jelacic, they seized the arsenal at Titel and established a camp at Karlovci. They were commanded by Stratimirovic, an improvised general,

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who showed remarkable ability. In his manifesto he said, "We fight against those who violate the laws, who would keep liberty for themselves alone, and who use for the good of the Magyar minority the treasure which has been amassed by the labour of Slavs, Germans, and Roumanians." The soldiers on the military frontier made common cause with their fellow-countrymen, and a large number of volunteers joined them from Servia. The court, which had taken refuge at Innsbruck, entered into secret negociations with Jelacic, and took care not to interfere in a movement which enabled them once more to act on the old principle of the monarchy, "*Divide et impera.*"

The Hungarian diet which met at Pesth on the 5th of June, met therefore under gloomy auspices. On the 11th of July, Kossuth made a remarkable speech, in which he pointed out the danger to Hungary from the southern Slavs, and asked for a levy of men and a loan of forty-two million florins. Conferences between the Hungarians and Croatians were opened at Vienna, but they came to nothing. "We shall meet again on the banks of the Drave," said the president of the Hungarian ministry to the *ban*. "No," replied Jelacic; "I will come to seek you on the Danube." He crossed the Drave on the 9th of September.

On his side Stratimirovic had collected thirty thousand men and one hundred cannons. On the 19th of September, the Magyars sent a deputation to the parliament at Vienna; but the Slavs predominated there, and, irritated past endurance by the injustice of the Hungarians, they persuaded that assembly to refuse to receive it. The palatine, divided between the duties imposed upon him by his office and his position as a prince of the imperial family, quitted Pesth, pretending that he was going to place himself at the head of the national army. Instead, he journeyed to Lake Balaton (Plattensee), where he demanded an interview with Jelacic, which was refused. He then left Hungary to its fate and retired from office. Louis Bathyany also resigned, and

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a committee of safety, presided over by Kossuth, was appointed by the diet on the 25th of September. But now the Roumanians and Slovaks took up arms. An imperial decree, dated September 25, appointed general count Lamberg commissary-royal and commander of the military forces of Hungary, only to be murdered by the angry people the day after his arrival at Buda. The emperor replied to this act of rebellion by nominating Jelacic commissary-plenipotentiary of Hungary and commander of all the forces of the kingdom. The rupture between Hungary and the sovereign was now complete.

The War.

The Magyars began to make preparations for the defence of their country. Kossuth, who had become head of the ministry on the resignation of Bathyany, summoned the people to act as volunteers and recalled all the national troops who were in garrison in Bohemia and Galicia. Jelacic marched against Pesth, but he was repulsed and fell back upon Vienna, to which city the emperor had returned on the 12th of August. The diet which was being held there took the part of the dynasty against the Hungarians, but the Viennese people, out of hatred to the Slavs and from their own revolutionary instincts, professed passionate sympathy with the Magyars. On the 7th of October, they rose against the government to prevent the sending of reinforcements to Jelacic, and called on the Hungarians to come to their assistance. They came, but too late, and were forced to recross the Leitha, while the capital had to open its gates to prince Windischgrätz. We shall return later on to this bloody episode of the revolution. Oddly enough, the Hungarian ministers who thus attacked the troops of the emperor they hated, asserted that they remained true "to the beloved king of Hungary." But suddenly there was no such king, as on the 2nd of December Ferdinand abdicated in favour of his nephew Francis Joseph. The Magyars declared that they could not recognize this abdication, and

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while they were in revolt against the king who governed, professed to preserve a platonic fidelity to the king who governed no longer. Kossuth put the kingdom in a state of defence, organized the famous battalions of the Honveds, or "defenders of their country," and raised some foreign regiments in which there were many Poles. At first, Görgey, Meszaros, Perczel, and Kis were the principal generals. A terrible struggle began. Austria attacked Hungary by way of Galicia, Moravia, Croatia, and the Banat, while the Roumanians in Transylvania seconded the imperial troops energetically, less out of love to the emperor than out of hatred to their old oppressors. In such an unequal fight it was quite certain Hungary must be beaten. Kis was obliged to abandon the Servian *voïevodina* and to fall back on the Maros; Windischgrätz entered Pozsony on the 18th and Györ on the 27th of December; Meszaros was beaten at Kaschau (Kasso); Perczel had to retire before Jelacic. On the 1st of January, 1849, the committee of defence which had been organized by Kossuth left Pesth and retired to Debreczen, a marshy district which was almost impregnable. A few days later the Hungarian troops quitted Pesth, and it was immediately occupied by Windischgrätz. Bathyany was arrested, courts-martial established, and terror reigned in the wretched capital.

Unfortunately, union was very far from reigning between Kossuth and general Görgey. This officer was a German by birth, and may have embraced the Magyar cause rather from motives of ambition than from any feeling of patriotism. He pretended to recognize no orders except those issued by the minister of war who had been appointed by the king, and played the absurd part of a man who, believing the sovereign to be deceived by a wretched set of advisers, fought against his soldiers while all the time pretending to obey him. A Polish emigrant, named Dembinski, had received the supreme command, but owing mainly to the disobedience of Görgey he failed to recapture Pesth. Then Görgey again became *gene-*

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ralissimo and defeated the Austrians at Gödöllo on the 6th of April, 1849.

During this time, Bem, a Pole, who had formerly commanded at Vienna when it was in revolt, carried on a marvellous campaign in Transylvania. It was in this that the poet Petöfi, still quite a young man, perished. For a long time his countrymen refused to believe in Petöfi's death, and even quite lately Hungary has been stirred by a report that he was kept prisoner in Siberia by the Russians, and that after a captivity of thirty years he was about to return to his native land. A Russian army interfered to prevent Bem from occupying Nagy-Szeben (Hermannstadt), but, in spite of it, that town fell, and the Russians had to beat a retreat. Perczel in the meantime reconquered part of the Servian territory.

The Russian Intervention.

Fortune seemed to smile once more on the Hungarians. Windischgrätz had been dismissed, and Kossuth believed himself strong enough to strike a decisive blow. On the 14th of April, the diet of Debreczen voted the deposition of the house of Austria and the independence of Hungary, the form of government being reserved for future decision. Hungary was far too aristocratic a country and too much imbued in monarchical opinions for any one to dream of proclaiming a republic. Kossuth was created president, and proceeded to form a ministry; count Bathyany was to be minister of foreign affairs, Görgey minister of war. But in the whole of Europe there was only one power which was willing to recognize the new Hungarian government, and that was the short-lived republic of Venice. Hungary, which had seemed up to this time firmly attached to all the forms of law, now finally broke through its old traditions. The declaration of independence was followed by a great success, the capture of the fortress of Buda from the Austrians on the 21st of May. About three weeks before this event the *Official Gazette* of Vienna had announced that in consequence of the solicitations of the emperor Francis Joseph, the czar

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Nicholas had placed the Russian army at his disposal, in order to crush his revolted subjects. This was an avowal of Austrian weakness, but it was also, as has been well remarked, a recognition of Russia as the natural protector of the Slavs against their Hungarian oppressors. It was in vain that Ladislaus Teleki in Paris, and Julius Andrassy in Turkey tried to bring about a counter-intervention in favour of the Magyars. On the 4th of June, the Russians reached Pozsony. Haynau, who had already made himself notorious in Italy, beat the Hungarian generals on the Danube and then marched on Pesth; one hundred thousand Russians entered Galicia, commanded by Paskievitch, while fifty thousand pushed their way into Transylvania. Meantime the conduct of Görgey was ambiguous, and somewhat resembled that of the French general in command after the battle of Metz, in 1871; he pretended to be fighting the enemy, while all the while he meant to enter into negociations with him and to restore the monarchy. Kossuth was in the greatest difficulties. He gave the supreme command to the Pole Bem, and the equality of the races was proclaimed by the diet of Debreczen on July the 28th. But this step was taken too late to be of use, and on August the 11th Kossuth surrendered his dictatorship to Görgey, and on the day following the latter capitulated at Vilagos, and gave up twenty-three thousand men and one hundred and thirty cannons to the Russians. Bem and Kossuth took refuge in Turkey; Kis surrendered Petervarad (Peterwardein) on the 27th of August; Klapka defended Komarom (Comorn) till the 25th of September, when he too was forced to surrender. "Hungary," wrote Paskievitch to the czar, "lies at the feet of your majesty," for the last rampart of Hungary fell with Komarom.

It would have been wise and fitting to have celebrated with clemency a victory which had, in truth, been gained at the cost of foreign intervention, but this was far from being the case; the vengeance of the conqueror was pitiless. Louis Bathyany, the first president of the first Hungarian ministry, was shot dead at Pesth; the generals who had given them-

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selves up were some of them shot, others hanged like malefactors, and the executions that followed recalled the bloody days of Eperjes. Thousands of patriots were condemned to imprisonment more or less harsh, and among them were women of gentle birth. The property of all the condemned was confiscated. Görgey alone was exempted from the penalty of death, and he was confined in Klagenfurt. Those who had taken refuge in Turkey were not safe from persecution even there, for Austria and Russia demanded their extradition. The sultan, however, refused to comply, and from this time may be dated the affection of the Magyars for the Turks, an affection which was increased by their hatred of Russia and of everything Slavonic. It was, however, agreed that the Hungarian refugees should not be allowed to leave Turkey; many of them became Mahommedans, and among them the Pole Bem, who died shortly after at Aleppo. Who would have imagined at that time that the count Julius Andrassy, who was then hanged in effigy, would one day be called upon to direct the fate of the Austro-Hungarian empire?

A fortnight after the capitulation of Vilagos, Venice fell. King Charles Albert, defeated at Novara on the 23rd of March, abdicated, and left to his son Victor Emmanuel a kingdom in difficulties; the Austrians returned to Florence, and absolutism was restored. Italy and Hungary were at peace because they were vanquished; and the reaction could now have full play till the time when it should have either worn itself out, or till events should occur which should give the conquered races an opportunity of once more making themselves heard.

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CHAPTER XXXII.

THE REVOLUTION IN VIENNA.

The Parliament of Vienna—The Days of October—Repression.

We must now speak of the first attempts at constitutional government in the Austrian countries outside Hungary. The diet at Vienna was composed of one hundred and eighty-three deputies, of whom fifty-three were sent by Upper and Lower Austria, forty-eight by Moravia, ninety-one by Bohemia, nineteen by Styria, etc. The deputies from the rural districts formed a large part of the whole, and many of these, especially among the Ruthenians of Galicia, could not speak German. The Austrian nobles had either refused to stand or had obtained no votes, and the Germans were consequently in a minority. The Radical newspapers, which were the organs of the German party, spoke of the coming of the deputies as an invasion of the barbarians, and denounced them with terror; some of these papers were even printed with a black border. The Viennese went so far as to ill-treat the Chekh deputies, who, from their intellectual superiority, were the leaders of the Slav majority, and it became necessary to threaten to remove the parliament to another city before they could be brought to reason. On the 10th of July the members met in the imperial riding-school, to decide upon the rules which were to guide the assembly. There were present the representatives of eight different nationalities: Germans, Chekhs, Servian-Croats for Dalmatia, Slovenes, Poles, Ruthenians, Italians from Istria, and Wal-

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lachians from the Bukovina. The first question which presented itself was, In what language should the discussions take place? It was decided that interpreters should be supplied to those who could not understand German; but no one dared to declare German the official language. An advocate of Vienna, Schmidt by name, was chosen president, Strohbach a Chekh, and Smolka a Pole being the vice-presidents. At first it was hardly possible to divide the chamber into fixed parties; their tendency was to break up into nationalities. The Chekhs, with the Ruthenians, occupied the right; the Tyrolese and the Austrian Conservatives—the *Schwarzgelber*, as they were called (black-and-yellows)—sat in the centre, while on the left was the German and democratic party. The session was opened on the 22nd of July. The speech from the throne said that it had been convoked "to finish the great work of the revival of the Fatherland and to secure freedom." The archduke John read the speech in the absence of the emperor, but he soon after had to leave for Frankfort, where he had been proclaimed vicar of the empire. The assembly then begged the sovereign to return, and he came back to Vienna on the 12th of August.

The chamber lost no time in appointing a committee to draw up a new constitution. The question of the condition of the peasants was the first which occupied them, and the assembly was harassed by petitions to which not infrequently threats were added. The debates over this grave question were all the longer and all the more vehement because there were so many peasants present among the members of the diet. At the end of August the purchase at a reasonable price of the rights of the lords to dues and forced labour was voted, and it was decided by 224 votes to 125 that a separate indemnity fund should be raised in each province. This was the first step towards federation.

Meantime, while the parliament, a regular Tower of Babel, carried on its deliberations with a wise but somewhat grotesque slowness, the apostles of radicalism and of an universal republic were at work in the capital. The working-class had become

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excited, and the Aula—as the students' club was called—and the artisans exchanged fraternal greetings. The ministry had been paying workmen who did, however, but little work, at the rate of fifteen kreutzers per day, on the same system as had been adopted in France in the national workshops; and a reduction of wages led to a riot which had to be put down by force. The committee of safety which had been established in March was dissolved, and thereupon the populace, which was suffering great distress from want of work and was irritated by its dissolution, demanded the dismissal of the ministers, Latour, Schwarzer, and Alexander Bach. In face of the growing disturbance, the parliament declared itself in continuous session, but it could not even succeed in maintaining order within its own walls, as the re-establishment of the committee was being clamorously demanded by the Radicals. A central committee of all the Radical associations was formed, and popular excitement reached its height when the Hungarian deputies arrived at Vienna to plead the cause of their country before the central diet. We have already narrated how that body, under the influence of the Slav majority, refused to receive them; but the democrats of Vienna gave the Magyars an ovation and promised them their brotherly assistance. They kept their word, and early in October succeeded in preventing the departure of the imperial troops which were to have been employed against Hungary. But it was only done by violence. The crowd demolished the bridge by which the troops were to have crossed the Danube, and the minister of war, Latour, was attacked and taken prisoner in his own house, and after being brutally ill-treated was hanged as general Lamberg had been hanged at Pesth. Notwithstanding the heroic efforts of some of its members, the diet could not prevent the deeds of violence which disgraced these "October days." It formed a new committee of safety, and endeavoured to interfere as peace-maker and arbitrator between the government and the Viennese populace, and in an address to the emperor it proposed that a popular

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ministry should be formed, and that the policy towards Hungary should be altered. The emperor graciously received the deputation at Schönbrunn, but the next day he fled to Olomouc among the Slavs, who alone seemed to him safe from the spirit of revolution. He left behind him a manifesto in which he harshly reproved the excesses of the preceding days, and announced that he was about to take measures for the deliverance of the people of Vienna and the maintenance of liberty.

Left to itself, the capital could not hold out against the three armies which now attacked it under Auersperg, Windischgratz, and Jelacic. But it did its best, and Bem, the Pole, was appointed commander of the place. It was at this time that, in order to encourage their co-religionists in politics, the republicans of Frankfort sent a deputation to Vienna, at the head of which was Robert Blum, a bookseller of Leipzig, who was one of the leading agitators of Germany. After the departure of the emperor, the conservative members of the diet, with the Chekhs at their head, quitted the assembly and retired to Prague, whence they issued a protest against all the later disturbances which had occurred among their colleagues in Vienna. The diet was now nothing more than a Rump Parliament, powerless and at the mercy of the events of the hour. But the capital had no time to enjoy its triumph. It was attacked by Windischgrätz and Jelacic on the 28th of October, and capitulated on the 30th. The Hungarians arrived too late to be of any use to their allies, and were defeated at Schwechat by Jelacic, and forced to recross the Leitha in disorder. Windischgrätz entered Vienna and proceeded to take terrible vengeance. Messenhauser, the commandant of the national guard, was shot, and Robert Blum also (November 10). His position as deputy to the diet at Frankfort proved no protection to him; but the German parliament protested with energy, and the Austrian minister, Schmerling, was forced to disavow Windischgrätz at the very time when the emperor Nicholas was thanking the terrible

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general for the services which he had rendered to the peace of Europe. Among the victims we have still to name Becker, chief editor of *The Radical*, and his assistant Jellinek. The death of Latour was avenged.

The Diet of Kromerice—Abdication of Ferdinand IV.

The emperor did not wait for the submission of the capital before summoning the diet to meet him in a spot where its deliberations could be carried on in needful calm and security. A rescript dated the 22nd of October suspended the sittings of the assembly, and invited it to meet again on the 15th of November in the Moravian town of Kromerice (Kremsier). In this little town it might hope to escape from all demagogic influence. Brno had been first proposed, but it contained a working population which was liable to be affected by the excitement in Vienna, and Prague was hated by the Germans. Smolka the Pole was now elected president, and on the 21st of November a new cabinet came into office. The minister Dobhloff had worn himself out in the struggle against the Viennese democracy, and the new leader was prince Felix Schwarzenberg, "the soldier-statesman," who had learned how to master revolutions in a long career in Italy. He had served first at St. Petersburg, then in London, Turin, and Naples, and had proved himself the staunch friend of absolutism; he had also held an important position in the camp of Radetsky. Count Francis Stadion, who had shown great powers of administration, was made minister of the interior. This new cabinet without a moment's hesitation decided in favour of constitutional government, and declared that Austria should remain closely united to Germany without at the same time sacrificing her interests to those of Germany. They announced these intentions on the 27th of November, and on the 2nd of December an extraordinary meeting of the diet was convoked, at which, to the great surprise of the meeting, the president announced that the emperor Ferdinand had abdicated, that his brother,

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the archduke Francis Charles, renounced all right to the crown, and that in consequence the son of the latter, the young prince Francis Joseph, had succeeded to the imperial throne. The day before, which had been his eighteenth birthday, the young prince had been declared of age. This grave decision had been arrived at in a family gathering at which the ministers, the privy council, Windischgrätz, and Jelacic had alone been present. The very day of his abdication Ferdinand left for Prague, where he lived in retirement till his death. For a long time his feeble health had not allowed him to fulfil the duties of his imperial position, and he had only delayed his abdication till he could leave his people in the hands of his nephew.

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

FRANCIS JOSEPH—THE REACTIONARY PERIOD.

The New Constitution (*March* 4, 1849).

FRANCIS JOSEPH began his reign by declaring himself a constitutional monarch. In his proclamation at his accession he said, "Firmly resolved to preserve the splendour of the crown without a blemish, but prepared to share our rights with the representatives of our people, we hope, by the help of God and in united action with our subjects, to be able to make all the nations and all the races of the empire one compact state." This announcement seemed to point to a determination to make of Austro-Hungary a centralized state. As soon as the constitution of the monarchy, or rather, to speak more exactly, of the *Polyglot Polyarchy*, had become the question of the day, the attention of statesmen had been turned to three different systems—centralization, which would place all the kingdoms or provinces, all the various languages, under one sole government, either parliamentary or absolute, with its seat at Vienna; dualism, which would leave Hungary its old constitution, and group all the other States, from the Gulf of Cattaro to the frontiers of Bukovina, into one factitious whole; and federalism, which would endeavour to satisfy both the national aspirations and the old rights of the different groups of which the Austrian empire was composed. No principle had up to that time been brought forward as a solution of the problem. Practically, dualism had already come into existence, since Hungary had

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never been invited to send deputies to the deliberations of the assemblies at Vienna and Kromerice.

The Slavs and some of the German provinces, among which was Tyrol, demanded a federation, as they knew that this system alone would give them independence and the self-government which they so much desired. The Chekh historian, Palacky, was asked to draw up a scheme which should contain the expression of their wishes. According to it there were to be four governmental departments for those interests which were common to the whole empire, namely, war, marine, finance, and foreign affairs, and in all other matters each province was to enjoy complete autonomy. The various national diets were to choose a certain number of deputies, who were together to constitute the central diet. Palacky counted seven nationalities: the German, Bohemian, Polish, Italian, Yougo-Slav, Magyar, and Wallachian. Each of them was to be represented in Vienna by its own chancery. When this scheme was submitted to the diet, it naturally met with much opposition from the German advocates of centralization, who wished to Germanize the empire, and it was evident that there would be many difficulties in carrying it out. One of the gravest was the impossibility of disposing of Hungary without the help of her representatives, but it was hoped that before long the emperor would summon them to the parliament, and that the deputies would obey the summons. Three months passed in empty discussion, during which the government never interfered in the debates nor gave any sign of its intentions. The task before parliament was not that which had been before France in 1789, the division of provinces into administrative divisions subject to one uniform government; it was, on the contrary, to restore the balance between countries of different races and histories, and to create a new *Eastern empire* (Oesterreich) on the banks of the Elbe and the Danube on the same principles which had secured prosperity to Switzerland and the United States of America. A delicate task, indeed, if ever there were one! But at any rate the delegates succeeded

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in coming to an agreement, and by the 2nd of March this part of their work of making a constitution seemed to be finished.

It was hoped that after coming to an understanding with the government, it would be possible to get the constitution finally adopted, and that on the 15th of March, the anniversary of the revolution of 1848, it could be solemnly proclaimed. But the deputies at Kromerice had neglected to take into account the influence of the German policy—that fatal element which for so many centuries has weighed so heavily on Austria. During their deliberations Pillersdorf had allowed members to be elected for the German parliament at Frankfort, an Austrian archduke had been appointed vicar of the empire, and Schmerling, an Austrian, had been sent to represent the empire at Frankfort. This parliament of Frankfort looked upon Austria merely as an annex of Germany, whose mission was the *Germanizing* of all refractory bodies, and the putting in practice of the motto, "*Drang nach Œsten*" ("Press on to the East"). Under this impression, the two following articles which affected Austria had been voted at Frankfort: No part of the German empire can be joined with any non-German country in a single state; if a German country has the same sovereign as a non-German country, all relations between the two countries can only be regulated according to the principles of a purely personal union. This meant that Germany claimed the right to interfere in the relations of Bohemia, a German, or so-called German country, with Hungary. "When Austria and Germany," said a manifesto published on the 27th of November, "with renewed vigour shall each have decided on some new and definite form, then, and not till then, can the nature of their political relations be settled." The Federalists, and especially the Slavs, had accepted this declaration as a promise of emancipation from the yoke of Germany. The leaders of the party of Greater Germany had replied (January 14, 1849) by excluding Austria from the Germanic union; but this did not suit the Austrian cabinet, which persisted in considering Austria as the first of the great

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German powers. A parliamentary *coup d'état* was decided upon. On the 6th of March, Stadion assembled some of the deputies, and told them that in the absence of the Hungarians the assembly could not legally vote a constitution which could be applied to the whole empire. In vain the deputies protested; the diet was dissolved, and the so-called constitution of March 4 was granted to the people by imperial decree. This was hardly more than a copy of those of Belgium and Berlin, and the *Gründrechte* of Germany. It declared the Austrian empire to be independent, indivisible, and indissoluble; proclaimed the equality of all the nations whose diets now became simply provincial councils; two chambers were to assist the monarch, and he announced his intention of having himself crowned emperor of Austria. The Hungarian constitution was to be maintained only so far as it did not conflict with the authority of the empire. A special statute was to settle the position of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. The censure of the press was abolished and free exercise of *domestic* religion authorized. Of the old rights of the various provinces and of their equality not one word was said.

Towards the end of 1851 a circular issued by Schwarzenberg said, "The constitution granted on the 4th of March was only meant for a foundation on which to build up the authority of the throne. There was no time then to study the fundamental principles of a constitution; we took those of foreign nations as our models. Such a law could have no result, and it has had none." It was never indeed put into serious practice.*

* "Free institutions are next to impossible in a country made up of different nationalities, . . . the united public opinion necessary to the working of representative government cannot exist. The influences which form opinions and decide political acts are different in the different sections of the country. An altogether different set of leaders have the confidence of one part of the country and of another. The same books, newspapers, pamphlets, speeches do not reach them. One section does not know what opinions or what instigations are circulating in another. The same incidents, the same acts, the same system of government affect them in different ways; and each fears more injury to itself from the other nationalities than from the common arbiter, the state. Their mutual

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But though it was powerless and useless at home it played an important part in the relations of the monarchy with Germany. The parliament of Frankfort offered the imperial crown to the king of Prussia. Thereupon the emperor of Austria declared that "he was sovereign of a single and united state; that he would allow the interference of no sovereign and of no foreign parliament in any portion of his dominions," and thus breaking with the parliament of Frankfort, he recalled his deputies from that assembly, which very soon after was dissolved. Its offer had meantime been refused by Prussia.

The Reactionary Period (1850–1860)—*The Concordat* (1855).

The ten years which followed on the pacification of Hungary and Northern Italy were ten years of pitiless reaction. By the end of 1849 order was restored everywhere, and there was no reason why the constitution should not at once have been put in practice. An imperial decree dated the 4th of August had said, "It shall not remain a dead letter; it shall serve as a rampart to liberty, as a guarantee of the power, glory, and unity of the monarchy." Stadion, who had helped to draw it up, would no doubt have felt bound in honour to put it in practice, but he became mad in May, 1849, and his post was filled by Alexander Bach. Bach was a Viennese advocate, who had been formerly remarkable for his stormy radicalism, but as soon as he attained power he became the strong advocate of absolutism and a reactionary policy, and of all the gains of

antipathies are generally much stronger than jealousy of the government. That any one of them feels aggrieved by the policy of the common ruler is sufficient to determine another to support that policy."—John Stuart Mill, Essay on "Representative Government."

During the height of the reactionary government of Metternich and Francis II. the German pamphleteer, Ludwig Börne, wrote, "It would be a double misfortune to Europe and to all oppressed nations if that inert machine should one day be forced to move along the path of modern constitutional government. Up to this time Austria has been looked upon as a mouse-trap, only dangerous to those who allow themselves to be caught in it. He who is free and outside the trap can easily keep away from it. But woe to all if she should one day be obliged to take a part in the Comedy of Liberal Ideas.'

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the revolution he only preserved the laws concerning the condition of the peasants and those which proclaimed the equality of persons and estates in the eyes of the law. The delusive constitution of the 4th of March was suppressed by letters patent (January 1, 1852); the various provinces of the empire were divided into circles, whose heads were nominated by the central government, and the powers of the diets were reduced to a minimum. A centralizing bureaucracy became the willing instrument of a pitiless Germanizing policy, which weighed equally heavily on the Hungarians who had wished to dismember the empire, and on the Slavs who had maintained its integrity. "'A temporary arrangement'—such was the watchword which ruled all things for ten whole years," said Springer; "and if the thing had been possible they would have made a temporary arrangement for the temporary arrangement." "Distrust of the governed became a state maxim," said another publicist, "and a remedy for this distrust was only to be found in material force."

The blows of absolute power fell first on Hungary, and every possible means were taken to deprive her of the last vestige of self-government. A royal-lieutenancy was established at Pesth, and the kingdom divided into five *circles;* government appointments were bestowed in preference on German officials; the German language was used in all public offices, courts of justice, and schools; and the people were under the strict surveillance of the police. A state of siege continued down to 1854, and it was not till 1857 that a general amnesty was proclaimed. Transylvania, which had been lately reunited to the mother-country, was again separated from her; the Backa was made a Servian *Voïévodina*, and the Banat a separate province; the three races who dwelt in these districts—the Roumanians, Germans, and Servians—were to be allowed to govern themselves. The Servians and Roumanians were Germanized just as had been the Magyars, against whom they had so lately been fighting. Croatia, Slavonia, and the Hungarian sea-board had formed a threefold state independent

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of Hungary; but they were now placed under the Magyar yoke. The same policy was followed in Bohemia and Galicia, especially when the death of Schwarzenberg in 1853 left Bach more powerful than ever. "Trial by jury and the right to public trial were both suppressed," says Tomek, "the election of municipal bodies was suspended, and the equality of the German and Chekh languages in the schools ceased; at the same time the police acted most harshly and interfered with the power of the ordinary courts. Thus, in 1851, Karel Havlicek, who was accused of having attacked the government in some satirical writings, was confined to Brixen in Tyrol by order of the ministry, after he had been acquitted by the jury. The liberty of the press so far as concerned political matters was completely at an end, and not a single newspaper was allowed to be published in Chekh. . . . The Austrian government was solely occupied with securing Austrian influence in Germany, and hoped to please the Germans by maintaining the supremacy of the German party over all the other races of the empire. . . . It seemed at first as if the national movement in Bohemia, which had begun in the years previous to 1848, would be arrested by all this oppression. It did produce a kind of pause, but very soon the spirit of the people recovered its spring, especially among the rural classes. Freed from their old state of subjection, they began to make rapid progress, both moral and economical." If Bohemia—perhaps, with Tyrol, the most patriotic of all the Austrian states—was treated in this fashion, it is easy to understand what was the condition of the Italian possessions and of Galicia.

When the government had once entered on its career of absolute rule, it believed that its own power could only be increased by adding to it that of the Church, for it seemed as if the pope and the bishops were its natural allies. At a meeting held in Vienna in 1849, the Austrian prelates had entered an energetic protest against all national movements. They declared that "they were a remnant of Paganism; that difference of language was the consequence of sin and the fall

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of man." The government decided that every effort should be made to get rid of the last trace of *Josephism*, and after long negociations concluded a concordat with the Holy See in 1855. This concordat declared Roman Catholic worship privileged, and authorized the publication of all pontifical documents without the control of the civil power. It placed both public and private education under the supreme control of the bishops, and the state undertook not to allow the circulation of any books censured by them. It invested them with the power of inflicting punishment, as, for instance, of imprisoning refractory priests, and undertook to assist them in carrying out such punishments. These examples are enough to show the spirit which animated the clerical policy. Strangers who visited Austria during the time which followed on the conclusion of the celebrated agreement were struck with the intellectual torpor of the country. Added to all this, there was great misery throughout the land, as the events of 1848–1849 had exhausted the treasury. By the end of 1850 the government owed the bank of Vienna the sum of 231 millions of florins, by 1851, 371 millions. Loans were raised year after year.

Ever since the year 1781, the Austrian budget had always showed a deficit. In 1810, this had amounted to 215,502,220 florins; in 1855, it was still 158,319,900 florins; by 1860, it had been reduced to 65,662,810. In order to face its difficulties, Austria had been obliged to issue paper-money subject to a discount, and bank-notes, down even to the value of twopence halfpenny, were in circulation.

Austria and Germany—The Crimean War (1854–1855).

At the beginning of the period of reaction, the misery of her people at home had not prevented Austria from presenting a tolerable appearance abroad. Schwarzenberg, whom popular opinion persisted in considering a great minister, had succeeded in maintaining the federal compact with Germany which gave

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Austria the lead among the German states, and Prussia was held in check by the princes whom Francis Joseph had cleverly grouped around him. An insurrection in Hesse breaking out about this time, the elector implored help from the diet, while his subjects appealed for assistance to Prussia. The emperor of Austria thereupon arranged a meeting at Bregenz with the kings of Wurtemberg and Bavaria, and a few days later with the emperor Nicholas at Warsaw. Just at this moment a quarrel broke out between some Austrian troops who were in occupation of Hanau and the Prussians who occupied Cassel, and Austria, collecting a formidable army on the frontiers of Hesse, summoned the Prussians to evacuate the province within twenty-four hours. Prussia was obliged to yield, Manteuffel coming to Olomouc on the 29th of November, 1850, and submitting to the demands of Schwarzenberg. These were that Prussia should undertake to help to reinstate the elector, to do nothing in Holstein without the help of Austria, and to take part in the conferences which had been opened at Dresden to decide on the future organization of Germany. It was long before the statesmen of Prussia forgot this humiliating conference at Olomouc. It seemed as if Schwarzenberg might now begin to consider himself as the successor of Metternich and arbiter of the fate of Europe.

The Dresden conferences ended in the re-establishment of the old confederation with its central organ, the diet at Frankfort. Austria tried in vain to be admitted into the confederation with all her Italian and Slav provinces; could she have done so she would have secured the guarantee of Germany for these possessions, and her superiority of numbers over Prussia. But Prussia defeated all her efforts, and herself renounced any claim to the admission of the duchy of Posen into the confederation, in order to prevent that of Venice or Galicia.

When Schwarzenberg died, the emperor did away with the office of president of the council of ministers, but the same policy was continued towards Germany. He concluded a

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treaty between Austria and the Zollverein, but did not succeed in getting his empire incorporated with that body. In 1854, he married the Bavarian princess Elizabeth.

The Crimean war was a time of trial to Austria. There was no doubt that she owed the emperor Nicholas a great debt of gratitude for his services during the Hungarian revolution, a debt she might now have repaid. "Austria's ingratitude will astonish the world," said Schwarzenberg; and Count Buol-Schauenstein, who had succeeded the celebrated diplomatist, set himself to work to prove the truth of these words.

During the whole of our century Austria's policy as regards the Eastern question has been of an entirely negative character. All her energies have been concentrated on Germany and Italy. In the Slav or Roumanian countries subject to the Turks, her interference has at times been received with gratitude, but she could never interfere effectually in behalf of the Slavs of the Peninsula as long as she tried to put an end to Slavism within her own dominions. Hence her action has been undecided and capricious. Not being able to influence Turkey, she has contented herself with doing all she can to destroy the influence of Russia, and to support the Christians under Turkish bondage.

At first, Count Buol proposed a conference to decide the quarrel between Nicholas and the Porte, and at the same time undertook that Austria should remain neutral on condition that Russia promised to respect the integrity of the Ottoman empire. Afterwards, in the month of August, he demanded that the Danubian provinces should be placed under the protection of the five great powers, that the navigation of the Danube should be completely free, that the treaty of 1841 should be revised by all the contracting parties, and that Russia should renounce the protectorate of the Christians in the Ottoman empire.

When the Crimean war began, Austria entered into an agreement with France and England to defend the Danubian provinces against Russia. The conferences which were then

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held at Vienna came to nothing, though by them Austria gained time, and was not sorry to see Russia growing weaker without any need for her to take part in the fight. She contented herself with occupying the Principalities with the consent of the Porte. One unexpected event, however, disturbed her statesmen seriously. Piedmont, which they knew to be governed by an ambitious and intelligent prince, had entered into alliance with France and England, and had sent a body of troops into the Crimea. In spite of the terror under which Italy lay prostrate, might this not be a sign of some awakening of the national spirit? It was high time to try to put an end to the war. Austria renewed the propositions she had made in August, and demanded that part of Bessarabia should be abandoned and the Black Sea declared neutral. She even recalled her ambassador from St. Petersburg. Alexander agreed to make peace, and on the 30th of March, 1856, signed the treaty of Paris. The Black Sea was to remain neutral; the navigation of the Danube was to be free; Russia renounced the exclusive protection of the orthodox Christians who were the subjects of Turkey, and all Eastern questions were to be submitted to European arbitration. But an incident occurred at the congress of Paris which had most serious results for Austria. Piedmont was represented at the congress by Cavour, and the question of Italy was incidentally brought forward. The abnormal condition of the peninsula, and the dangerous preponderance which Austria had acquired, were pointed out both by Cavour and Walewski. The Italian question had crept into the congress under the shadow of the Eastern question, and once brought forward, it was not long before it received the solution which had become inevitable.

The War in Italy—The Loss of Lombardy (1859).

The results of the Crimean war were not on the whole favourable to Austria. She had certainly obtained the free navigation of the Danube, but the two provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia had united to form one state, and that state was

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sure to prove a fatal attraction to the Wallachians of Transylvania. The friendship of Russia had grown cold, she even accused Austria of treason. Piedmont had entered into the European concert, and, sure of the friendship of Napoleon, was preparing for war. War was, in fact, decided on in July, 1858, at a meeting between Cavour and the emperor of the French, and the relations between France and Austria became more and more strained, a fact which was announced somewhat brutally by Napoleon at the official reception of the 1st of January, 1859. The alliance between France and Piedmont was cemented a few days later on by the marriage of Prince Jerome with the Princess Clotilde, daughter of Victor Emmanuel.

Count Cavour next obtained the help of Lord Cowley, the English diplomatist, and through him demanded from Austria the creation of a national government for Lombardy and Venice, the abandonment of the Romagna, and the establishment of constitutional governments at Parma, Modena, and Florence. On this, Russia proposed a congress such as Austria had formerly proposed at the time of the Crimean war. In reply, Count Buol took up an aggressive attitude, and demanded the disarmament of Piedmont (April 19), a demand which was followed on the 3rd of May by the official declaration of war against Austria by France. Events quickly followed one another. First Leopold II., duke of Tuscany, fled; then Francis V., of Modena, carrying with him his treasure and his state-prisoners. Radetsky, the victor of Novara, had died the year before, and his successor, General Giulay, showed none of his predecessor's ability; he did not know how to invade Piedmont or to cut the road between Turin and Genoa, and he was driven back into Lombardy. Then came the victories of Montebello, Palestro, Turbigo, and Magenta, and Lombardy was in the hands of the allies. The Austrian troops were forced to retire behind the Mincio.

The battle of Solferino (June 23) was a terrible blow to the Austrian army, but Napoleon III. was ignorant how to

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make the most of his success. He had declared that he wished to see Italy free "from the Alps to the Adriatic," but he shrank from the completion of his generous task. Germany had taken up arms, and he was afraid of her; he dared not rouse an impatient Hungary, and "seek strength from the aid of revolution." On the 11th of July, he had an interview with Francis Joseph at Villafranca, which resulted in the termination of the war and the peace of Zurich (November 10, 1859)—the most futile peace perhaps that has ever been signed. By it the emperor of Austria abandoned to Napoleon III., that is to say, to his ally, Victor Emmanuel, the whole of Lombardy, with the exception of the fortresses of Mantua and Peschiera. The grand-dukes of Tuscany and Modena were to be reinstated in their dominions, and Italy was to form a confederation of which Austria by right of the possession of Venetia was to be one member. But these were but fantastic dreams which were to fade away quickly before the wily and patient policy of Cavour. Austria was obstinately determined on keeping Venetia, rather from a feeling of pride than from any real interest, and would not allow Italy to obtain possession of it by the payment of a sum of money, a bargain which Italy would willingly have made. She was to pay dearly enough for her obstinacy.

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CHAPTER XXXIV.

ATTEMPTS AT CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT—WAR WITH PRUSSIA (1860–1866).

Return to Constitutional Government—Patents of 1860 *and* 1862.

We have thus seen how the absolute and centralized government of Vienna had resulted in the dismemberment of the empire, and even in the partial alienation of the fidelity of her subjects, some among whom openly rejoiced over her misfortunes. It has been said that some of the Hungarian or Slavonic regiments were broken up in order that they could not be called upon to fight, and that the Bohemian peasants might be heard saying, "If we are beaten we shall get a constitution, if we beat we shall have the inquisition." At last the emperor began to understand that he had blundered, and dismissed Alexander Bach, the minister whose name is always associated with this time of disaster; and then, after some hesitation, he introduced certain reforms which tended towards the gradual introduction of constitutional government in his dominions. He first of all (March 6, 1860) created an enlarged council of the empire; that is to say, he added thirty-eight members, chosen from among the nobles, and representing the various countries of his empire, to the usual council. This council was to discuss matters of finance and legislation; but it was to be a purely consultative body, and it was given no power of initiation. This did not amount to much compared with the claims and the hopes of the people,

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but in the end their influence made itself felt. Goluchowski, a gentleman of Galicia, who consequently did not share in the ill-feeling subsisting between the Germans and Magyars, was chosen one of the ministers, and with his help was drawn up the charter or patent of the 20th of October. The following is a list of the principal measures of reform which it contained: For the future the sovereign was to exercise all legislative power only with the help of the diets, or of the council of the empire, composed of delegates from the diets; the Council of the Empire (*Reichsrath*) was to enact the laws concerning the common interests of all the countries—finance, trade, means of communication, and war—all other matters being left to the decisions of the separate diets; all men were to be equal in the sight of the law as regarded religion, taxation, and military service; the number of the members of the *Reichsrath* was to be raised to one hundred; there was no longer to be either a minister of the interior, or of public worship, or of justice; the diets were to retain their mediæval organization and class distinctions.

Schmerling was the minister chosen to develop and carry out the principles of the new law, which he completed by the patent of the 26th of February, 1861. But, like Bach and Metternich, his first object was to keep up the influence of the German element, and he tried to apply to Austria theories of parliamentary government such as were only suitable to homogeneous states. He created two Chambers. The Upper Chamber included the princes, the large landowners, the bishops, and some eminent men chosen by the sovereign. The Chamber of Deputies contained more than three hundred members, who were elected by the provincial diets. Hungary sent eighty-five; Transylvania, twenty; Croatia and Slavonia, nine; Dalmatia, five; Bohemia, fifty-four; Moravia, twenty-two; Silesia, six; Upper and Lower Austria, twenty-eight; Salzburg, three; Styria, thirteen; Carinthia, five; Carniola, six; Istria and Triest, six; Galicia, thirty-eight; Bukovina, five; and Tyrol and Vorarlberg, twelve. He

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restored the offices of the ministers of the interior, public worship, and justice, and strengthened the authority of the central parliament at the expense of the provincial diets. The hopes which had been raised among the federalists by the patent of October, 1860, soon vanished before measures like these; even the government could not expect that the Hungarians would consent to give up their autonomy, and to discuss the interests of their kingdom with Venetians, Slovenians, and Poles. Accordingly it was agreed that their deputies should not take their seats except when the common interests of the whole empire were concerned; their presence constituted a *Reichsrath* with full powers, while their absence made the parliament an assembly of limited powers, in which the various groups busied themselves with questions which were beyond the competency of the several diets. In this way the centralizing minister managed to get rid of the principle of a dual government. At the same time he arranged all the provincial diets on one model, and cleverly managed the right of voting in such a way as to stifle the Slav majority under the German minority. His law substituted the representation of interests for the representation of countries. He admitted three classes of electors — large landowners, the inhabitants of towns, and the peasants. He granted especial privileges to those large landed estates which belonged to the nobility who were vassals of the sovereign, and to the towns where the German settlers were especially numerous. The electoral divisions were arranged in most arbitrary fashion; for example, in Bohemia the Slav towns had a deputy for every 12,020 electors, while the German towns had one for every 10,315. In rural districts the Slavs had a deputy for every 53,200 inhabitants, while the Germans had one for 40,800. The German town of Reichenberg, containing 19,000 people, had three deputies, while the Slav town of Prague, with 150,000, had only ten. Some of the German towns were indeed nothing but rotten boroughs. The German hamlet of Parchen, containing 500 inhabitants,

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had a deputy; the Slav town of Kladno with 8000, had none. In a word, the whole of this electoral system was a lie, and ever since the law was passed the non-German inhabitants have never ceased to demand its revision. But it is still in existence, and, although it has been modified, so long as it remains Austria cannot be looked upon as a state possessing real representative government.

Opposition of the Nationalities to the Centralizing Reforms—Insurrection in Poland (1863).

When the constitution of February had become law, the various nations of the empire had to make up their minds if they would accept it and send deputies to the new *Reichsrath*. Venetia, Hungary, Transylvania, and Croatia refused to do so. One hundred and forty deputies—more than one-third of the whole number of three hundred and forty-three—were missing. "We can wait," said M. de Schmerling proudly; but his diplomacy failed to make any impression on Hungarian obstinacy. "I know nothing of any constitution except the Hungarian constitution; I can only treat on the basis of the Hungarian constitution," was the invariable answer of Deak to all the proposals of the Viennese statesmen. The Hungarian diet was convoked at Pesth in the month of April, 1861, but it refused to enter into any compromise, and some of the Magyar lawyers went so far as to assert that Francis Joseph was not king of Hungary, as he had never been crowned. In a country whose rights are historical the coronation is not merely a religious ceremony, but a bilateral contract. In it the king takes an oath that he will recognize all the ancient rights of the kingdom. Hence the importance attached to the rite of coronation by the Chekhs and Magyars. Those legists who did not recognize an *uncrowned* king wished to pass a resolution only; but Deak persuaded them to vote an address. It was a document remarkable for its lucidity and logic, and thus stated the historical rights of the kingdom: "The fundamental condition

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of our political life and of our national independence is the legal independence and self-government of our land. Our first duty is to consecrate all our faculties to the maintenance of Hungary as Hungary, and to secure to her all her constitutional rights. . . . We solemnly declare that we cannot sacrifice any of our rights which have been gained by treaty, law, royal letters, or by the coronation oaths for any consideration or any interest whatsoever." It went on to demand that the laws of 1848 and the engagements entered into by the Pragmatic Sanction should be carried out. The government at Vienna, however, believing itself able to overcome Hungary by force, dissolved the diet on the 22nd of August, and forbade the *comitat* assemblies, substituting royal commissioners for the refractory *Föispanak*. But, in spite of all this, the resistance of the Magyars went on even after Schmerling had succeeded in persuading the Transylvanians to send deputies to Vienna.

Bohemia was hardly more satisfied than Hungary. She rightly complained of the iniquitous electoral law passed by the minister, and though she sent deputies to the *Reichsrath*, she did so reserving all the rights of the kingdom, and after 1863 her deputies ceased to take any part in its deliberations.

The only liberty granted by Schmerling was the liberty of the press, and the Slavs profited but little by it, as within the space of three years the owners of the fourteen Chekh newspapers published in Bohemia and Moravia were condemned to sixty-one months of imprisonment, more or less harsh, amongst them, and fines amounting to 21,500 florins.

The insurrection in Russian Poland in 1863 caused intense excitement in Galicia and serious embarrassment to the cabinet of Vienna. Whilst Prussia concluded a military convention with Russia against the rebels, Rechberg, who was then Austrian minister of foreign affairs, carried on a truly Machiavelian policy towards both parties. Napoleon III. sympathized with the Poles, and counted on the help of Austria to enable him to fight Russia and Prussia. He was

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ready to help the cabinet of Vienna to recover Silesia and to secure the Danubian principalities in exchange for Venetia, but these projects were neither liked nor understood at Vienna. The government of the emperor Francis Joseph contented itself with addressing diplomatic notes to the court of St. Petersburg, and finally declared Galicia in a state of siege. This conduct succeeded in irritating not only the Poles, but the races akin to them in Bohemia and Moravia, who were more inclined to sympathize with a Polish revolution than with the Muscovite autocrat. Who can say what might not have been the fate of Austria if at this time she had renounced once for all her position in Germany and her possession of Venetia, and had looked for compensation on the side of Poland?

It soon became evident that Schmerling's scheme could not be worked, and in 1865 the emperor undertook a journey to Pesth in order to try to come to an understanding with the Hungarians. He decided on dismissing Schmerling, and giving them a new chancellor. The advocates of a Germanizing policy were in despair, but the delight in the provinces was great, and the towns of Prague, Pesth, and Lwow (Lemberg) illuminated. Francis Joseph declared the suspension of the February constitution and the adjournment of the *Reichsrath* until such time as the diets of Hungary and Croatia should have decided on the form which their connection with the empire should take. Schmerling was replaced by Belcredi, who was a Moravian, and cared much less than his predecessor for maintaining the supremacy of the German nationality. The diets of the larger Slav countries, Bohemia and Galicia, were grateful for the change of minister, and at once set to work to undo the Germanizing measures of the previous cabinet. In Galicia, for instance, the Polish language was introduced into all the schools. The diet of Hungary was opened on the 14th of December, 1865, when the extreme left demanded that the whole of the laws passed in 1848 should at once be put into execution. The liberal party, under the leadership of Deak, drew up a programme which endeavoured

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to reconcile what was possible at the time with the continuity of the old rights of Hungary. To do this it was first needful to restore vigour to the laws of 1848, and then to nominate a responsible ministry which should be able to decide on the necessary modifications. The debates on the subject lasted a long time, and were finally interrupted by the war which broke out between Austria and Italy.

War against Prussia and Italy—Austria excluded from Germany—Loss of Venetia (1866).

Prussia had never forgotten her humiliation at Olomouc in 1850. She was longing to have her revenge, and to place herself at the head of Germany. It must be allowed that such a position suits her much better than her rival, for with the exception of the duchy of Posen and some parts of Silesia, the Prussian state is purely German. King William, who had been crowned in 1861, had discovered in Count Bismarck a minister whose policy was to place Prussia at the very height of power. While Prussia and Austria were busied about their rival claims, Count Beust set to work to organize an alliance by means of which the smaller kingdoms were to maintain their independence against the two great empires.

There is no need for us to recount here all the attempts made by Austria to obtain the lead. We will mention only one; her proposal to draw up a uniform code of civil law for the whole of Germany, a project which came to nothing. In the month of August, 1863, the emperor Francis Joseph summoned all the German princes to Frankfort to draw up a plan of federal reform, and they all, with the exception of the king of Prussia, who refused to appear, met in the Römer Hall. Francis Joseph then endeavoured, though in vain, to secure for his dynasty the perpetual presidency of the German confederation; and to obtain the guarantee of Germany for the security, in case of war, of all his possessions which were situated outside the confederation.

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This is not the place in which to discuss the Schleswig-Holstein question. Germany had always coveted Schleswig, which was half Danish, half German, and which possessed ports which would have been of the greatest use to her fleet. Up to this time it had formed part of Holstein, but in 1863 the king of Denmark believed himself able to unite it definitely to his kingdom. The diet protested, and the federal troops occupied Holstein. Count Rechberg was at that time the Austrian minister of foreign affairs; he had declared that he had no intention of raising the question of nationality—a question which was more to be dreaded by Austria than any other power—and yet he allowed himself to be persuaded by Bismarck to take part with Prussia in the federal action. Twenty thousand Austrians assisted the Prussians in their attack on Denmark in January, 1864, and, notwithstanding the valour of the Danes, the two armies had an easy victory. The Austrian flag floated victoriously in the North Sea under Admiral Tegethoff, and by the 30th of October, Christian IX. was obliged by the peace of Vienna to cede to the conquerors all rights over Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg.

But it proved less easy to divide the spoil than it had been to gain it. Evidently the duchies were situated too far from Austria for it to be wise for her to possess either the whole or part, so when Prussia offered to buy her rights she readily agreed. On the 14th of August, 1865, the convention of Gastein was signed, by which Austria ceded the duchy of Lauenburg to Prussia for 12,500,000 francs, a sum which represented about 149 francs per inhabitant. Holstein still, however, remained in the possession of Austria, while Prussia kept Schleswig. It was in vain that the smaller states of Germany protested against this iniquitous convention, which entirely ignored their rights. Soon after, Prussia offered to buy the duchy for 300 millions, an offer which was refused by Austria. But the statesmen at Berlin were not long before they found a pretext for quarrel. They complained that the government of Austria in Holstein was too liberal, and took

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upon themselves to interfere in it. Austria was in consequence compelled to prepare for war, though the military force of Prussia was far greater than hers, and though Prussia was strengthened by her alliance with the young kingdom of Italy, always longing to get possession of Venetia, and to whom Prussia had promised a subsidy of 120 millions of francs. It was in vain that Napoleon III. tried to settle the questions about the duchies on the Elbe and Venetia in a congress; his success was no greater than it had been in the Polish matter.

Austria felt both her honour and her military pride at stake. General Gablenz was ordered to convoke the diet of Holstein, in order to ascertain the wishes of the country as to their future fate; whereupon Bismarck declared the convention of Gastien violated, ordered Holstein to be occupied, and called out the Prussian army. The smaller German states declared against Prussia; but, in spite of that, she was soon in possession of Hesse, Saxony, and Hanover (June, 1866). Baden, Bavaria, and Wurtemburg held out against her, but their resistance was feeble. Italy sent her fleet into the Adriatic and her troops against the Quadrilateral, while the Prussians entered Bohemia, and a terrible campaign followed. Instead of occupying Saxony, the Austrian general, Benedek, awaited the enemy below the passes in the Bohemian mountains. His lieutenants, Clam-Gallas and Gablenz, were successively defeated at Jicin and Nachod on the 26th and 29th of June. He himself concentrated his troops near Kralove-Hradec (Königgrätz) and the village of Sadowa, and here a great battle was fought on the 4th of July, which cost the Austrians 20,000 prisoners, 160 guns, and 18,000 killed and wounded. Prague and a great part of Bohemia were immediately occupied by the Prussians, and the road to Vienna lay open, the enemy marching upon the capital by the Moravian highway. The preceding year the topography of the whole district had been studied most carefully by staff-officers, who had come into Austria disguised as hawkers or photographers.

The Austrians were more fortunate in Italy. They were

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commanded by the archduke Albert, the son of the victor of Aspern, and, strongly supported in the Quadrilateral, defeated the Italians at Custozza on the 24th of June, while Admiral Tegethoff, the hero of the young Austrian fleet, defeated them also near the island of Lissa on the 16th of July. But these successes were only a slight consolation to the military pride of Austria. The loss of Venice was inevitable, and on the 16th of July the preliminaries of a peace were signed at Mikulov (Nikolsburg), in Moravia, by which Venice was given up to the emperor of the French, who restored it to Italy.

Peace was signed at Prague on the 3rd of August. The dissolution of the German empire and the exclusion of Austria from the German confederation were acknowledged by the emperor of Austria, who abandoned all his claims to the duchies on the Elbe, and left Prussia to arrange matters in Germany as she pleased. He also paid the conqueror an indemnity of 20 millions of thalers. Thus, after half a century of constant efforts to maintain her supremacy in the one and her power in the other, the monarchy was finally excluded from both Germany and Italy; and she found herself, with her army destroyed and her finances ruined, face to face with her Slav and Magyar peoples, of whom for so many years she had made use as the passive instruments of her thoughtless ambition.

Soon after all these disasters the sorely tried house of Austria was called upon to bear another sorrow. Napoleon III., who was at this time at war with Juarez, president of Mexico, took it into his head to offer the crown of that distant country to the archduke Maximilian, the younger brother of the emperor Francis Joseph. He was a liberal and enlightened prince. As one of the vice-admirals of the Austrian fleet and head of the admiralty, he had done excellent service, while, as governor-general of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, he had made laudable efforts to render the foreign yoke less heavy on the Italians. In 1864, he quitted his home at

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Miramar, and set out for his distant empire full of the brightest hopes. But the republican party in Mexico defended their native country bravely against the monarch whom France attempted to impose on her, and Maximilian, abandoned by his army, was captured under the walls of Queretaro, condemned to death, and shot. His high moral and intellectual qualities have made his memory dear to Austria.

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CHAPTER XXXV.

THE DUAL CONSTITUTION (1867)

Austria after Sadowa.

THE situation of Austria after Sadowa was truly pitiable. Hungary and Bohemia were in a state of profound irritation, many of the Magyars making no secret of their sympathy with Prussia. When, at the beginning of the Italian war in 1859, Kossuth had an interview with Napoleon III., the latter had hesitated whether or not to accept help from the revolutionary party; and in 1866, general Klapka, the man who had formerly defended Komarom (Comorn) offered to get together a Magyar regiment to help Prussia, and the prompt conclusion of the war had alone prevented him from taking part in the campaign. In Bohemia, the king of Prussia, during his occupation of the province, had published, with more diplomatic skill than honesty, a proclamation to "the proud kingdom" which extolled its past history and recognized its rights, and the officials of the Austrian government being forced to leave their posts, the Chekhs had had at that time an opportunity of trying the autonomy which they had so long desired. Revolutionary pamphlets had been scattered by millions over the districts which were occupied by the enemy. The minds of the populace were all the more excited because the Chekhs had, at the beginning of the campaign, asked for arms with which to defend their country—a request which the government at Vienna had refused, because it had so little faith in their

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loyalty. As long as Austria had sought to find her centre of gravity outside her own dominions, in Germany or in Italy, she might defy the aspirations of her people with impunity, and defraud them of their ancient privileges on the plea that the modern empire required their sacrifice. But the moment had now come in which she had to pay for a policy which it had become impossible to maintain. The emperor Francis Joseph did not think there was any one among his subjects who could carry through the measures which had become necessary. Doubtless he feared that no Austrian could be found who would possess sufficient impartiality to enable him to reconcile so many diverse claims and conflicting interests. He therefore summoned Count Beust from Dresden, and made him minister of foreign affairs. Beust had up to this time held the same post in the kingdom of Saxony, and was the inventor of the German alliance to which Prussia had just put an end. Belcredi was still minister of the interior, but it was very well known that the Saxon baron had been sent for to arrange the final position of the Austro-Hungarian States. So we find Austria at the very moment when she was thrust out of the German confederation borrowing from Germany one of her leading statesmen !

Agreement with Hungary—The Dual Government (1867.)

Count Beust was a foreigner, and one fact alone seems to have struck him in the internal history of the country, and that was that in the years 1848 and 1849 the Hungarians had been able to organize a formidable revolt, that they had declared the rule of the Habsburgs at an end, and that without their help it would be quite impossible to found any lasting government. As a German, he could not be suspected of any sympathy with the Slavs. His advice was that an understanding should first of all be arrived at with the Magyars, and consequently the various diets were convoked for the 19th of November, 1866. The destinies of the empire were decided at Pesth, when the new minister made up his mind to

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treat only with the Hungarians. A saying is attributed to him which, whether it be true or false, exactly describes his policy; "Take care of your hordes," he said to an Hungarian statesman, "and we will take care of ours." The hordes of the Hungarians were the Croats, Servians, Roumanians, and Slovaks; the Austrian hordes were the Chekhs, the Slovenes, Dalmatians, Poles, and Ruthenians; on both sides a majority held in check by the coalition of two minorities. The *Ausgleich*, or agreement with Hungary, was arranged by a committee of sixty-seven members of the Hungarian diet, at the head of whom was the Franklin of Hungary, Francis Deak, that true patriot and inexorable legist, who had taken no part in the revolutions, but who had never given up one of the smallest of the rights of his country.

A committee of sixty-seven first of all demanded that the sovereign should recognize the political individuality of Hungary by giving to her a special ministry, and the continuity of her historical rights by being crowned as his predecessors had been. Both these points were granted without discussion.

On the 18th of February, 1867, the diet learned that a ministry had been formed, and that its president was that count Julius Andrassy who had been one of the emigrants of 1849. A few days before that date, Belcredi, the federalist minister, had sent in his resignation. On the 8th of June, the emperor Francis Joseph was crowned with great pomp at Pesth. On the 28th of the following June, he approved the decisions of the diet, which settled the position of Hungary with regard to *the other countries belonging to his majesty*, and modified some portions of the laws of 1848. The following is a short summary of this important document, which officially recognized the dual government, and is still the charter of the Austrian empire.

The first articles enumerate the general rights of the kingdom as contained in the act of inauguration and the coronation oath; the king excuses himself for not having, "owing to

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circumstances," being earlier crowned, and renews the engagements of his predecessors in all that concerns the constitution, independence, privileges, and territorial integrity of Hungary. He then states that he is to exercise the executive power himself, that of the palatine is to come to an end, and the election of a new palatine is to be indefinitely postponed. (The office had become, in fact, a useless piece of machinery, now that there was a responsible cabinet settled at Pesth.) That if the diet shall be dissolved before voting the budget, then a new diet must be convoked within the year. That the defence of the integrity of the empire is to be considered the common business of Hungary and all the other states of the empire, just as foreign affairs are common to all; but that the Hungarian diet alone is to have the right of voting the Hungarian contingent. The finances, so far as concern the army and foreign affairs, are to be common. The relative financial liabilities of Austria and Hungary are to be arranged by negociation between the diet at Pesth and the parliament of Vienna. Hungary is only to enter into relations with constitutional governments, it is therefore necessary that the other nationalities shall be legally represented in a legislative assembly. A special ministry is to be created to deal with affairs common to the whole empire. Hungary does not recognize the central parliament, but is to treat with the other countries on a footing of perfect equality. She is to choose a delegation from her two chambers, who are to arrange, with a delegation from the parliament "of the other countries," all common affairs. The two delegations shall meet alternately at Vienna and Pesth; they shall discuss public business in writing, and each shall use whatever language suits it, and the same number of members shall always be sent by the two diets. The common ministry is to be equally subject to the two bodies of delegates, whose special business is the discussion of the common budget. The decisions of the delegates are to be published in Hungary by the national ministers. The right of initiative is to belong to both bodies of delegates.

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If either of the two parliaments is dissolved, its delegation is *ipso facto* dissolved also. Hungary is not to be responsible for debts contracted without the consent of the diet. The country is to be ready, however, to accept her share of the common debt after free discussion. The Hungarian diet is to have the right of concluding commercial treaties with the other countries of the monarchy; exercising this power it accepts the Austrian customs union, whose revenues are applied to the common defence of the empire. The coinage is to be uniform, but Hungary reserves the right to use her own language on the coins.

In virtue of one of the articles quoted above, Hungary took over thirty per cent. of the common debt.

Such was the agreement (*Ausgleich*) which the obstinate wisdom of Francis Deak forced the two parties to accept. This upright citizen, whose name is associated with one of the most important documents in the national history, would accept neither dignities nor honours. He even refused a portfolio in the new Hungarian ministry, and contented himself with remaining the leader of the moderate party in the diet, the party desirous of maintaining the privileges both of the Hungarians and of the dynasty, and the integrity of the Austrian empire.

One consequence of the reconciliation was a general amnesty for Hungary; but Kossuth, who had once proclaimed the fall of the Habsburg dynasty, refused to take advantage of it, and remained a voluntary exile in Italy.

There is no doubt that the triumph of Francis Deak was the triumph of a good cause, defended with courage, honesty, and perseverance, and liberal Europe did well when she applauded it. But the brilliant picture has more than one shadow. With their usual selfishness, the Magyars thought of no one but themselves. They have had recourse to measures far from legitimate, in order to reduce to obedience some of the races, such as the Croats, who proved refractory to their leadership; and they used their victory as a means

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for enabling them to oppress with harsh laws the Roumanians, Servians, and Slovaks, whose grievances have reached Western Europe repeatedly through the press. All the non-Magyar races have remained in a kind of serfdom, except the Croats, who, thanks to the strength of their historical claims, have succeeded in obtaining a fair share of self-government and a special ministry at Pesth. But to keep these people down, the Hungarians are obliged to ally themselves with the Austrian Germans, for they know that the emancipation of the Slavs of Bohemia, Carinthia, and Carniola would give moral force to the Servians and Slovaks which might be turned against their rulers at any moment.

Since the *Ausgleich* the empire has consisted of two parts—the kingdom of Hungary and "the kingdoms and countries represented in the *Reichsrath*, or the other lands belonging to his Majesty," as is said in official documents. For the sake of clearness, political language has been increased by the invention of two new terms, "Cisleithania" and "Transleithania," to describe the two groups, separated a little below Vienna by a small affluent of the Danube, called the Leitha—a stream which never expected to become so celebrated. The empire possesses three ministries. The Hungarian ministry at Pesth consists of a president of the council, and ministers of the court, of public worship and education, of public works, of finance, of justice, of agriculture, of the interior, and of the defence of the country. The Cisleithanian ministry, which has its seat in Vienna, consists of the same members, with the exception of the minister of the court; while the common cabinet is made up of the ministers of war, finance, and foreign affairs alone. A special cabinet was created later on for Croatia and Slavonia, as a recognition of their rights of self-government.

Slav Protests against the Dual Government.

Though the work of reconciliation between Hungary and the sovereign was accomplished so easily, we must not suppose that it was equally easy in "the other countries belonging to

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his Majesty." The diets of Cisleithania had been convoked at the same time as that of Pesth, but they were not consulted, as the Hungarian diet had been, as to the form they would wish to give to their connection with the sovereign and the other nations of the empire, but were simply invited to send deputies to a *Reichsrath* which was shortly to meet at Vienna. This was deciding the question beforehand. If the Magyars could refuse to allow themselves to be absorbed into one sole monarchy, the Slavs had quite as much right to protest against a government of close centralization, such as was now offered to them. It was quite true that the Germans were sure to like such an arrangement, which favoured their pretensions, especially as the electoral law of Schmerling secured their ascendency in a great part of the empire; and the Galician Poles, possessing no historical rights, and seeing their fellow-countrymen worse treated in Prussia and Russia, might fairly hope to be better off if they submitted to the laws of count Beust; therefore both Germans and Galicians consented to send deputies to Vienna. But the Chekhs of Bohemia and Moravia, and the Slovenes of Carniola were desirous of affirming their separate existence, and refused to join the new parliament. In the Bohemian diet Rieger pointed out the dangers of the dual government and a Germanizing policy with talent and energy. The sympathy which ever since the events of 1863, had been felt for the Poles by the Bohemians was very much cooled by the adhesion of Galicia to count Beust's policy, and some of the most eminent men in Bohemia and the other Slav countries, dreading the triumph of the German policy, made advances to Russia, in whom they thought they saw their only possible protector from German greed. When an ethnographical exhibition was held in Moscow, in 1867, and some of the leading Slavs went to it, their journey was much talked of both in the Austrian empire and the rest of Europe. This Slav congress in Moscow was considered by some people as similar to the one which had been held in Prague, in 1848, but which, owing to the disturbances of the time, had

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failed to obtain any results. However that may be, it is certain that had the Austrian empire broken up at that time the Chekhs would not have hesitated to prefer Russia, who had never done them any harm, to Germany, who was their hereditary enemy. Meantime the Slavs of Bohemia and Moravia observed a policy of passive opposition to the parliament at Vienna, obstinately refusing to send deputies to the *Reichsrath.* Such a policy had been successful with the Magyars, and the Chekhs claimed for the kingdom of St. Vacslav exactly the same rights as those that belonged to the kingdom of St. Stephen. These questions of nationality and historical rights were, however, not well understood in Western Europe, and the abstention of the Chekhs was attributed to a dislike of parliamentary institutions.

The Cisleithanian ministry, presided over by count Beust, while it entirely ignored the claims of the various nationalities, proceeded to bring forward a series of liberal measures which earned the good opinion of the whole of Europe, and made certain politicians in other lands demand "liberty such as they have in Austria." Foreigners only saw the liberal measures which received the signatures of the new cabinet; they never troubled their heads to find out whether they were actually carried out in practice, or if they were in accordance with the real wishes of the various nations which made up the empire. The very existence of these nations was hardly known, and generally completely ignored. In the French chamber, in 1866, a well-known statesman might be heard pleading the cause of Austria, "which contained," he said, "fifteen millions of Germans." He considered the Chekhs of Bohemia and Moravia as Germans, as well as the Slovenes of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Istria, who had been forced into the German confederation against their will, and who were anxious to leave it at the first opportunity.

The fundamental law of the 21st of December, 1867, on the rights of citizens in the kingdoms and countries represented in the *Reichsrath*, has often been quoted as a model of liberal

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legislation. It confirms all the main rights of citizens before the law, the inviolability of the domicile, the rights of association, and freedom of conscience; and it includes one article (No. 19) which runs thus: "All the races of the empire are on a footing of equality, and each one of the nations severally has a right that the inviolability of its nationality and language shall be secured. The equality of all languages used in the empire for purposes of administration, for schools, and public life is recognized by the state. In those countries which are occupied by different races, all public educational establishments ought to be so arranged that every citizen may be able to make use of all the means necessary for instruction without being obliged to learn a second language." This law, which would never be needed in a country, such as France or Italy, made up of one race only, is most needful in such a polyglot country as Cisleithania. It has never been carried out loyally. The Chekhs of Bohemia asked in vain for a Slav university;[1] the Slovenes saw their primary schools placed in the hands of German and Italian masters. Such a state of things was all the more surprising because, when the government thus encouraged the encroachments of one race on another, it really encouraged, without being aware of it, those covetous desires of its German and Italian neighbours of which it could not be ignorant.

Liberal Reforms.

The first parliamentary ministry of Cisleithania was formed on the 30th of December, 1867, under the presidency of Prince Charles of Auersperg. It was made up of eight Germans and one Pole, Count Potocki. Its first work was to free Austria from the clerical and ultramontane yoke under which she had lain since 1855. The concordat was denounced. A marriage law decided that marriages could be contracted before the civil authorities, in case of the refusal of a competent priest to solemnize them, and that all disputes con-

[1] Their request has been granted in the last few years.

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cerning marriages must be tried before the ordinary courts. Then followed a law concerning schools which freed education from the authority of the Church, but as this law encroached on the powers of self-government possessed by the provincial diets, it was not voted without difficulty, the Federalists, the Poles, Slovenes, and Tyrolese, withdrawing from the *Reichsrath* on the occasion; thanks, however, to the electoral system of Schmerling, the German deputies were still sufficiently numerous to enable the assembly to continue its deliberations.

A law regulating relations between members of different religious bodies, especially in the matter of mixed marriages, was next voted (May 25, 1868). The court of Rome and some members of the higher Austrian clergy protested against these measures, but the government persisted in them, and even summoned before the courts some of the bishops, whose pastoral letters had urged their flocks to disobey them. These energetic measures were accompanied by financial, judicial, and military reforms. Trial by jury was restored, even in cases in which the press was concerned; but we shall see later on how this great reform was made of no effect among the races who were opposed to the dual government.

A financial law was also brought forward by one of the ministers, M. Brestl, which unified the national debt, and increased the tax on coupons twenty per cent. The credit of Austria in foreign countries was seriously injured by this measure. A military law which was passed in November, 1868, placed the army on the same footing as that of Prussia; it was in future to contain 800,000 men in time of war, and 255,000 in time of peace. Every citizen, except those on the military frontiers, where the old arrangements still continued, was to have three years of effective service, to be five years in the reserves, and two in the *landwehr*. A force of volunteers serving for one year was introduced, and the efficiency of the whole army increased by the use of the breech-loading rifle. In the years 1870–1871 the war office was completely reorganized.

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The Resistance of Bohemia—The Declaration of 1868.

But all these useful reforms must not close our eyes to the prolonged struggle of the races and provinces to preserve their old laws and their right of self-government against the attacks of the new centralized administration of Vienna. Bohemia, which had never been consulted at the time of the agreement with Hungary, and which yet believed itself to possess exactly the same rights, had never ceased to protest against what had been done, and in 1867, as we have already seen, the Chekhs refused to send deputies to Vienna. As soon as the right of public meeting was admitted, enormous gatherings were held, at which they claimed the restoration of their old privileges, and in 1868 the emperor Francis Joseph came to Prague and had interviews with the chiefs of the national party, Palacky, Rieger, and Clam-Martinitz; these interviews, however, led to no solution of the difficulty. Before the jury law was passed ministers showed themselves without mercy for the Bohemian press, and when it had passed a curious state of things was produced. Juries in Chekh towns did not fail to acquit their fellow-countrymen, so the newspaper-writers were sent by the government to be tried before juries in German towns, such as Reichenberg and Leitmeritz, where the incriminated articles could not even be read in the original. When the provincial diets were convoked, the Chekhs, who, ever since the passing of the electoral law of Schmerling, had been kept in a factitious minority, refused to attend, and issued a manifesto, known by the name of the Declaration, which remains to this day as the expression of their claims.

This declaration of the Chekh deputies was dated August 22, 1868, and is composed of eight articles, which may be thus summed up: I. Between Bohemia and the sovereign there exist mutual rights and duties which are equally binding on both parties. II. Austria is not one undivided kingdom. The kingdom of Bohemia is attached to the rest of the empire by a purely personal tie. III. No alteration in this state of

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things can be made except by a new contract between the kingdom and the dynasty. IV. No assembly, *Reichsrath*, or chamber of deputies, foreign to Bohemia can impose on the kingdom the debts of the empire or any other public burdens. V. The Hungarians have a right to treat with the sovereign concerning their own interests, but not those of Bohemia. VI. Cisleithania is a division of the country which has no historical foundation, and Bohemia is not bound to send deputies to a Cisleithanian assembly. VII. The constitutional questions now pending between the sovereign and the Bohemian nation ought to be regulated by common agreement, and the representatives of the political Bohemian nation should be chosen "on the basis of a just electoral law and an honest election." The Slav deputies of the Moravian diet published a similar declaration soon after. They declared that the *Reichsrath* had no power to decide what were the rights of the various races and kingdoms, nor what were the relations which, in accordance with these rights, existed between them. "The dual government," they said, "is founded neither on historical nor political rights. No deputy from the margravate of Moravia has had any right to enter into any arrangement with the *Reichsrath* on behalf of this land"—it must be understood that they were German deputies who were in question—"nor to give up the legislative power and political rights of the Moravian diet to the parliament of any other country. The constituent power of the *Reichsrath* is based on a manifest violation of ancient laws, and its decisions are null and void. No arrangement is possible unless it is founded on our historical rights, and is entered into by the sovereign in agreement with our lawfully constituted and elected diet." In accordance with this declaration, the Chekh deputies of Moravia refused to take any part in the diet held at Brno (Brünn), as they considered that it was not a "lawfully constituted and elected diet."

The fifth centenary of the birth of John Hus, in July, 1868, afforded an opportunity for further manifestations of the

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national feeling, and the crisis reached such a point that the government proclaimed Prague in a state of siege, and it remained so down to April 29, 1869. Those who had signed the declaration were re-elected in Bohemia as well as in Moravia for the diet of this year. Finding that it was impossible to get the Chekhs and Moravians to the parliament at Vienna, the government now hit upon the plan of having the deputies for the *Reichsrath* elected directly by the electors, and not by the diets; but this measure was not tried until a good deal later on, and when it was tried it did not produce the desired effect. On several occasions successive cabinets made offers based on the existing constitution to the leaders of the national party, but it was precisely this constitution which the Chekhs refused to accept. They insisted on the terms proposed in the declaration, and things remained in this state down to the time of the Franco-German war.

The Galician Resolution (1868)—*The Insurrection of the Bocchese* (1869).

In Galicia, the Poles and Ruthenians possessed no historical rights in the monarchy, and had no contract with the dynasty to invoke; they were consequently more conciliatory than the Chekhs. Notwithstanding the efforts of the Smolka party, which was desirous of entering into a close alliance with the latter, the diet of Lwow (Lemberg), under the influence of Goluchowski, had voted for the sending of their deputies to the *Reichsrath*, and by so doing had recognized the new constitution. Most of the Poles only looked upon themselves as temporary guests within the Austrian monarchy, and troubled themselves little about the interests of other countries or races. Whilst waiting for better times they did all they could to obtain the best terms possible for themselves, and they looked forward to making Galicia merely the basis on which to restore the Poland of their dreams. There was, however, a federalist and democratic party amongst them, and this party expressed its views in a resolution something like

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the declaration of the Chekhs. In September, 1868, they drew up the following programme: Deputies to the *Reichsrath* can be nominated by the diet only; the central government has no power to order direct elections; the Galician deputies can take no part in the deliberations of the *Reichsrath* except on matters common to Galicia and the Cisleithanian countries; the diet alone has power to decide all questions concerning the commerce of the country, its finance, rights of citizenship, laws concerning foreigners, education, justice, and administration; Galicia must have a supreme court of appeal; and she demands a separate government, which shall be responsible to her diet, and a responsible ministry.

There is no need to say that these claims were all rejected by the Germans, who, thanks to the electoral system which we have already explained, formed the factitious majority of the *Reichsrath.* When submitted to this assembly, in 1869, they were met by the previous question. The Ruthenian deputies also opposed them, because they dreaded lest the Poles should become too powerful, and looked for support from an energetic central power. In the eastern extremity of the empire also, numerous meetings were held by the Slovenes, who demanded the formation of a kingdom of either Slovenia or of Illyria, which should include Trieste, Istria, Gorica, Gradisca, Carniola, Southern Carinthia, and Southern Styria. The struggle was not less lively in the diet of Zara in Dalmatia, between the Italian ministry, supported by the government which was everywhere hostile to the Slavs, and the representatives of the Servo-Croats. Towards the end of 1869 an insurrection broke out in the Bocche de Cattaro. The Servians of this district are a warlike race, very like the men of Montenegro. They refused to allow the new law about the *landwehr* to be carried out. They were ready to take up arms in defence of their mountains, but they refused to allow themselves to be enrolled in the regular army and to be turned into *kaiserliks.* They took up arms. A state of siege and martial law were in vain proclaimed, nor could the resources of strategy employed by two

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Austrian generals succeed in reducing these able marksmen to obedience. General Rodich, a countryman of their own, was, however, more successful; he subdued the Bocchese more by persuasion than by force, and the revolt, in which many lives had been lost, was terminated by the amnesty of December, 1869.

Grievances of the Servians, Croats, and Roumanians against the Hungarians.

In Hungary itself the Magyars displayed great harshness towards the races who had been sacrificed to them by the *Ausgleich*. M. de Laveleye has said, with great acuteness, "The Hungarians can only see what they wish to see; to everything else they are blind." The Croats had always been dissatisfied with the conditions which the Magyars endeavoured to impose on them, and in 1866 their diet had passed a number of resolutions declaring that Croatia would give up no portion of her right to self-government, that she had no longer any intention of sending her representatives to the Hungarian diet, but that she should treat directly with the sovereign. In consequence of this they refused to send any deputies to the diet at Pesth, whereupon the Magyars twice dissolved the diet of Zagreb (Agram), first in January, and then in May, 1867. The Croat diet on its side refused to vote the measures proposed at Pesth, and protested against the annexation by Hungary of the port of Fiume, a place which was claimed by each of the kingdoms. Bishop Strossmayer, who was the soul of the opposition in Croatia, and who afterwards took so distinguished a part in the council of the Vatican, was in consequence sent into exile; and a man of doubtful character, whose name had been associated with some scandalous speculations,' was appointed *locum tenens banalis* of Croatia. The Hungarian government finally had recourse to an expedient which recalls the measures employed by Schmerling; they altered the law concerning elections for the diet, and so obtained a subservient assembly, which enabled them

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to carry out their designs. The majority which they obtained by this manœuvre concluded a treaty with the Magyars, which, however, could only be of a merely temporary character and had to be subsequently modified; by it the Croats agreed to send thirty-one deputies to the parliament at Pesth; to have no responsible minister of their own at Pesth; to consent that the ban at Zagreb (Agram) should exercise only executive authority, without adding military to civil power; and that the Croatian taxes should be paid into the Hungarian treasury, with the exception of 2,200,000 florins, which were to be kept for the needs of Croatia. A certain amount of autonomy was still left to the country, but it felt itself deeply injured by the alterations which had been made in the diet, by the character of the ban appointed to rule over it, and by the persecutions inflicted on every organ of the national party. The reign of terrorism was so complete at Zagreb that independent newspapers had to be published in Vienna. Later on, in 1873, Croatia obtained a more equitable arrangement and a responsible ministry at Pesth.

But even now the grievances of the Croats against the Magyars are far from being at an end, and they must exist so long as Hungary continues to treat as she does the Servians, Slovaks, and Roumanians. While the Magyars repress the Slav and Roumanian races they give the Germans complete freedom. What Germans are allowed to do is shown by the fact that immediately after the Franco-Prussian War in 1861, a review clothed in the colours of the German empire made its appearance at Pozsony (Pressburg). It was proudly entitled *Die Deutsche Wacht an der Donau* ("The German Watch on the Danube"), and was the counterpart of "The Watch on the Rhine." In consequence of the agreement of 1867, the office of the Servian *voiévode* has been suppressed, and the Servian lands have been incorporated once more in the kingdom of St. Stephen. The Magyars have done everything in their power to make the land Hungarian in feeling, and even pretend that the Servians are nothing more than a religious sect. They

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oblige them to attend Magyar schools, and have persecuted the Servian newspaper, *Zastava*, whose editor, Miletic, has had to pass part of his life in prison, in spite of his inviolability as one of the deputies to the parliament at Pesth.

The *Omladina*, a literary society of Servian students, and the *Matitsa*, a society for the publication of Servian books, have both been the objects of harsh measures. Among the Slovaks the higher schools have been closed and the *Matitsa* suppressed; these measures have been justified on the plea of Panslavism, but they left behind them a feeling of profound irritation.

The Roumanians have not been any more fortunate than the Slavs. On May 15, 1868, they held a meeting near Blasin, in memory of the one held twenty years before on the same spot. On this occasion they once more demanded their recognition as a nation by the side of the Szeklers, Saxons, and Magyars; but the diet at Pesth, when it annexed Transylvania to Hungary as a mere province of that kingdom, completely put an end to all their hopes.

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CHAPTER XXXVI.

AUSTRO-HUNGARY FROM 1867–1878.

Efforts towards Federation—The Hohenwart Ministry (1871).

As might have been expected, the *Ausgleich* of 1867 only satisfied the Magyars and the German population of Austria; the Poles of Galicia put up with it as a merely temporary arrangement, while doing all in their power to make it subservient to their plans for the future; all the other races made no secret of their dislike towards it. The position of the cabinet of Cisleithania was extremely difficult, as disputes continually arose in the *Reichsrath*, and deputies from Tyrol, Galicia, and Slavonia in turn refused to sit in the assembly. One ministry succeeded another in rapid succession. One of them, under the leadership of Potocki, tried to bring in a measure which was meant to satisfy the federalist party, while at the same time endeavouring to maintain the constitution of 1867. It proposed that the upper chamber should be composed of members elected by the various diets; while the *Reichsrath* should be made up of deputies chosen by direct election. This arrangement would have given some recognition to the sentiment of nationality, but it came to nothing, and the position of affairs was soon still further complicated by the breaking out of the Franco-German War. The military condition of Austria at the time was not such as to justify her either in rendering aid to France or in taking revenge on Prussia or Sadowa. The government was left in the hands of

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the German majority, who applauded the success of their Prussian compatriots, and celebrated the praises of the new Germany in newspapers inspired by Berlin. The Magyars also for the most part rejoiced in the Prussian victories, as they believed that if Cisleithania were only once absorbed into the Greater Germany, they would have their hands free for the realization of all their ambitious dreams for their own country.

Things were in this position when the emperor deemed it advisable to place at the head of affairs a cabinet which was to attempt to carry out a federalist policy (February, 1871). Count Hohenwart, governor of Upper Austria, was its leader. He at once proceeded to give two of the portfolios to Chekhs, naming M. Jirecek minister of education, and M. Habetinek minister of justice, two appointments which left no doubt as to the policy of the new cabinet: evidently its first object was to satisfy Bohemia. But the task before them was a hard one; they had to deprive the Germans of that supremacy which, owing to the actual condition of the law of election, was theirs without dispute, and to do so they must quarrel with Germans at home and abroad. One of the leaders of the German party exclaimed in the very *Reichsrath* itself, "To grant Bohemia what might be granted to Galicia would be to reduce two millions of Germans to the position of the Ruthenians. *But it must not be forgotten that these Germans are the relatives of a great people who are their near neighbours.*" Another orator said, "We have not conquered at Sedan in order to become the *helots* of the Chekhs;" while some of the newspapers drew comparisons between Bohemia and Schleswig, and alluded plainly to the part to be played by Prussia as liberator.

Negociations with Bohemia—The Fundamental Articles.

In spite of all this, Count Hohenwart set bravely to work. He placed himself in communication with Rieger and Palacky, the political leaders of Bohemia, and presented to the *Reichsrath* a new law, which enlarged the powers of the provincial diets and granted them the initiative in legislative matters. There

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is no need to say this proposal was rejected. A little later he proposed a special law for Galicia, which embodied most of the principal points of the Galician *Resolution;* and when called upon to state if he intended to bring forward similar measures for the other provinces, he frankly declared that if Bohemia would be satisfied with the same concessions which he was prepared to make to Galicia, he should not hesitate to offer them to her. This was the signal for a general outbreak. The Germans in the *Reichsrath* voted an address to the emperor, in which they declared that the cabinet no longer enjoyed their confidence (May 26). The sovereign replied by proroguing both the Viennese chambers, and on the 12th of August the *Reichsrath* was dissolved. The provincial diets were summoned for the following 14th of September. In the meantime official negociations were carried on between Vienna and Prague, and a scheme was drawn up by Count Clam Martinitz and Rieger, who has played a part in Bohemia similar to that of Deak in Hungary, and on this scheme the final reconciliation of Bohemia with constitutional government was to be based. Both the emperor and his cabinet showed themselves prepared to make important concessions. On the 14th of September the Bohemian diet was opened with a message from the king. The Chekhs, who had been absent for some years, now took their seats, and, thanks to the new elections, in which for the first time the government had not falsified the votes, they had a majority, even in spite of the electoral law of Schmerling. The royal message promised that the rights of the kingdom of Bohemia should be recognized, and that the coronation should take place; it then invited the diet to say by what means a cordial agreement could be brought about between the kingdom and the rest of the monarchy. "Recognizing the political importance of the crown of Bohemia," said the emperor, "calling to mind the renown and glory which that crown has conferred upon our predecessors, and full of gratitude for the fidelity with which the Bohemian nation has supported our throne, we are ready to recognize the rights of the kingdom and to

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repeat this recognition by the coronation oath." This declaration was received with enthusiastic joy by Bohemia, Moravia, and Carniola, but excited great wrath among the Germans. Measures embodying a new law of election, and another concerning the various nationalities, were laid before the diet, whereupon the German deputies immediately protested and quitted the house. A commission was, however, appointed to draw up a definite scheme which should settle the relations of the kingdom of Bohemia with the rest of the Austro-Hungarian empire, and the *Fundamental Articles* were the result of its labours. These were unanimously agreed to by the diet and then forwarded to Vienna, after which the assembly broke up to await the reply of the sovereign.

According to these *Fundamental Articles*, Bohemia, like Hungary, was to be represented by delegates, who were to be chosen by the diet at Prague, and not by the *Reichsrath*, and these delegates were to vote on all the business common to the empire. All communications with the other Cisleithanian states were to be carried on by means of these deputies. Bohemia was to have full powers of self-government, and the only matters which were to be considered the common affairs of the monarchy were war, foreign affairs, and trade. A senate composed of members nominated by the emperor was to settle all differences which might arise between the various kingdoms and states of the empire. And, finally, the representation of the towns and rural communities was to be considerably increased, a measure which would secure to the Chekh nation that influence in the kingdom which belonged to it by right both of its numbers and its past history. The diet of Moravia accepted these *Fundamental Articles*, and at the same time demanded the establishment, or rather the re-establishment, of a special chancery for the countries of St. Vacslav. All the Slavs of the empire ardently longed for the success of a policy which must lead Austria towards federation, and put an end to the supremacy of the German and Magyar races.

It was not surprising that the scheme of Messrs. Rieger

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and Clam Martinitz roused the utmost anger of both the Germans and the Magyars. We have already pointed out why the Magyars dreaded Slavism. As for the Austrian-Germans, there were very few among them who put in practice the old maxim of Francis II., "*Justitia erga omnes nationes est fundamentum Austriæ.*" Many of them longed for a Greater Germany, and would have welcomed the destruction of that nation of Chekhs which so obstinately stood in the way between Vienna and Berlin, and which, as was often said, was a thorn in the flesh of Germany (*ein Pfahl in deutschen Fleische*).

Federation checked.

Although, according to the treaty of Prague, Austria was never to meddle with the internal affairs of Germany, the same rule has by no means been observed by Germany as regards Austria; Berlin statesmen have continued to bestow the same jealous attention on their kinsmen on the Upper Elbe and the Danube as they formerly bestowed on their brethren in Schleswig and Alsace. By the help of a portion of the Viennese press, they had never ceased to advocate the claims of the Germans in the empire, while the numerous interviews between the emperors for which the baths of Gastein offered a convenient excuse, presented opportunities for the interchange of plans in which German interests certainly were less frequently sacrificed than those of Austria. In the summer of 1871 these interviews were unusually frequent, taking place at Ischl, Salzburg, and Gastein; the emperor of Austria had repeated conversations with the emperor of Germany, and count Bismarck with count Andrassy. The whole German and Magyar influence was thus brought to bear against the hopes of Bohemia, and to such a coalition the emperor Francis Joseph thought himself obliged to yield. The first step backwards was taken by the government when it declared that the *Fundamental Articles* must be submitted to the approaching *Reichsrath*. To all who knew how that assembly was com-

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posed, the result of such a step could not be doubtful. M. Rieger went to Vienna, and made a final effort to get the sovereign to fulfil his engagements, but, less fortunate than Deak, he failed in his attempt. In spite of this he received a most enthusiastic reception when he returned to Prague. In November, 1871, the minister Hohenwart sent in his resignation; Count Beust—for reasons which still remain obscure—was relieved of his office of chancellor, and sent as ambassador to London; and Andrassy, head of the Hungarian cabinet, was nominated to his post, thus securing the preponderance of the Magyar influence in the counsels of the empire.

All things being now ready, a new German ministry, presided over by A. Auersperg, forced the king to break the promises he had made with Bohemia, and simply invited the diet of Prague to send deputies to the *Reichsrath*. Persecutions of the Slav press began again with renewed vigour, and a spectacle was seen such as had never before occurred in any country in the world—the police publicly destroying copies of the imperial manifesto which recognized the rights of Bohemia and promised to renew them in the coronation oath. The Bohemian diet, refusing to treat with any other person than their lawful king, was dissolved, as were also the other assemblies (November 25), and a new *Reichsrath* was summoned. Notwithstanding the absence of the whole body of federalists, a large enough number of deputies obeyed the summons to enable the sittings to take place, and the dual government was restored in full vigour.

Present State of Austro-Hungary—Economical Progress and Liberal Reforms.

Let us for a moment forget these painful and irritating conflicts between reasons of state policy and historical or national rights. The final conclusion we draw from our study of these conflicts is, that the present sovereign of Austro-Hungary has not yet completely succeeded in bringing to the various nations

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who compose his empire an era of justice or the satisfaction of their legitimate desires. One great and important fact has, however, been accomplished in his reign: Austria has ceased finally to seek for her centre of gravity outside herself; she has ceased to domineer over Germany or to interfere in the internal affairs of the new German empire. She has left, never more to return to it, the Italian peninsula, in which she used to waste so much of her military strength, her credit, and renown. She has been completely reconciled to the House of Savoy, and the friendly visits which have been exchanged between the monarchs at Venice and Vienna have cemented the friendship between the old monarchy and the new kingdom, whose interests are no longer opposed, and who can only gain by being friendly neighbours. It is quite true that there is still a party in Italy, the *Italiâ irredenta*, who demand the restoration of the districts of Trent, Trieste, Istria, and perhaps to-morrow may lay claim to Dalmatia itself. It is quite possible that the Italian portion of the Tyrol may some day attempt to return to Italy; but as regards her other provinces Austria has one very simple means of holding Italian greed in check; she has only to develop that Slavonic element which constitutes the numerical majority of the population, and which has no wish whatever to be absorbed into a foreign kingdom. Of all the states round Austria, Italy is the one who has now the strongest interest in the maintenance of the Habsburgs in their empire, and the one to whom their ruin would cause the greatest risk of danger. The renunciation of all claim on Italy by Austria may be looked upon as an event fortunate for both parties. She might be equally congratulated on having finally quitted Germany, if she had not kept in her midst a German minority who are greedy of influence, and who are always ready to sacrifice the interests of the non-German races to their own selfishness. This minority has made terms with the Hungarians because it despaired of ever being able to absorb them. It would be feeble enough if it were left to itself, but the connection, intellectual, political,

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and social, which it carefully keeps up with Greater Germany, still gives it a certain amount of vigour.

We can say nothing of the state of "Austrian civilization," owing to the composite character of the monarchy. The only unity possible to the various parts of the State in their general condition is that of economic situation, and even here we cannot describe it as especially Austrian, since it is common to Austria with many other countries, and many of the manufactures and railroads have, in fact, been set on foot by foreigners.

It must be acknowledged that for the last thirty years the central government have neglected nothing which could raise the several states to the highest pitch of economical prosperity. Numerous lines of railway have placed Vienna, Pesth, and Prague in communication with the most distant spots in the empire. Treaties of commerce and navigation have been concluded with France, England, and Russia, and international exhibitions have given evidence of the progress of industry. The one which was held at Vienna in 1873 was one of the most interesting of our time. It coincided, unfortunately, with a great financial disaster, a crash by which public credit was considerably shaken. Out of one hundred and forty-seven joint-stock banks, ninety-six failed in less than three years. As we have already said, Vienna had become since 1815 a city of banks and speculation. The institution of the lottery had encouraged a taste for stock-jobbing and speculation of all kinds among its inhabitants.

Strangers who have visited the capital both before and since this time have been able to give evidence of the many improvements which have been made in late years. The old fortifications have been destroyed, wide boulevards and squares have been constructed, and it has become one of the finest cities in Europe. Its example has been followed by Prague and Pesth. The courses of the Danube and of the Tisza (Theiss) have been regulated. The Austrian navy had been greatly improved under the influence of the archduke Maximilian

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and admiral Tegethoff, and obtained, to the surprise of the whole of Europe, an unexpected success at Lissa.[1] It has since undertaken several scientific explorations, among which the expedition of the frigate *Novara* deserves especial mention. It was carried out under the auspices of the archduke Maximilian and the command of Captain Wullersdorff the *Novara* visited many ports both in the New and Old Worlds, and collected much valuable material for the study of natural science. The steamship *Tegethoff* also made an expedition to the North Pole, under Messrs. Payer and Weyprecht, which was watched with interest by the whole of Europe. It left in June, 1872, and did not return till October, 1874, during which time it made its way to latitude 82° 5′, to the north of Nova Zembla and Spitzbergen, to lands whose existence had not before been known. Here it spent two winters in the ice. The brave sailors had been given up for lost, and on their return were received with enthusiastic marks of welcome by their countrymen.

When once the schools were withdrawn from clerical control, and education was carried on according to liberal ideas, public instruction made rapid progress; but not so rapid, however, as would have been the case had the various national tongues not had to contend against German and Italian, which had a constant tendency to supplant them. Two universities were founded—that of Zagreb (Agram) for the southern Slavs, and that of Czernowitz, which dates its creation from the centenary of the annexation of Bukovina (1875). From this time all the sciences have been taught both in Croatia and Hungary in the national languages. Bukovina, less fortunate, has had a German university bestowed upon it, which now forms the last landmark of German civilization on the borders of Russia. Two academies have also been founded, one at Zagreb, which place becomes more and more the Athens of Jugo Slavonia, and the other at Cracow. The latter owes its existence to the efforts of the minister Jirecek, and has become

[1] See p. 570.

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the great centre of literature and science among the Poles. The Faculty of Protestant Theology, the Fine Arts Academy, and the Polytechnic Institution of Vienna have all been reorganized, and treaties concerning copyrights have been signed with other countries.

If Austria were made up of one nation only, all speaking the same language, this would be a fitting opportunity in which to say a few words about the actual state of its literature; but the whole of our history of the empire serves to show that there can be no "Austrian" literature. The various languages have made unequal progress and manifested their genius in widely different ways. The German literature which flourishes at Vienna, Prague, and Pesth, is simply an offshoot or reflection of that of Germany. The Hungarian literature, which has its home at Pesth, is an original production of the Magyar soil and the Magyar turn of mind. The various Slavonic literatures, in spite of their common origin, are far from following the same lines. They have but few points of contact, and, as a rule, take very different paths. The Poles and Ruthenians of Galicia hold extremely divergent, and often even opposite, opinions. The Chekhs, whose intellectual superiority is incontestable, have not been able to impose their language on the Slovaks, and they on their part have a hard struggle to hold their own against the Magyars. The Croats try to make friends with both the Catholic Slovenians, and the Orthodox Servians. In the Slav town of Livow (Lemberg); in Cracow, among the Poles and Ruthenians; in Prague and Brno (Brünn), among the Chekhs and Moravians; Ljublanja (Laybach), among the Slovenians; Zagreb and Ragusa, among the Croats; and Novi Szad (Neusatz), among the Servians of Hungary, we find the most active intellectual life. We have already pointed out how much the destinies of the various nations have been influenced by the development of their literature, and we have no space in which to enumerate even the principal names of authors and their works.

During the second half of the reign of Francis Joseph,

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Austria has entirely abandoned the old absolutist principles of Ferdinand IV. and Francis II., and has taken her place among the liberal states of Europe. But, at the same time, it must never be forgotten that a large number of Austrian subjects have been deprived, by an electoral system whose mechanism we have already described, of the rights which seem to belong to them by virtue of the constitutional laws. Austria has proclaimed the liberty of the individual as a citizen, but not as a member of a particular nation or race. The nobles have lost their old privilege of freedom from military service; the peasant has ceased to be subject to the lord; trials are all oral and public; the penal code has been modified; trial by jury instituted; corporal punishment in the army and in the prisons abolished; Jews have been placed on an equality with other citizens, though usury has been restrained; and the military frontier has been deprived of its special government.

The constitution of December, 1867, in spite of all its defects, has brought with it a large number of liberal laws concerning the general rights of individuals, as, for example, those of individual liberty, the inviolability of the household, the right of association and public meeting, civil marriages, concerning also the relations between the Church and public education, and of the various religious sects among themselves. The Austria of the days of Francis II. and Metternich has passed away; but it certainly cannot be said that the present Austria is a really liberal empire. Until she has found out some means of granting the free use of the same rights to all her people, and has contrived to harmonize them in a well-balanced state, Austro-Hungary must remain a provisional state, and must possess a negative rather than positive influence on the affairs of Europe.

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The Eastern Question reopened—Uncertain Policy of Austria (1874–1878).

The weakness of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy has been shown more than once during recent events in the East. In 1874, an insurrection broke out among the Slavonic populations of Bosnia and Herzegovina belonging to the Servian and Croat stocks, the causes of which need only be sought in the bad government of the Turks. Austria, instead of boldly taking the part of the Christians and acting as their deliverer, was rendered quite helpless by her internal divisions and the pressure put upon her by her powerful neighbours, Russia and Prussia. The Triple Alliance, which was begun at the time of the first partition of Poland, had been renewed. In 1872, the three emperors had met at Berlin, and since that time the Oriental policy of the three cabinets remained more or less identical, Russia being the most important member of the alliance, and Austria the least important.

In 1874, the Austrian ministers, after direct negociation with Roumania, concluded a treaty of commerce with that state and an agreement relative to railroads. On the Porte protesting against this as a violation of its sovereign rights, the three governments of Austria, Russia, and Prussia agreed to disregard its remonstrances. "There will come a time," exclaimed Aarifi Pacha, "when it will become impossible for the will of man to restrain the torrent which a long series of broken treaties will let loose!"

From its very beginning the insurrection in Bosnia and Herzegovina caused serious difficulties to Austria. She had to contend with the ill-will of the Magyars and the restless jealousy of her allies. Hungary thought the Slavs already too numerous in the empire, and had no wish to see their numbers increased by the annexation of territory; they are always in dread of being overwhelmed by the Slavonic majority. It was the interest of Russia and Prussia not to allow their ally to enlarge her borders or increase her armies out of the war-

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like inhabitants of new districts. The policy of Austria after 1874 was most contradictory. At times she allowed the Turks to violate her territory and ravage the borders of Croatia with impunity; at times she forbade them to disembark arms and troops on their own territory at Klek. Her ambassador at Constantinople, in concert with General Ignatiev, obtained the promise of the Porte to carry out those famous reforms which she is always promising and never granting. The diplomatists who recommended them knew perfectly well they could never be carried out. Count Andrassy's note of January, 1876, did but formulate the wishes of the whole of civilized Europe, yet the conference held at Constantinople in December of the same year only served to show the powerlessness of diplomacy and the incorrigible obstinacy of the Porte. It became evident that the sword alone could cut through the difficulty; but the declaration of war against Turkey on the part of Servia and Montenegro only increased the difficulties of Austria. The Slavs called upon the empire to take part in the struggle, and followed with feverish interest the various phases of the heroic but fatally unequal struggle. The Hungarians on their side lost no opportunity of showing their hatred to the Servians and their sympathy for Turkey. When Abdul Kerim Pacha won the battle of Djunis over the Servians, a subscription was raised in Pesth to present to him a sword of honour. A Magyar deputation was sent to the *softas* or Mussulman students of Constantinople, to express the enthusiastic friendship of Hungary; and General Klapka, the old defender of Komarom, who had once offered his sword to Prussia against Austria, now placed his military experience at the service of the Porte. Soon after the *softas* came to Pesth to return the visit of their Magyar brothers, and the sultan, as a testimony of his gratitude to the Hungarians, sent back to the emperor king some remains of the great library of MSS. which had been formed by Matthias Corvinus, and had been pillaged by the Turks.[1] These indications of feeling, slight enough in them-

[1] See p. 243.

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selves, showed what were the feelings of the Hungarians towards Russia, and that the Magyars could not forgive Nicholas for the part he had taken in 1849. They also deeply offended the Slavs, who identified their cause with that of the Servians and Bulgarians. Some counter-manifestations took place at Prague in honour of the Russian general Tcherniaiev, but these were rigorously suppressed by the Austrian police.

At Pesth M. Andrassy was unable to restrain his violent fellow-countrymen, or make them understand that public demonstrations would not influence the foreign policy of the empire. He could not control the popular excitement, and even encouraged it by his own action. He caused the Servian Stratimirovic, one of the heroes of 1848, who had offered his sword to Prince Milan Obrenovic, to be arrested; and he had the journalist deputy, Miletic, thrown into prison on the charge of having wished success to his fellow-countrymen, and of having negociated a loan for their cause. In order to justify these extraordinary acts, old laws were appealed to which pronounce all those who shall supply arms to Turks or other *infidels* guilty of high treason!

And thus the monarchy, divided against itself, was forced to follow the lead of its two powerful allies, and, notwithstanding the enthusiasm of the Slavs and the indignation of the Magyars, had to be the passive observer of the triumph of Russia, who, after the fall of Plevna, marched with her victorious troops to the very gates of Constantinople. The treaty of San Stefano, which was afterwards modified by the congress of Berlin, proclaimed the independence of Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro, and increased their territory, while Bulgaria was made an independent principality, under the nominal suzerainty of the sultan, but under the actual control of Russia.

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CHAPTER XXXVII.

AUSTRO-HUNGARY FROM 1878 TO 1889.

The Occupation of Bosnia.

In consequence of arrangements which had been secretly entered into before the war, Austria was to receive some compensation for her accommodating neutrality, and this compensation took the form of that article in the treaty of Berlin (July 13, 1878) which called upon her to occupy the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina "to restore order in them." These were the provinces which had given the signal for the insurrection throughout the whole Balkan peninsula which had provoked the interference of Russia. They may have hoped that if they could only beat the Turks, they might become, like Bulgaria, an independent principality, or else might be allowed to form part of the neighbouring state of Servia or of Montenegro, either of which was so closely allied to them by race. They were little aware of the fate that awaited them. The preliminary treaty of San Stefano, which was signed on the 3rd of March, 1878, by Russia and Servia, had merely declared that to them should be applied "the ameliorations proposed by the conference of Constantinople, with such modifications as should be unanimously agreed upon by the Porte, Russia, and Austro-Hungary." The treaty of Berlin, which was signed in the July following by the representatives of all the great powers united in congress, decided the matter very differently.

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"The provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina," says Article Twenty-nine, "shall be occupied and governed by Austro-Hungary. The Austrian government, not wishing to undertake the administration of the *sandjak* of Novibazar, which extends between Servia and Montenegro to the south-east, as far as Mitrovitza, the administration shall there remain in the hands of the Turkish government. Nevertheless, in order that the new political situation may be maintained, and that the means of communication may be free and safe, Austro-Hungary reserves the right of keeping garrisons, and of having military and commercial roads in all this portion of the old *vilayet* of Bosnia."

This last clause is of great importance. The *sandjak* of Novibazar is that portion of Bosnia which separates Servia from the principality of Montenegro. It was very strongly the interest of the government at Vienna to isolate the two Servian principalities whose territory had been increased by the treaty of Berlin, and who might at any moment become desirous of joining forces against the Turks. In consequence of this clause, any such common action, whether against Turkey or Austro-Hungary itself, became impossible. Austro-Hungary held Montenegro by her command of the gulf of Cattaro, and Servia by the Danube; her occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina quite put an end to the hopes of those Servian or Montenegrin patriots who had hoped to see a Slav monarch on the throne of the Czar Douchan. Had they succeeded in forming such an empire it must have become the centre of attraction to the Slav provinces of Dalmatia and Croatia, as well as to the Servians of Novi-Szad and Temesvar. Austria thus averted a serious danger by stifling in their germ these hopes of the Servian patriots; but a feeling of deep disappointment was produced in Belgrade and Zettinje. Many patriots would have willingly sacrificed all the advantages accorded to the two principalities by the treaty of Berlin, if only they could have seen the *statu quo ante bellum* re-established in Bosnia and Herzegovina in all its integrity. As

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for the two provinces still remaining to Turkey, the maxim *adversus hostem æterna auctoritas* would always have been true; pretexts would never have been wanting to the Servians and Montenegrins to justify intervention on their parts for the deliverance of their Slav brethren; but all such opportunities passed away the moment Austria undertook to introduce the principles of religious tolerance, of equality of race, and an European administration of affairs.

Leaving on one side the interests of Servia, Montenegro, and, perhaps, those of the Bosnians and Herzegovinians themselves, this clause in the treaty of Berlin might have consequences of the gravest import to the whole Balkan peninsula and the peace of Europe. Up to that moment no foreign power had inherited the spoils of Turkey — at any rate in Europe. The revolutions of Servia, of Greece, Roumania, and Bulgaria, had profited none but the Servians, the Greeks, Roumanians, and Bulgarians. Russia, after having reached the very gates of Constantinople, had retired with praiseworthy disinterestedness, and in exchange for all her sacrifices had obtained nothing but a few remote and unimportant advantages. But a new principle was now proclaimed by Europe, namely, that the provinces of the Ottoman empire might at any moment be claimed by the various European powers. If Austria established herself in Bosnia and Herzegovina, why should not Italy seek to do the same in Albania, Russia in the territory immediately below the Balkans, and England in Constantinople?—a grave problem, which is not yet solved, but which will certainly force itself into prominence some day with serious risk to the cause of justice and of peace. The only equitable solution of the Eastern question is that which assures to each and every of the peoples, so recently under the dominion of the Turk, the peaceable and complete possession of that soil which is theirs by every right conferred by history or race.

Moreover, Article Twenty-nine of the treaty of Berlin raises further apprehensions of disturbance. When we find

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Austro-Hungary established in the *sandjak* of Novibazar, at the head of the railway and the military road which run from Mitrovitza to Salonica by the valley of the Vardar, we cannot help fearing that Viennese statesmen dream of some day seizing this highway, and so securing most valuable outlets into the Egean Sea and the East.[1] But the forcible possession of Salonica could not be effected without seriously disturbing the equilibrium of the Balkan peninsula, and, as a natural consequence, of the peace of Europe.

The moment Austria was in possession of the mandate, confided to it by the congress of Berlin, the government began to put it into execution. On the 31st of July and the 1st of August, 1878, the troops, commanded by field-marshal Joseph Filipovic, crossed the Save and entered the new domain of the empire. It was expected that the occupation would be effected without striking a blow, but difficulties wholly unlooked for were encountered.

The Mahomedan inhabitants of Bosnia, who joined the aristocracy of the country, could not see the links which bound them to their co-religionists in Constantinople snapped asunder without regret; they could not unconcernedly watch the reversal of a state of things by which they had profited for centuries, or reform abuses to which they owed all their prosperity. The Orthodox Greeks mourned for the loss of their hopes of union with the other Servian countries. The Catholics alone could feel any real sympathy with the Austrian occupation.

In order to take complete possession of the two provinces, one entire army corps, as well as a division of infantry, were put into requisition. The Turkish government could not officially refuse to obey the commands laid upon it by Europe, but it secretly conveyed arms, ammunition, and food to the Mahomedans in the two provinces. Several companies were

[1] It has been not unreasonably supposed that Prussia has a strong interest in forcing Austria towards the East, partly that it may be a check on Russia, partly that so the German elements of Cisleithania may be the more readily detached from it and annexed to Germany.

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soon organized under the command of a brave and fanatic chief, Hadji Loja, every strong man between the ages of fifteen and seventy being enlisted. A revolution broke out at Serajevo, and a provisional government was organized for the purpose of resisting the foreign occupation, with Hadji Loja for its head, under the title of First Patriot of the land. The Austrians had crossed the Save without meeting with any resistance, but as soon as they reached the first mountain defiles they found themselves confronted by well-armed troops, who thoroughly understood how to profit by those natural obstacles with which the country abounds. They were repulsed at Maglaj, and again at Gradac. They soon found out that they had before them, not merely a few hastily improvised bodies of militia, but twenty-six battalions of the Turkish army, provided with artillery, and that it was no mere show of military strength that would win the day. The inhabitants of the country for the most part fled from the towns, which they were powerless to defend against the cannon of the enemy, and took shelter among the natural fastnesses, from whence they were able to inflict considerable losses on the army of occupation. More than five thousand Austrians were killed, and it became needful to send for reinforcements. It was the 19th of August before they were able to take Serajevo; and even with the fall of the capital of Bosnia, hostilities did not cease, for war was still carried on among the mountains. Herzegovina was not completely occupied before the end of September, and Bosnia not until a month later, and before they could secure possession of the two provinces, the Austrians had been obliged to bring into the field three entire army corps, and to spend sixty-two millions of florins.

The occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, nothwithstanding its apparently temporary character, is evidently regarded as a definite conquest by Austro-Hungary. Though the sultan remains the nominal sovereign of the two provinces, yet it is Austro-Hungary who administers them, and most certainly she has no intention of abandoning her prize.

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Their possession opens to her, as we before had occasion to remark, the route to Salonica, and other large and important outlets for her commerce, and it secures safe and easy communication between Hungary and Dalmatia. In short, this last acquisition is ample compensation for the loss of Venice. The two provinces together measure 19,985 square miles (23,877 with the addition of the *sandjak* of Novibazar, occupied but not governed by Austria). They contain a population of about 1,400,000, all speaking Servian or Croatian dialects, but divided by religion into three groups—500,000 Mahomedans, 571,250 of the Orthodox Greek Church, and 265,710 Catholics. The various religious bodies maintain a tolerably even balance of power, and enable Austria to act on her favourite maxim—divide in order to govern.

Ready instruments have been found among the Slav, Chekh, Servian, and, above all, among the Croat subjects of the older Austrian possessions, to carry out the work of organization in these her latest acquisitions. Clearly the new province does not rightly belong either to Hungary or to Cisleithania; it has no claim to be represented either in the parliament of Vienna or in that of Pesth; it is therefore governed in the name of the emperor-king by the minister of finance common to the whole empire, by means of a special chancery. We shall see later on how this administration is organized. The Mahomedans have retained their peculiar privileges and laws.

In the year 1881, the Austro-Hungarian government introduced compulsory military service into the two provinces, and this innovation, the possibility of which had been quite overlooked by the treaty of Berlin, provoked an official remonstrance on the part of Turkey, and occasioned several promptly suppressed insurrections. In a material point of view the country has made great progress; railways have been made between Brod and Serajevo, and between Mitrovitza, Mostar, and Serajevo. This last-named town tends to become more and more European, and its economic conditions have been greatly changed for the better. Nevertheless, we ask ourselves

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whether these improvements have not been too dearly bought, and whether the two provinces would not have been the greater gainers by submitting to a few more years of Ottoman rule, which might have been followed by real and entire independence.

Political Consequences of this Occupation.

Prior to the treaty of Berlin the wishes of Servia were in the direction of annexation with Bosnia, while those of Montenegro tended towards union with Herzegovina. The disappointment of their hopes deeply angered the two small Servian states, but the policy each has since pursued has been widely different. Montenegro has remained faithful to Russia, her natural protectrix. At the same time prince Nicholas has endeavoured to make it clear to the other states that it is his wish to preserve an attitude of absolute religious tolerance towards all his subjects. By a recently concluded agreement with the Holy See, he has established a Catholic bishop at Bari (Antivari); he has done more, for he has obtained from Leo XIII. an authorization enabling the Catholics of the Montenegrin states to celebrate the mass henceforth in the Slavonic tongue. On the other hand, his eldest daughter has married a prince Karageorgevitch, a member of one of the two royal houses who contended for the possession of Servia for sixty years, and who at one time laid claim to the throne. Montenegro, small as it is—for it cannot number more than two hundred thousand inhabitants—backed by Russia, is not incapable of inspiring some uneasiness in the mind of the Austrian government.

It seemed as if Servia, exasperated by the loss of Herzegovina, would also throw herself into the arms of Russia, and thus, by means of close alliance with that power, in conjunction with Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Greece, obtain sufficient influence to be able to insist on an addition to the pitiful concessions made to her by the treaty of Berlin. Backed by such allies, Servia would have succeeded in making herself

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sufficiently dangerous to the Austrian interests in the peninsula. Austria, however, hastened to recognize the title of king assumed by prince Milan towards the end of 1882, while, on the other hand, its policy was directed towards detaching the newly-created kingdom from the small neighbouring states, as well as from any alliance with Russia. This was all the easier to do because the feelings of the Servian nation were deeply wounded by certain declarations of the late emperor Alexander II. In order to fulfil the obligation laid on her by the treaty of Berlin, Servia was forced to have recourse to foreign capital to enable her to construct the stipulated line of railway from Belgrade to the Bulgarian and Ottoman frontier. She found ample credit at Vienna, but this placed her, in all economical matters, completely under the tutelage of Austro-Hungary. Gradually this tutelage extended to matters of policy, and during the years that have elapsed between 1878 and 1889 the kingdom of Servia has practically become the vassal of its powerful neighbour. When, at the end of the year 1885, notwithstanding the treaty of Berlin, Roumelia united itself to Bulgaria, Servia, instead of following the good example set her by her fellow Slavs, thought it her duty to take part against them. Under the pretence of maintaining the equilibrium of the Balkan peninsula, king Milan declared war against the Bulgarians, and announced his intention of annexing a portion of their territory. Fortune, however, deserted him. The Austro-Hungarian cabinet, which was certainly answerable for his interference in the quarrel, could not, without seriously compromising the peace of Europe, take up arms in his defence. Yet, though it was unable to go so far as this, its policy was made sufficiently plain by the imperious manner in which it intervened between the belligerents. At the very moment when prince Alexander of Bulgaria, already master of Pirot, was preparing to march on Nich, and, perhaps, even on Belgrade (November, 1885), the Austrian envoy at that city interposed, and conveyed to him an injunction to cease hostilities. Prince Alexander

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obeyed, and Servia was saved. It is very possible that king Milan might have been completely overthrown, had he not been well protected by his dangerous ally.

If Austria has been unable to prevent Bulgaria from enlarging her boundaries, at least she has seen with satisfaction the fall of prince Alexander of Battenberg, to whose daring and bravery the new state owes its existence. She is clearly more in sympathy with his successor, Ferdinand of Coburg, who has risked the experiment of going to Sofia, and who, looked askance at by Russia, ought plainly to seek at Vienna for that encouragement which is refused him at St. Petersburg. Austria has over and over again declared her intention of preventing any second occupation of the Balkan peninsula by a Russian army. Her foreign policy ever since her own occupation of Bosnia has been resolutely in favour of peace. The only act of a warlike character in her recent history has been the naval demonstration before Dulcigno, when the Austrian fleet united with those of the other great powers in compelling Turkey to surrender the town to the Montenegrins.

By a secret treaty, concluded in 1879, and published at the beginning of the year 1888, at a time when Russia seemed to be assuming a threatening position, Austria and Prussia have agreed to maintain the state of things created by the treaty of Berlin, and to aid each other in case of attack on either by Russia. Italy has since joined the two great central powers of Europe. The object of this triple alliance is, to all appearances, the maintenance of peace throughout the continent; it has certainly contributed to affirm the hegemony of Germany.

In 1886, both parts of the monarchy gave their assent to a law with regard to the organization of the *landsturm*, which raised the number of the soldiers to four hundred and fifty thousand. It is doubtful whether this force will ever be directed against Prussia. Austria appears to have completely forgotten Custozza and Sadowa, and has behaved towards the new German empire with a friendliness which has sometimes astonished the rest of the world.

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The Taaffe Ministry and the Policy of Conciliation towards Bohemia.

The annexation of Bosnia brought about the fall of the Auersperg ministry. The German party, of which he was the representative, was opposed to it, while the federalists and the ultramontane parties highly approved of it. On the accession to office of count Taafe, who succeeded Auersperg, the former announced his intention of treating all the nationalities with impartial justice. His appointment as minister was a great blow to the so-called constitutional party, whose chiefs were Herbst and Giskra, and whose real aim was the maintenance of the German influence throughout Cisleithania. Count Taaffe has succeeded in persuading the Chekhs to take part in the Austrian *Reichsrath*, a task which had been beyond the power of all his predecessors. Declaring that they did not intend to sacrifice the principle of nationality, and did not renounce their claims, they nevertheless cordially lent their aid to the new cabinet, and count Taaffe made M. Prazak, one of the Moravian deputies and the friend of all the political leaders of Bohemia, one of his ministers without portfolio. Later on M. Prazak became minister of justice, and two Galician Poles, Ziemialkowski and Dunajewski, were made members of the Cisleithanian cabinet. His alliances with the Chekhs and Poles secured a firm majority to the minister, and enabled him to overcome the resistance of the German so-called liberal or constitutional party, and the hostility of the Viennese, which at times makes itself felt in the sittings of the *Reichsrath*.

Though the coronation of the sovereign has not yet been granted to Bohemia, she has, at any rate, received a national university. This institution supplies a real need, and already has enrolled more than two thousand students. It was opened at the same time as the national theatre at Prague, which latter building had been raised by national subscription, and may be looked upon as a sign of the triumph of Slavism in

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Bohemia. Another new and interesting institution is the *matice skolska*, or national fund for schools, whose object it is to provide funds to enable Chekh schools to compete with the German schools, and to increase the means of education in those parts of the country where they are still insufficient. This *matice skolska* is to the Chekhs what the *Schulverein*, or School Society, is to the German patriots of Austria. The latter is supported also by subscriptions from Germany, and its aim is to create or aid German schools in Slav or Magyar districts.

Notwithstanding the resistance of the German party, count Taaffe has been able to proclaim the complete equality of the Chekh and German languages, both in the administration and in courts of law. The lowering of the amount of taxes which must be paid to qualify for voting, and a new division of the electoral districts, have at last secured to the Chekhs that majority in the parliament at Prague which is their due; they have 176 votes to 75. The Germans have ceased since 1886 to take any part in the deliberations of this assembly. They demand that the kingdom of Bohemia shall be subject to two administrations, the one German, the other Chekh; a dangerous proposal, if it were possible, as it would mark out beforehand that portion which might become part of Germany, in case of any future annexation. Wurmbrand, one of the deputies, also endeavoured, in 1884, to have German proclaimed by the *Reichsrath* the official language of Cisleithania. He did not succeed, his proposal being negatived by 186 votes against 155. In the elections of 1885 the German party lost fifteen votes.

On the whole, the Slavs of Bohemia owe a certain debt of gratitude to the Taafe ministry, as it has endeavoured as far as possible, and often in difficult circumstances, to put into practice the motto, "*Justitia ergo omnes nationes est fundamentum Austriæ.*" It is strongly the interest of the Chekhs to be patient, and up to the present time their deputies seem to be willing to concentrate their energies on what is practi-

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cable, and to content themselves with whatever concessions they can from time to time obtain in favour of their language and their nationality. They are divided into two well-defined parties—that of the young Chekhs, who are more radical and exacting in their demands; and that of the old Chekhs, who are moderate in their wishes and more inclined to wait their opportunity, seeking support at need from the nobles and priests, and earnest in their endeavours to live peaceably with all men. Both parties are seeking the same end by different means, that end being the recognition of the historical rights and autonomy of Bohemia, and neither of them dreams of severing the ties which bind that kingdom to the rest of the Austro-Hungarian state.

Hungary.

Notwithstanding the attacks which have been aimed against the dual government by the Slavs and Roumanians, Hungary has continued to enjoy that privileged position which was bestowed upon her by the *Ausgleich* of 1867. The compact was renewed in the years 1877 and 1887, only one important modification being agreed upon. The military frontiers, no longer necessary, owing to the enfeebled condition of Turkey, have been placed under ordinary civil government. When this was done the Magyars agreed to pay two per cent. more to the budget of the empire. In 1867, it was settled they should pay thirty per cent.; they now pay thirty-two per cent. An Hungarian, count Kalnoky, has been the Austrian minister of foreign affairs since 1881. Tisza has continued minister of the interior ever since 1875. On the death of Deak, in 1876, he succeeded in forming a government party which has assured him a majority. During his ministry the two most important measures passed have been a law concerning secondary schools and the reformation of the Chamber of Magnates. This venerable assembly, which has at certain times included as many as eight hundred members, has, indeed, as we shall see later, been very considerably reduced.

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As regards Croatia and the other non-Magyar races, the work of *Magyarization* has been carried on ceaselessly. Every manifestation of national life among the Servians, Slovaks, Roumanians, Ruthenes, and Saxons has been repressed, and these races are hardly represented at all in the parliaments at Buda-Pesth. In order to diminish the number of the Slovaks and to increase that of the Magyars it has even been proposed to carry off Slovak orphans and bring them up in purely Hungarian districts. At the present time the ban who governs at Zagreb, Kuhn Hedervary, calls himself the *huszar* of Tisza. On the other hand, Hungary has herself been unsuccessful hitherto in her repeated endeavours to obtain a national army distinct from that of Austria.

While strongly opposed to all Germanizing influences within their kingdom, the Hungarians, in their attitude towards foreign countries, have maintained the policy by virtue of which Austria remains attached to Germany. In 1888, Tisza went so far as to pronounce from the tribune during the session words which he knew must annoy France, and which never would have been used in the parliament of Vienna. The incident was, at any rate, of use in proving that the present representatives of the nation do not share the opinions of the revolutionists of 1848. On the 2nd of December, 1888, the emperor Francis Joseph celebrated the fortieth anniversary of his accession. Of a truth, Austro-Hungary is now very different from what she was when the poet could find her nowhere represented except in the camp of Radetsky. Her people are at peace, her credit is restored, and her citizens are governed by laws which secure to them individual liberty, the inviolability of their homes, and sound relations between Church and State. The Austria of Francis I. and Metternich is no more; but at the same time she is surrounded by difficulties, which have not been lessened by the abdication of king Milan and the present state of affairs in Servia. Incapable of an independent policy of her own, she is at the mercy of formidable neighbours, who insist on her alliance, while they try to obtain

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for themselves some fragments of her territory; and at the present time we may end our labours with the same words which closed the first edition of our history. Unless some unforeseen event occurs, the situation of the Austrian state must remain precarious, and its future inspire with grave anxiety the minds of those who consider the maintenance of a powerful Danubian State necessary to the peace of Europe.

It only remains for us to draw up a summary of the organization of Austro-Hungary, the elements of which it is composed, and the resources which are at its command.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

ORGANIZATION AND STATISTICS OF AUSTRO-HUNGARY.

Common Affairs.

WE have already explained the dual organization of Austro-Hungary, as it was settled in 1867, and the formation of Cis- and Trans-Leithania. We will now consider how this complicated system of government with its double parliament works. Emperor at Vienna, the monarch is only apostolic king at Buda-Pesth; in each portion of his dominions he enjoys the ordinary privileges of crowned heads, inviolability, the right to make peace and war, and the right of pardon. On his accession he swears that he will respect the constitution, in Vienna before the two chambers, at Buda-Pesth at the time of his coronation. In all matters of common concern the legislative powers belong to the representative assemblies of the two portions of the empire, and are exercised through Delegations, who are nominated each year and meet together alternately at Vienna and Buda-Pesth. Each part of the empire delegates its authority to sixty members.[1] In Cisleithania these sixty are made up of twenty from the chamber of the lords, and forty from the *Reichsrath*, of whom ten represent Bohemia, seven Galicia, four Moravia, and the rest the other provinces. In Transleithania also twenty are taken from the chamber of magnates and forty from that of the deputies.

[1] See *Government Year Book* for 1888, by Lewis Sergeant, pp. 362–380: Fisher Unwin; also *England's Case against Home Rule*, 2nd edition, pp. 58–65: A. V. Dicey: Murray

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The two representative bodies meet, as we have said, alternately at Vienna and at Buda-Pesth, and deliberate by correspondence; if they cannot come to an agreement after the interchange of three messages, they then meet in full conclave and vote without further debate. Besides those matters which are called common affairs, there are certain other questions, such as laws concerning customs, coinage, railways, and military contingents, which require that a preliminary understanding shall have been arrived at by the two portions of the empire. In such cases the two cabinets, at the suggestion of the common ministry, propose similar laws to the parliaments of Vienna and Buda-Pesth, and these bodies record their votes; or else two commissions are appointed to draw up the laws required. The Delegations have the right to demand explanations from the common ministry and to call them to account. When met in full conclave, the sessions are presided over alternately by the one or the other president. The Viennese Court of Accounts examines into the expenses of the common budget.

Organization of Cisleithania.

In official language the Cisleithanian group is sometimes called the group of states or provinces "represented in the *Reichsrath*," while the Hungarians are contented to be known as "the other countries belonging to his majesty." The bases of the constitution are the two patents of October, 1860, and February, 1861 (see Chapter XXXIV.), and various laws relating to the national representation. Cisleithania is a representative state, the *Reichsrath*, or Council of the Empire, being the organ of national representation. It is divided into two chambers, the house of lords (*Herrenhaus*) and the house of deputies (*Abgeordnetenhaus*). The house of lords is formed of the princes of the imperial family who are of age, and the members of those great families on whom the sovereign has conferred hereditary peerage, nine archbishops, seven bishops, and certain persons nominated for life by the emperor. The number of

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members is not limited, the emperor having power to add to it at will. It contains at present one hundred and ninety members. According to a law passed on April 2, 1873, the house of deputies is composed of three hundred and fifty-three deputies, who are chosen for six years. These are elected, not by universal suffrage, which does not exist in Austria, but by various electoral bodies, large landowners, towns, villages, and rural parishes, and the system works in favour of the towns where the German element prevails, and against the rural districts where it does not. This chamber of deputies at Vienna can by no means be looked upon as fairly representative of the country. In 1885, out of three hundred and fifty-three members, one hundred and ninety-four were German, twelve Italian, three Roumanian, and only one hundred and forty-four Slav; these Slavs were fifty-eight Chekhs from Bohemia and Moravia, sixty-five Poles, three Ruthenians, nine Slovenians, and fourteen Dalmatians; a curious proportion, if we remember that in Cisleithania the Slavs are at least twice as many as the Germans. In the electoral bodies which fall within the first three classes, the bodies, namely, of the large landowners, of towns, and of chambers of commerce, elections are direct; in the rural district they are indirect.

The *Reichsrath* meets every year; in the house of lords the president and vice-president are elected by the emperor, in the lower house they are chosen by the members. The two chambers have control over all matters common to the various countries which are represented in them, with the exception of those which are within the jurisdiction of the delegations. All other questions are left to the provincial assemblies. Cisleithania is not, like France and Italy, a uniform, centralized state divided into departments; it is made up of many countries, each of which has its separate historic traditions and provincial institutions. Each of them, except Trieste, where the muncipal council holds the same position, possesses a provincial diet. Some of these diets, such as those of Bohemia and Galicia, are as important as real parliaments. They are composed of

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members by right of office, and members chosen for six years by the electoral bodies. Archbishops, bishops, and rectors of universities are members by right of office, and in Tyrol to these are added four representatives of the abbots and priors. The president, who takes the title of the *marshal of the land*, and the vice-president are appointed by the emperor, while the permanent committee (*Landesauschuss*), which is the executive body, is elected by the diet from among its own members. In some of the countries there are, besides, councils of *circles* which somewhat resemble the general councils of France. Each parish has a municipal council and elects its own burgomaster.

The general direction of affairs in Cisleithania is confided to seven ministers, those of the interior, justice, public education, trade, agriculture, finance, and defence; this last must not be confounded with the minister of war who holds office from the whole empire. Besides these the emperor reserves the right of nominating one or more ministers who hold no portfolio, but represent the rights of certain countries to self-government, or their historical traditions, such as are possessed by Bohemia and Galicia. At the head of each state or province there is placed a lieutenant or governor; and each province is again divided into *circles* (*Bezirke*), having each at its head a captain (*Bezirkshauptmann*). Each parish governs itself so far as concerns its internal affairs, except with regard to education, the schools of both parishes and *circles* being subordinate to a provincial council of education, which also manages the financial arrangements of the schools. Justice is administered by the high court of Vienna, which is at the same time a court of appeal, by nine superior courts (*Oberlandsgerichte*), sixty-two provincial courts, and eight hundred and ninety-six lower courts. Trial by jury exists both for ordinary crime and press offences; but in so polyglot a state as Austria, where so many races are in perpetual conflict, trial by jury does not guarantee justice to the same extent as it does in other lands. In Bohemia, for instance, if the writer of a Chekh article written against the Germans is tried before a jury in a Chekh town, he is almost

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certain to be acquitted; but if he is sent—as has happened more than once—by the higher authorities to be tried by a jury in a German town, he is equally certain to be condemned.

The Cisleithanian countries are divided among three hundred and twenty-seven captains of *circles*. Thirty-two royal cities hold a privileged position. There is a Court of Accounts at Vienna for the whole of this part of the empire.

Organization of Hungary.

In Hungary, as in Austria, there are two chambers which meet every year;—the chamber of magnates, which used at one time to consist of more than seven hundred members, and which now contains about three hundred—three of these are archdukes, forty are bishops, thirteen palatines, seven hereditary princes, one hundred and fifty-nine counts, thirty-seven hereditary barons, and seventy-eight are members chosen by the king and by the chamber itself—and the chamber of deputies, containing four hundred and forty-four members who are elected for three years. Croatia-Slavonia has an organization of its own, with a diet which meets at Agram. It sends thirty-nine deputies to the parliament at Buda-Pesth, in which city it is also represented by its own special minister. Hungary, like Cisleithania, has seven ministers, besides the minister for Croatia, and a minister attached to the emperor who represents the general interests of the kingdom. The cabinet may also be presided over by yet another minister without portfolio. The king (in Hungary the emperor is only known as the king) nominates the president and vice-president of the chamber of magnates; the second chamber chooses its own officers. The official language is Magyar, and the thirty-nine Croat deputies have also the right to use their own language. Croatia's right of self-government within the Magyar state is represented by the Croat deputies to the diet meeting at Buda-Pesth, and by a special governor of the land, the *ban*, who is directly nominated by the king. A special convention regulates all matters between Hungary and Croatia. Croatia is, however, the only province attached

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to Hungary which possesses these privileges. Hungary, properly so-called, is divided into *comitats* which enjoy a considerable amount of autonomy, but the administration, the office of prefect, and the posts of deputy are almost entirely in the hands of the Magyars, who do their best to stifle the Slav and Roumanian spirit of nationality.

The institutions of Austro-Hungary are in truth much more liberal in appearance than in reality; they do not secure to the various nationalities that place in the national representative bodies which should be theirs by right of their majority; and, moreover, certain promises contained in the Cisleithanian constitution are still far from being realized. For example, notwithstanding all the progress which has been made in the last few years, no loyal attempt has yet been made to bring about perfect equality among the languages in either schools, courts of justice, or in the administration.

We have already enumerated the various titles borne by the emperor. The arms of the empire are a two-headed eagle, black, with extended wings, the tongues red, the talons golden; it holds in one talon a sword, in the other an orb of gold; on each of its heads rests the imperial crown, and on its breast are the arms of the house of Habsburg-Lorraine. The national colours are black and gold, whence comes the name Schwarzgelb, and the title of Schwarzgelber applied to the partisans of an absolutist and Germanizing policy. The Austrian flag is barred with white and red.

In all matters of excise the two nations are administered as one, and the small principality of Lichtenstein is included in the customs-union as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Army and Navy.

The law concerning the army which is now in force is the one passed in December, 1869, and completed by the acts of 1883 and 1886. It makes service obligatory, and divides it into three years of active service, seven with the reserves, and two with the *landwehr* or territorial army. The common army

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of the two portions of the empire is under the control of the common minister of war, but the militia in each portion obeys a national authority. In Austria this force is called the *landwehr;* in Hungary the *Honveds.* German is the official language of command; but the training of recruits is necessarily at first given in the national idioms, and this use of German has repeatedly led to difficulties both in Hungary and Bohemia. Men may, under certain conditions, volunteer to serve for one year, and these volunteers, except in case of poverty, are expected to support themselves, to buy their own equipments, and even their own horses. Volunteers may also join the auxiliary services, the medical or commissariat departments, etc. The emperor is the supreme head of the army, and exercises his authority by means of the ministers already mentioned, communicating with them through the royal and imperial military chancery. The commander-in-chief is under his immediate control, but he holds no communication with him except through the minister of war. There is an inspector-general of the army, an office held at present by the archduke Albert, the victor of Custozza. The cost of the army figures in the different budgets of Austro-Hungary as £1,200,000, of which £480,000 are paid by Cisleithania, and £520,000 by Hungary, the remainder being made up from the common budget. The yearly contingent to the army in active service was fixed in 1868 at 95,474 men, in order that the permanent force should be maintained at 800,000 men. All recruits belonging to the liberal professions have only to serve eight weeks, and are then drafted into the reserves; seminarists are granted leave of absence, but as soon as they become priests their names are inscribed on the list of military chaplains. The recruit-reserves (*Ersatz-Reserve*) number 9000 men, who remain for three years at the disposal of the military authorities, and from their ranks are filled up the vacancies which occur in the contingent. Those who have neither been drafted into the contingent nor into the *Ersatz-Reserve* are immediately enrolled in the *landwehr*, and may be called

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out for drill every second year. The *landsturm* was organized throughout the empire by a law passed in June, 1886; every able-bodied man between the ages of nineteen and forty-five belongs to it. The total war establishment consists of 1,532,215 men, and 217,034 horses, while the peace-footing is 271,161 men, and 50,362 horses. In Hungary the *Honveds* form a permanent force, even in times of peace, each battalion being obliged to have in readiness a certain number of men who are either volunteers or are obliged in turn to bear arms. In Tyrol and Vorarlberg every able-bodied citizen from the age of eighteen to that of forty-five has to join a special provincial force which numbers 40,000 men, but which can only be called upon to fight in defence of those provinces.

Officers are supplied by the sixteen military schools for cadets and by the two academies at Vienna, one for infantry and cavalry, the other for artillery and engineers. Besides these establishments there are also at Vienna three higher schools for officers. The infantry is divided into one hundred and two regiments of the line of four battalions each, one regiment of Tyrolese chasseurs of ten battalions, and thirty-two other battalions of chasseurs; besides these, four infantry regiments have to be furnished by Bosnia and Herzegovina. Each regiment is known not only by its number, but also by the name of its colonel, who may be some great foreigner, some king or prince, whose name is taken as a compliment and whose colonelcy is a purely honorary one. In time of peace each battalion consists of three hundred and fifty-two men, in time of war of nine hundred. The *landwehr* consists of one hundred and seventeen battalions from Cisleithania, of one hundred and eight battalions of the *Honveds* of Hungary, and twenty of the carabineers of Tyrol. The war-footing of the whole infantry is composed of eight hundred and seventy-five battalions, forming a body of seven hundred and eighty-five thousand effective troops.

The cavalry comprises twenty brigades and forty-one regiments, of which fourteen are dragoons, eleven hulans, and

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sixteen hussars. The dragoons are furnished by Bohemia and the German states, the hussars by Hungary, and the hulans by Galicia and Transylvania. All are light cavalry. The cavalry of the *landwehr* of Cisleithania comprises twenty-seven squadrons, the *Honveds* forty squadrons of hussars. The artillery is composed of fourteen brigades, and when on a war-footing is made up of 1888 guns; Germany has 2934 at her disposal, and Russia more than 4000. The *landwehr* has no artillery; that belonging to the fortresses contains twelve battalions of five companies each in time of peace, six in time of war. The corps of engineers consists of two regiments, to which are added one regiment of pioneers and one attached to the railways and telegraphs. Since 1883, the land has been divided into fifteen military districts, whose head-quarters are Vienna, Gratz, Prague, Josefstadt, Brünn, Cracow, Lemberg, Innsbruck, Zara, Buda-Pesth, Pressburg, Kassau, Temesvar, Hermannstadt, and Agram. Bosnia and Herzegovina now form a sixteenth whose head-quarters are at Serajevo. In Cisleithania the generals in command of the district are at the same time in command of the *landwehr;* in Hungary the two are separate. The infantry carry Werndl rifles, with a range of more than one thousand yards; and the artillery are provided with Uchatius cannon of bronze. The guns in the fortresses are also of this make.

Notwithstanding the Austrian reverses of 1859 and 1866, the army is a fine one, and it is officered by men full of that pride in the service which is the best guarantee of the unity of the empire.

The natural defences of Austro-Hungary are to be found in the mountains which surround her on almost every side (except that they leave Galicia outside), the sea, and the Danube; and these natural defences are supplemented by a complete system of forts and fortresses, of which the chief are Teresin in Bohemia; Olumouc in Moravia; Cracow and Premysl in Galacia; Eperjes, Komaron, Buda, Petrovaradin, Braschau (Kronstadt), and Osjek (Esseg) in Hungary;

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Franzens Festung and Kufstein in Tyrol; Salzburg and Linz in Austria, and Pola on the Adriatic.

The roads which cross the Tyrol are also well defended. Vienna is not fortified; her only protection lies in some outworks on the left bank of the Danube. There is in Vienna a remarkable institution for military geography, which is entrusted with the execution of works of geodesy and topography, the making of maps and plans which are carefully brought up to date, and the publication of such information connected with their department as may wisely be made public.

The navy consisted in January, 1888, of 110 ships of 183,285 tons, or 26,786 horse-power, armed with 301 guns, and manned by 11,309 sailors. In time of war the officers of this navy are three vice-admirals, three rear-admirals, forty captains of ships, forty-four captains of frigates, and twenty-five captains of corvettes. Fifteen hundred sailors are recruited each year. The length of service is nine years, four of active service and five in the reserves. The fleet is entirely manned by the sailors of Istria and Dalmatia; it distinguished itself at Lissa in 1866, and has had some distinguished men as its leaders, as, for example, Admiral Tegetthof. The principal naval post is Pola. There are two schools for the navy; one at Fiume for sub-officers, the other at Pola for the higher officers. Two moniteurs for the police of the Danube are included in the number of ships given above. The flag of the Austrian navy has three horizontal bands of red, white, and red; the flag of the mercantile marine bears in addition a band of green, which is one of the national colours of Hungary. The mercantile marine numbered in 1886, 9728 ships of 287,267 tons burden, manned by 29,568 sailors.

Population.

Austro-Hungary ranks at present third as to population among the European states; Russia, with her vast territory, and Germany are the two countries which are more populous. The census of 1885 gave the following figures :—

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POPULATION ACCORDING TO CENSUS OF 1885.

	Square miles.	Population.	Per sq. mile.
Lower Austria	7,722	2,468,898	320
Upper Austria	4,680	767,779	162
Duchy of Salzburg	2,799	166,925	59
Duchy of Styria	8,771	1,241,651	142
Duchy of Carinthia	4,051	353,485	87
Duchy of Carniola	3,859	491,562	127
Istria, Trieste, Gorica, and Gradisca	3,120	664,534	213
Tyrol	10,422	801,859	77
Vorarlberg	1,016	109,107	107
Kingdom of Bohemia	20,295	5,697,883	281
Margraviate of Moravia	8,682	2,187,475	252
Duchy of Silesia	2,010	581,977	290
Kingdom of Galicia	30,662	6,219,660	204
Duchy of Bukowina	4,082	610,335	149
Dalmatia	4,997	503,694	101
Total ...	117,168	22,866,824	195
Kingdom of Hungary, including Transylvania	109,277	13,728,622	125
Fiume and its territory	7	20,981	2997
Kingdom of Croatia	16,579	1,893,499	114
	125,863	15,643,102	124
Bosnia and Herzegovina	24,245	1,504,091	62

The whole population of the empire must now be more than forty millions. The average number of inhabitants to the square mile in the two portions of the kingdom is one hundred and forty-nine. The census of 1857, which was the first to be conducted on really scientific principles, gave a population of thirty-two millions, that of 1869 thirty-six millions; the annual growth of the people seems to be about three hundred thousand. The average number of births seems to be about four per cent.; that of deaths, three per cent. The following table shows the number of births and deaths for the years 1880–1887 for Cisleithania, for those of 1880–1885 for Hungary.

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CISLEITHANIA OR AUSTRIA.

Years.	Marriages.	Births.	Deaths.	Excess of Births.
1880	167,200	850,009	676,287	173,722
1881	176,983	855,937	698,976	156,961
1882	183,378	897,437	710,902	185,571
1883	176,016	882,654	701,199	181,445
1884	179,171	902,771	690,973	211,798
1885	175,233	885,201	714,030	171,171
1886	180,791	901,003	703,398	197,605
1887	182,088	915,555	688,379	217,176
		TRANSLEITHANIA OR HUNGARY.		
1880	147,314	674,761	585,578	89,183
1881	162,128	724,428	566,366	158,062
1882	124,860	597,591	529,213	68,578
1883	145,004	640,235	461,667	179,168
1884	144,416	660,086	449,621	214,465
1885	165,169	750,200	535,740	210,460

The most populous towns are Vienna (1,103,857 inhabitants), Prague (177,026), Lwow or Lemberg (109,746), Gratz (97,791), Brno (82,660), Trieste (74,544), Cracow (66,095), Buda-Pesth (360,551), Szeged (72,675), Debreczin (51,122), Hosszomezö Vasarhely (50,966), Pozsony (48,006); but these figures being taken from the census of 1880 are generally below the reality.

There only remains for us to give some information about those Austro-Hungarian subjects who dwell in foreign lands. The empire has no colonies, but every year a considerable number of its inhabitants emigrate, most of them without hope of return. We have no accurate statistics of emigration; the official list enumerates only 7366 emigrants from Austria, and 1301 from Hungary, in the year 1883, but it only includes those who had taken out passports, and that these are but a small number of the whole is proved by the emigration lists of Hamburg and Bremen for the same year, 8883 Austrian emigrants from the former port, and 9968 from the latter having been entered. That large numbers, especially in Bohemia, do leave their country, is an important fact. Emigration agents from Hamburg

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are to be found in all the large towns of the empire, and every transatlantic steamer carries with it some Austrian subjects who never mean to return. Those who are of German origin are easily confounded with the natives of a Greater Germany, but the Slavs are always to be distinguished, and no less than 200,000 Chekhs are known to be resident in North America. Their principal centre is Chicago. Others of the race emigrate to Russia, especially to Volyhnia and the Caucasian districts; a certain number of them become converts to the Orthodox Greek Church. Poles and Ruthenians have colonies in America, Slavs and Dalmatians are numerous in San Francisco, and Magyars also are to be found in various parts of the New World.

Natural Resources.

The natural resources of Austro-Hungary are as varied as its climate. The chief industry is agriculture, and it occupies about three-fourths of the population. The land in cultivation comprises about eighty-nine per cent. of the entire surface of the empire, thirty-two per cent. being given up to cereals, one per cent. to vines, twenty-six per cent. to pasture, twenty-nine per cent. to forests. The principal crops are—1. Grain, wheat, oats, barley, and maize, which are sufficiently abundant to be largely exported; 2. Potatoes; 3. Tobacco, especially in Hungary; 4. Hemp and flax, which are produced by Galicia, but not in sufficient quantity to supply the wants of the empire; 5. Wine, of which 173,480,912 gallons were produced in the year 1884 (the vine is cultivated in Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Tyrol, Bohemia, and Moravia; some kinds, as, for instance, the Tokaj of Hungary and the wine of Ofen and Vöslau, are renowned throughout Europe); 6. Hops, which produce the excellent beers of Bohemia and Vienna, of which the beer of Saaz in Bohemia ranks the highest; 7. Fruit; this, without being in any way remarkable, is yet of a satisfactory character; and 8. Spices, especially cummin and paprica, or, the red pepper of Hungary. There is a considerable export

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trade in cattle. Sheep are raised all over the empire, horned cattle especially in the mountainous districts, horses on the vast plains or pusztas of Hungary, and buffaloes in Transylvania. The last census of animals taken in 1880 gave the following results:—

Horses	3,541,810
Asses and Mules	83,364
Oxen	13,893,455
Sheep	13,679,437
Goats	1,339,809
Pigs	6,881,668

Game is most abundant, especially in Bohemia. Bees are successfully cultivated in Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, the two Austrias, Carinthia, and Carniola; silkworms in Southern Tyrol, Istria, and Dalmatia. Excellent fish is found in the Tisza and the Danube, as well as in the Adriatic.

The mineral riches of Austro-Hungary are very great, and include every kind but platinum. Gold is found in Transylvania and Tyrol; silver in Hungary; mercury in Carniola; iron in Styria, Carinthia, Hungary, and Bohemia; lead in Carinthia, Tyrol, and Bohemia; zinc in Galicia and the Croatian Alps; copper in Hungary, Transylvania, Tyrol, and Salzburg. Coal is obtained in large quantities, and numerous mines throughout the empire have not yet been worked. The best coalfields are in Bohemia, but it is found everywhere except in Salzburg and Bukowina. In 1884, no less than 19,000,000 tons were raised. The best salt-mines are in Galicia; those of Wieliczka and Bocknia supply most of the salt used throughout the empire; this article is a government monopoly, and in 1887 produced £1,108,300. There are mines also in Hungary and Transylvania, and salt is extracted from springs in Upper Austria, Salzburg, and in Styria at Hallstadt, in the district called the Salt-region (*Salzkammergut*), where the mines which have been worked ever since the Iron Age have given rise to the busy life of Ischl, Ebensee, Avensee, Hallein, and in the neighbouring town of Hall. There are also salt-works on the coast of Dalmatia and Istria.

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Building-stone and marble are found abundantly ; and the many precious stones of the empire are renowned, especially the Hungarian opals, which are known in trade as eastern opals, and the garnets of Bohemia. Beryls, amethysts, rubies, sapphires, and emeralds are also found. Another source of riches lies in the mineral springs of Austro-Hungary ; no other state possesses so many or of such varied qualities. The principal are Karlsbad, Marienbad, Franzenbad, and Püllna in Bohemia ; Rohitsch in Styria ; Balaton Füred in Hungary ; to which we may add Gastein, Baden, Ischl, Aussee, and Mehadia. Some of these springs have an important export trade. Galicia possesses petroleum mines of great value.

Means of Communication.

Cisleithania, together with Hungary and Bosnia, possessed in 1888, 14,354 miles of railway. The navigation of the Danube is most important. The Privileged Imperial and Royal Danubian Steamboat Company possesses 189 steam-boats, and 741 iron lighters, and performs the service on the Danube from Ratisbon to Sulina, on the Tisza, the Save, Drave, and on the Black Sea from Sulina to Odessa. In 1885, the number of post-offices in Austria was 4263, in Hungary 3613. In 1883, the post-office receipts were for Austria 20,002,730 florins, for Hungary 7,908,397 florins. By 1887, Austria had 24,490, and in 1886, Hungary had 11,100 miles of telegraph wires. There are but few canals in the empire ; the chief are that from Vienna to Neustadt in Lower Austria, the Francis canal in Hungary, which unites the Danube to the Tisza, and the two lateral canals of the Bega and the Temes ; but none of these are of great length.

Industry and Commerce.

About eight millions of men, or a quarter of the whole population of the empire, are occupied in manufacturing industries, which have made rapid strides since 1859, when a law was passed doing away with the monopolies of the guilds and making all industry free. In Dalmatia, Bukowina, and

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along the old military frontiers there is hardly any business carried on, but in Lower Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia it is highly developed, the spinning of cotton, wool, hemp, and flax being common throughout the whole of these provinces, and having great centres at Rumburg and Reichenberg in Bohemia, Brno and Olomouc in Moravia. At Vienna and Prague there is a large trade in articles of scented leather, which rival those of Paris and are largely exported. The iron trade is most highly developed in Styria, Carinthia, Bohemia, Hungary, and Moravia; Vienna, Waidhofen in Lower, and Steyer in Upper Austria are the principal depôts. Villach in Styria has a large trade in lead, Prague and Brno have one in machinery. Pottery, porcelain, paper, and glass of a high value are all made in Bohemia, while the trade in beetroot sugar is very active both in Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, and Galicia. Beer is the national drink throughout a large portion of the empire, especially in Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, and some parts of the German provinces. The most important breweries are in Vienna, Prague, Buda-Pesth, and Gratz, but especially at Pilsen in Bohemia, whose breweries produce 4,400,000 gallons, and supply great part of the demand in the East and along the Mediterranean. In 1885, there were 797 breweries in Bohemia, and in that year the beer made in Cisleithania alone amounted to 275,000,000 gallons. The greater number of the distilleries in the land are owned and worked by the cultivators of the soil themselves, and are calculated to be about 100,000; there are also more than 5000 brandy distilleries. In Southern Hungary and in Croatia a particular kind of brandy is made from plums, and is called Slivovitsa; it is much used by the people along the Danube. Dalmatia is celebrated for its maraschino and Goritz for its rosoglio.

The smaller industries are tobacco, which is worked by the state, and is largely produced in Hungary; candles, matches, jewellery, trinket-making, and paper-making. The Viennese articles of leather, wood, and meerschaum are cheap, fanciful, and in good taste. Printing has its largest centres in Vienna

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and Prague; the imperial printing-press at Vienna is one of the finest in Europe. Musical instruments are also made in Vienna and some parts of Bohemia, and Viennese furniture is exported all over the world.

The imports and exports were as follows during the years 1880–1886 :—

Years.	Imports. Florins.	Exports. Florins.
1880	613,500,000	675,994,430
1881	631,844,790	731,470,615
1882	654,173,746	781,892,772
1883	624,890,339	749,920,513
1884	612,900,000	708,700,000
1885	557,900,000	672,100,000
1886	539,200,000	698,600,000

In 1886, the principal exports were cereals, wood, sugar, hardware and clocks, cattle and woollen goods. In 1887, the direct imports from Great Britain amounted to £1,228,777, and the direct exports to Great Britain £1,586,172.

Finances.

The standard coin of Austro-Hungary is the florin, which is nominally worth two shillings, but, in consequence of the forced circulation of paper money, is actually worth about one shilling and ninepence. Pieces of eight and four florins are struck for international use. As we have already seen, the condition of the finances is anything but prosperous. A disastrous bankruptcy was the result of the wars which marked the beginning of the century, and the crash of 1873 caused most serious loss both to the state and to individuals. The stock exchange of Vienna is one of those where speculation is most rife. The budgets of 1888 for Austria gave £41,335,000 as the amount of revenue, and £48,030,000 as that of expenditure, and the public debt as £83,091,660. For Hungary, the revenue was in 1887 £28,937,630, and the expenditure £29,547,853. The public debt for the whole of the empire is twenty-seven millions of florins. Austria has three budgets; one for both divisions of

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the empire together, another for Cisleithania, and a third for Hungary. The empire has adopted the metric system.

Religion.

The variety of nationalities which go to make up the Austro-Hungarian empire are necessarily divided amongst a variety of religions, and tolerance is one of the principles most vital to such a state. In theory, the sovereign must belong to the Catholic Church; as king of Hungary he takes the title of apostolic prince; and there is no instance of a member of the imperial family having belonged to any other than the Roman Church. Both the emperor and the empress take part in the great ceremonies of Catholic worship. Clergy of all persuasions enjoy a position of considerable dignity and possess large property, as they did in France before the revolution. It is said that some bishops have very large incomes. They, and sometimes also the abbots, have a right to seats in the diets. Their large revenues are used in a great measure for the intellectual development of the various nationalities, and, it being consequently the interest of the people to have rich bishops, there is hardly ever any question of the separation of Church and State. The larger part of the population, about twenty-five millions, are Catholics; but besides the Latin Catholics there are in Hungary, Galicia, and Croatia a certain number of *United Catholics*, that is to say, persons who originally belonged to the Orthodox Greek Church, and who have preserved their right to celebrate the liturgy in their national language (Slav) and to have a married clergy. Most of the Protestants are in Hungary, in which country their number reaches three millions. The Orthodox Greek Church has most members among the Servians and Roumanians. The following were the numbers in 1888:—

Roman Catholics	30,000,000
Protestants	3,616,000
Greeks and Armenians	3,500,000
Jews	1,648,000
Mohammedans, Tziganes, etc.	493,000

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There are Catholic archbishops at Salzburg, Vienna, Prague, Olomouc, Lwow, Goritz, and Zara; also at Gran, Kalocsa, Eger, and Zagreb. There is an archbishop of the Uniate Greek Church at Gran for the Ruthenians, and a Roumanian archbishop of the Uniate Catholics at Balasfalva in Transylvania. The Servians have an Orthodox Greek archbishop at Karlovci, and the Orthodox Roumanians have one at Sibin. The two Servian bishops of Zara and Cattaro are under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Archbishop of Cernowic in Bukowina. The Catholic clergy, including monks, numbers fifty thousand persons. The Protestant Churches of the Augsburg Confession are under the direction of a consistory, meeting at Vienna, while those of the Helvetian Confession are ruled by a general synod of their own in the capital; and the Unitarians of Transylvania have a consistory which meets in that province.

Intellectual Culture.

In an empire which is a very mosaic of races there can be no hope of finding a common standard of civilization; a vast abyss lies between the wealthy peasant of Salzburg and the rude mountaineer of Cattaro or the shepherd who roams the pusztas of Hungary. Some figures will enable us the better to understand this. A few years ago, among one thousand conscripts, there were found of those who could not read, 15 from Lower Austria, 190 from Bohemia, 900 from Bukowina, 957 from Dalmatia! In Austria there was hardly any elementary education before the end of the eighteenth century, and it was not till 1848 that a minister of public education was appointed. The concordat of 1855 in replacing all schools under the care of the priests, brought them under so adverse an influence that in 1860 this department of government was suppressed, and it was not restored till 1867, when ministers of education were appointed both for Vienna and Buda-Pesth. On the suppression of the concordat, primary instruction, which then was placed in the hands of laymen and made free, made rapid

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progress; but this progress has necessarily varied with the previous condition of the various provinces. Teaching in Austria is carried on in the national language; but elsewhere, in the mixed provinces, the strongest race politically endeavours, and usually with success, to force its tongue on the weaker ones; this is the case among the Slovenes, where the Germans have got possession of the schools, and in Istria, where the Italians make the Slavs teach in Italian. The Germans everywhere are apt to look upon themselves as intellectually the privileged race, but it is only in Upper and Lower Austria and in Silesia that this is actually the case. There is no doubt that the Chekhs of Bohemia are in advance of the Germans of either Tyrol or Carinthia.

In Hungary also the organization of schools dated from the time of Maria Theresa, but all progress was paralysed by the constant efforts of the government in Vienna to substitute German for the national languages. The revolution of 1848 led to the formation of a ministry of public education, and proclaimed all primary education free and compulsory—reforms which, however, were not carried out. When Hungary recovered its independence elementary education was again made compulsory, but the law has never been rigorously enforced, and there are about three hundred parishes still without schools.

In 1880–1881, in some *comitats* the average attendance was ninety per cent., while in others it was only thirty-four per cent. Some schools in the mixed provinces are still denominational, and the difficulties of education are increased by the need of learning or even of forcing the Magyar language on children to whom it is not the mother-tongue. In 1882, there were in Austria 34,172 elementary schools, 144 normal schools, 114 professional schools, 63 professional *gymnasiums*, and nine polytechnic schools; the latter were in Vienna, Prague (2), Brno, Gratz, Cracow, Lwow, Trieste, and Buda-Pesth; besides these there were 285 classical *gymnasiums*. In Hungary the numbers were 1545 elementary, 30 professional schools, and 146 *gymnasiums*. There are universities in Vienna, Prague (2),

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Gratz, Innsbruck, Cernovic, Cracow, Lwow, Buda-Pesth, Kolosvar, and Zagreb. The universities of Vienna, Gratz, Innsbruck, and Cernovic teach in German; the Chekh universities of Prague in Chekh; that of Cracow in Polish; that of Lwow in Polish and Ruthenian; those of Buda-Pesth and Kolosvar in Magyar; that of Zagreb in Croatian. The Slovenes have no university. It is often asked what a German university has to do in Bukowina in the midst of a population of Roumanians, Ruthenians, and Poles. It was long considered that all Jews frequenting the universities were Germans, but since national universities have been established it has been found that numbers of them are ready to learn in other languages than German. The university of Prague, which was founded in 1348, is the most ancient in the empire. It was first Latin and then German, and recently has been divided into two universities, one teaching in German, the other in Chekh; the latter is in a very flourishing condition. The university of Cracow was founded in 1364, and that of Vienna in 1365. There is no Chair of Medicine either at Lwow, Cernovic, or Zagreb. The proportion of German universities is higher than that of the other languages, and the Slovenes of Cisleithania, and the Slovaks, Servians, and Roumanians of Hungary have still no place of higher education where they can study in their mother-tongues. There are a large number of technical schools, especially for mines and forests, throughout the country. There are also an oriental academy at Vienna, academies of the fine arts at Vienna, Prague, Gratz, Cracow, and Buda-Pesth, and excellent *conservatoires* in Vienna, Prague, and Buda-Pesth. The principal learned societies are the academy of science at Vienna, the royal scientific academy of Prague, the Hungarian academy, the Polish academy at Cracow, and the Southern-Slav academy at Zagreb. As we have said before, there can be no Austrian literature, properly so-called; the German writers of Austria, among whom there are some remarkable men, belong to German literature, and the Magyar and Slav writers to the literatures of their various countries.

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TABLE OF SOVEREIGNS WHO HAVE REIGNED OVER THE STATES WHICH EITHER NOW COMPOSE THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY, OR HAVE BELONGED TO IT.

AUSTRIA PROPERLY SO CALLED.

HOUSE OF BABENBERG (973–1246).

Leopold I. (Margrave)	973—994	Leopold IV.	1136–1141
Henry I.	994–1018	Henry Iasomirgott(Duke)	1141–1177
Adalbert the Victorious	1018–1056	Leopold V., the Pious	1177–1194
Ernest the Valiant ...	1056–1075	Frederic I.	1194–1198
Leopold II.	1075–1096	Leopold VI., the Proud	1198–1230
Leopold III., the Saint	1096–1136	Frederic II., the Fighter	1230–1246

STYRIA.

Otokar I. (Margrave)	991	Leopold the Strong ...	1122–1129
Otokar II.	991–1038	Otokar V.	1129–1164
Otokar III.	1038–1092	Otokar VI. (Duke) ...	1164–1192
Otokar IV.	1092–1122		

Styria is united to Austria.

TYROL.

The dynasty of the Counts of Andechs, Dukes of Meran, comes to an end in 1248 : their domains pass to the Counts of Tyrol under ;

Albert III. ...	1253	Henry of Carinthia ...	1295–1335
Menhardt III. ...	1254–1258	Margaret Maultasche	1335–1363
Menhardt IV. ...	1258–1295	Menhardt V. ...	1363

Tyrol is united to Austria.

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CARINTHIA.

SLAVONIC PRINCES.

Borut	748–750	Chotimir	753–769
Karat	750–753	Vladuc	772–788

Rule of the Franks (788–976).

INDEPENDENT DUKES (976–1335).

Henry of Scheyer ...	976–978	(*Interregnum*) ...	1039–1047
Otho of Wormsfeld ...	978–982	Welf of Altorf ...	1047–1055
Henry I. (2nd time)	982–989	Conrad III.	1057–1059
Henry II.	989–995	Berthold of Zœhringen	1059–1073
Otho of Wormsfeld (2nd time)	995–1004	Markhardt of Eppenstein, Hereditary Duke ...	1073–1076
Conrad I. of Wormsfeld	1004–1012	Liutold	1076–1090
Adalbero of Eppenstein	1012–1035	Henry, Margrave of Istria	1090–1122
Conrad I. of Wormsfeld	1035–1039		

HOUSE OF ORTENBURG (1122–1269).

Henry IV.	1122–1124	Bernard	1201–1256
Engelbert, Margrave of Istria	1124–1134	Ulrich III.	1256–1269
Ulrich I.	1134–1143	Premysl Otokar II. ...	1269–1276
Henry V.	1143–1161	Rudolph of Hapsburg	1276–1285
Hermann	1161–1181	Menhardt, Count of Tyrol	1286–1295
Ulrich II.	1181–1201	Henry, Count of Tyrol	1295–1335

Carinthia is annexed to Austria.

BOHEMIA.

DUKES (FAMILY OF THE PREMYSLIDES).

Premysl (Libusa)	750	Spitihnev II.	1055–1061
Pagan Princes ...	750–870	Vratislav II. (King) ...	1061–1092
Borivoj	870–894	Bretislav II.	1092–1110
Spitihnev I.	894–912	Borivoj II.	1110–1120
Vratislav	912–925	Vladislav I.	1120–1125
Vacslav the Saint ...	925–935	Sobeslav I.	1125–1140
Boleslav I.	936–967	Vladislav II. (King) ...	1140–1173
Boleslav II.	967–999	Sobeslav II.	1173–1189
Boleslav III.	999–1003	Konrad Otho... ...	1189–1191
Jaromir	1004–1012	Vacslav II.	1191–1192
Oldric	1012–1037	Premysl Otokar I. ...	1192–1230
Betislav I.	1037–1055		

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KINGS.

Vacslav I.	1230–1253	Vacslav III.	1305–1306
Premysl Otokar II. ...	1253–1278	Rudolf of Habsburg ...	1306–1307
Vacslav II.	1278–1305	Henry of Carinthia ...	1307–1310

HOUSE OF LUXEMBURG.

John	1310–1346
Charles I. (IV.) ...	1346–1378
Vacslav IV.	1378–1419

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENTS.

Sigismund	1419–1437
Albert of Austria ...	1437–1439
Vladislav the Posthumous	1439–1457
George of Podiebrad	1458–1471

THE JAGIELLOS.

Wladyslaw II. ...	1471–1516	Louis II.	1516–1526

The dynasty of the Habsburgs from Ferdinand I.

KINGDOM OF HUNGARY.

HOUSE OF ARPAD.

Arpad		Stephen III. and IV.	1161–1173
Geiza I.	972—997	Bela III.	1173–1196
Stephen the Saint ...	997–1038	Emerich	1196–1204
Peter I.	1038–1046	Andrew II.	1204–1235
Andrew I.	1046–1060	Bela IV.	1235–1270
Bela I.	1060–1063	Stephen V.	1270–1272
Ladislas the Saint ...	1063–1095	Ladislas the Cuman ...	1272–1290
Koloman	1095–1114	Andrew III.	1290–1301
Stephen II.	1114–1131	Vacslav III. of Bohemia	1301–1305
Bela II., the Blind ...	1131–1141	Otho of Bavaria ...	1305–1307
Geiza II.	1141–1160		

HOUSE OF ANJOU.

Charles Robert ...	1308–1342	Louis the Great ...	1342–1382

ELECTED KINGS.

Sigismund of Luxemburg	1382–1437	Vladislav the Posthumous	1439–1457
Albert of Austria ...	1438–1439	Mathias Corvinus ...	1457–1490
Wladyslaw of Poland	1440–1444		

THE JAGELLONS.

Wladyslaw II. ...	1490–1516	Louis II.	1516–1526

The dynasty of the Habsburgs from Ferdinand I.

Szapolyai, anti-king 1540

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GRAND PRINCES (VOÏÉVODES) OF TRANSYLVANIA.

John Szapolyai ...	1526–1540	Sigismund Rakoczy ...	1606–1608
John Sigismund Szapolyai	1540–1571	Gabriel Batory ...	1608–1613
Stephen Batory ...	1571–1575	Gabriel Bethlen (Bethlen Gabor)	1613–1629
Christopher Batory ...	1575–1581	George Rakoczy ...	1629–1648
Sigismond Batory ...	1581–1599	George Rakoczy II. ...	1648–1660
Andrew Batory ...	1599–1604	John Kemeny ...	1660–1662
Sigismond Batory (second time)	1601	Michael Apafy ...	1662–1689
Stephen Bocskai ...	1604–1606	Emile Tököly ...	1689–1691

Austrian occupation from 1691 to 1706.

Francis Rakoczy, 1706–1711.

CROATIA.

PRINCES.

Ljudevit	823	Kresimir	900–912
Borna	823–830	Miroslav	912–917
Porin	830–836	Tomislav	917–940
Zdeslav	868–879	Godimir	940–958
Branimir	879–892	Kresimir II.	958–970
Mutimir	892–900		

KINGS.

Drzislav	970–1000	Slavisa	1074–1076
Kresimir I.	1000–1035	Demeter Zvonimir ...	1076–1087
Stephen I.	1035–1056	Stephen II.	1087–1090
Peter Kresimir II. ...	1056–1074		

Personal union with Hungary

HOUSE OF HABSBURG.

Rudolph I., Emperor of Germany ...	1273–1291	Frederic, King of the Romans from 1314, with Louis of Bavaria.	
Albert I., Duke of Austria (Emperor in 1298)	1283–1308	Albert the Wise ...	1330–1358
Leopold (1326), and Frederic the Handsome (1330), Dukes of Austria.		Rudolph the Founder	1358–1365

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ALBERTINE BRANCH. LEOPOLDINE BRANCH.

Austria, properly so called.	Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Tyrol, Outer Austria.
	Leopold III. 1365–1386
	Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Trieste. Capital: Gratz. / Tyrol, Outer Austria. Capital: Innsbrück.
Albert III., with the Plaited Hair ... 1365–1395 Albert IV. 1395–1404 Albert V. (in 1438 King of Bohemia and Hungary, and Emperor of Germany) 1404–1439 Vladislav the Posthumous, King of Bohemia and Hungary 1439–1457	Ernest ... 1411–1424 Albert VI. 1424–1463 Frederic V. 1463–1493 / Frederic IV. (Empty Purse) ... 1411–1438 Sigismund ... 1438–1487

The Emperor Frederic V., of Styria, under the title of Frederic IV., reunites all the domains of his House.

Maximilian, Emperor of Germany 1493–1519

SPANISH BRANCH. AUSTRIAN BRANCH.

Charles V. 1517–1556
Philip II. 1556–1598
Philip III. 1598–1621
Philip IV. 1621–1665
Charles II. 1665–1700

Ferdinand I. (King of Bohemia and Hungary in 1526, Emperor in 1556) 1519–1564

Bohemia, Hungary, Austria.	Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Gorica.	Tyrol and Outer Austria.
Maximilian II. (Emperor) 1564–1576 Rudolph II. 1576–1612 Mathias 1612–1619	Charles II. 1564–1590 Ferdinand II. (Emperor in 1619)	Ferdinand 1564–1595

The second son of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine inherits the throne of Tuscany.

Francis of Lorraine (Emperor in 1745) ... 1737–1765

Ferdinand of Styria (Emperor in 1619) reunites all the Austrian domains except Tyrol.

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TUSCANY.

Leopold I. (II.) (Emperor in 1790) ...	1765–1790
Ferdinand III., 1790 and	1814–1824
Leopold II.	1824–1859
Ferdinand IV.	1859

HOUSE OF HABSBURG-ESTE AT MODENA.

Ferdinand	1803–1806
Francis IV.	1814–1846
Francis V.	1846–1859

AUSTRIAN BRANCH.

Bohemia, Austria, Hungary.		Tyrol.	
Ferdinand III.	1637–1657	Leopold V.	1623–1632
Leopold I.	1657–1705	Ferdinand Charles	1632–1662
Joseph I.	1705–1711		
Charles VI.	1711–1740		

HABSBURG-LORRAINE.

Maria Theresa and Francis I. ...	1740–1780
Joseph II. (Emperor in 1765) ...	1780–1790
Leopold II.	1790–1792
Francis II. (Emperor of Austria in 1806)	1792–1835
Ferdinand IV. (1st)	1835–1848
Francis Joseph (1st)	1848–

HOUSE OF AUSTRIA IN PARMA.

Charles IV. (Emperor)	1735–1740
Maria Theresa	1740–1748
Maria Louisa	1814–1847

HOUSE OF AUSTRIA IN MILAN.

From Charles VI. to Francis II.	1713–1796
And from 1815 to 1859.	

HOUSE OF AUSTRIA IN VENICE.

Francis II.	1797–1805
Francis II., Ferdinand IV., and Francis Joseph	1815–1866

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LOSSES AND GAINS OF THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG FROM RUDOLPH OF HABSBURG TO THE PRESENT TIME.

GAINS.	LOSSES.
1282. Rudolph I. invests his sons Albert and Rudolph with Austria, Styria, and Carniola.	
1291. Albert I. unites to these provinces the hereditary domains of Outer Austria (the Vorlände).	
1301. He acquires the Margraviate of Burgau in Suabia.	
	1315. The Forest Towns throw off the Austrian yoke.
1324. The County of Pfirt or Ferrette.	
1326. The Domains of Kyburg.	
1330. Leopold acquires Breisach, Schaffhausen, Rheinfelden, Neuburg, and Rappenchwyl.	
	1332–1351. Lucerne, Glaris, and Zug gain their freedom.
1335. Carinthia.	
1363. Tyrol.	
1365. The County of Feldkirch.	
1367. Breisgau.	
1374. The property of the Counts of Gorica in Carniola.	
1376. The County of Bludenz.	
1379. The Baillywick of Suabia.	
1381. Hohenberg.	
1382. Trieste places itself under the protection of the Habsburgs.	
1401. Frederic IV. of Tyrol inherits the County of Seckingen.	
	1415–1416. Argovia, Bremgarten, Sursee, and Baden.
	1423. Kyburg pledged to Zurich.
1451. Part of Bregenz.	

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GAINS.	LOSSES.
	1452. The County of Kyberg.
1456. The County of Cilly.	
1461. Thurgovia.	
1465. The Landgraviate of Nellenburg.	
1482. Maximilian occupies the Burgundian States in the name of his son, Philip the Handsome.	
1500. The Counties of Gorica, of Mitterburg, and the Pusterthal.	
1503. Tyrol enlarged in consequence of a treaty with Bavaria.	
1516. Enlarged in consequence of a treaty with Venice.	
1519. Ferdinand I. buys the County of Wurtemberg.	
1523. The rest of Bregenz.	
1526. The Kingdom of Bohemia, the Margraviate of Moravia, the greater part of Silesia, and the two Lusatias, Hungary, and its dependencies.	1526. Hungary broken up: Szapolyai, Voïévode of Transylvania.
	1526–1566. Central Hungary and Slavonia in the hands of the Turks.
	1534. Ferdinand I. gives up the County of Wurtemburg.
	1635. The two Lusatias given up to the Elector of Saxony.
	1648. Cession of Alsace, Briesgau, and Sundgau.
1687. The Principalities of Liegnitz, Brieg, and Wohlau annexed.	
	1690. Ortenau given up to the House of Baden.
1699. The Treaty of Carlowitz restores Eastern Hungary and Transylvania to Austria.	
1708. Joseph I. takes possession of the Duchy of Mantua, a fief of the Empire left without heirs.	
1714. The Treaty of Rastadt gives Charles VI. possession of the Low Countries, Milan, Naples, Sardinia, and Brisach.	
1718. The Treaty of Passarowitz (Poszarevac) restores the Banats of Temes and of Krajova, and gives part of Servia and Bosnia to Austria.	
1720. Sardinia is exchanged for Sicily.	

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GAINS.	LOSSES.
1735. The Treaty of Vienna gives Austria Parma and Placentia.	1735. The Treaty of Vienna gives Tortona and Novara to Sardinia, and the Two Sicilies to Don Carlos, the Infant of Spain.
	1739. By the Treaty of Belgrade Austria restores Servia, Bosnia, and the Banate of Krajova to the Turks.
1740. On the death of Charles VI. the Austrian possessions amounted altogether to 10,075·71 square German miles.	
	1742. By the Treaty of Breslau Maria Theresa gives up the greater part of Silesia and the County of Kladsko to Prussia.
	1743. Vigevano and Siccomaria ceded to Sardinia.
	1748. By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla ceded to Don Philip.
1759–80. Austria acquires Hohenems, Falkenstein, the Ortenau, etc., in Germany.	
1765. Tuscany, which was exchanged for Lorraine in 1736 by Francis I., is made the inheritance of the second son of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine.	
1772. The County of Zips (Szepes) and Galicia.	
1775. The Bukovina.	
1779. The district of the Inn.	
1782. Further acquisitions on the Inn.	
1784. The Principalities of Castiglione and Solferino, and the Lordship of Asch in Bohemia.	
1791. Treaty of Sistova: Leopold gains Old Orsova and the district of the Unna.	
1796. Third partition of Poland: acquisition of Western Galicia.	
1797. Treaty of Campo-Formio: acquisition of Venetian territory, Istria, Dalmatia, and the Gulf of Cattaro.	1797. Loss of Belgium, Briesgau, the Duchies of Milan and Mantua.

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GAINS.	LOSSES.
	1801. Treaty of Lunéville : cession of the Adige districts, Falkenstein, and the Frickthal.
1803. Trent and Brixen.	1803. The Ortenau.
1804. Lindau, Rothenfels, Blumeneck, etc.	
1805. Treaty of Pressburg (Poszony) : Salzburg, Berchtolsgaden, the Matreithal, Zillerthal, and Brixenthal gained.	1805. Treaty of Pressburg (Poszony) : Austria cedes Venice, Istria, Dalmatia, and Cattaro to the Kingdom of Italy ; Tyrol and Vorarlberg to Bavaria ; Outer Austria to Wurtemberg and Bavaria.
	1807. Montefalcone ceded.
	1809. Treaty of Vienna : Carniola, the Circle of Villach, Gorica, Trieste, the coast of Hungary, and Croatia as far as the Save, are ceded to France ; Salzburg, Berchtolsgaden, the district of the Inn, and part of that of Hausruck, to Bavaria ; Western Galicia, Cracow, and the Circle of Zamosc, to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw ; the detached possessions of Bohemia in Lusatia definitely pass over to Saxony.
	1810. Readjustment of the Galician frontier : Russia obtains the Circle of Tarnopol.
1814. Re-annexation of the northern part of Tyrol and Vorarlberg.	
1815. The Treaty of Vienna gives back to Austria the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, Gorica, Gradesca, Trieste, the whole of Istria, Dalmatia, Ragusa, Venetian Albania, Carniola, Ricka (Fiume), Croatia, the Southern Tyrol, the Matreithal, the Circle of Villach, Tarnopol, and Czortkow.	
1816. Treaty of Munich : Salzburg, the Circle of the Inn, and part of the Circle of Hausruck and of the Zillerthal and Brixenthal, are given back to Austria.	
1846. The Republic of Cracow annexed.	

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GAINS.	LOSSES.
	1859. The greater part of Lombardy given up to the Kingdom of Italy.
	1866. The rest of Lombardy and Venetia given up to the Kingdom of Italy.
1878. Temporary occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.	

Austro-Hungary now contains an area of 261,649 English square miles.

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